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Manual of universal church
history

Cincinnati, August 15, 1874.

With no ordinary satisfaction, we attach our "Imprimatur" to this most necessary Manual of Ecclesiastical History of the Rev. Dr. Alzog. The work, as it comes from the hands of the Rev. President and a Rev. Professor of our Seminary, may be considered an improvement on the original. It is better adapted to our needs, and from the favor with which the prospectus has been received by our Most Reverend and Right Reverend Prelates and Professors of Theology, we have no doubt of its being regarded as a valuable acquisition to ecclesiastical science.

† *J. B. PURCELL,*
Archbishop of Cincinnati.

Baltimore, August 28, 1874.

Dr. Alzog's Manual of Church History is by far the best compendium of Church History within my knowledge, and is specially fitted to be a text-book on the subject in Colleges and Seminaries. It is no mere compilation, as such books generally are, but a fresh and original history, such as could have been written only by a man of the most extensive and accurate learning. . . . I have looked over the proof-sheets you forwarded to me, and am convinced that this most excellent Manual has been much improved by your labors. It has been admirably "done into English," and its value as a text-book and guide in this most useful but much neglected branch of study is greatly increased by your brief notes, additional documents, etc. With sincere respect,

Very truly yours in Christ,

† *J. ROOSEVELT BAYLEY,*
Archbishop of Baltimore.

MANUAL

OF

Universal Church History.

BY THE

REV. DR. JOHN ALZOG,
Professor of Theology at the University of Freiburg.

TRANSLATED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE NINTH AND LAST GERMAN EDITION,

BY

F. J. PABISCH,
Doctor of Theology, of Canon and of Civil Law, President of the Provincial Seminary of Mount St. Mary's of the West, Cincinnati, O.

AND

Rev. THOS. S. BYRNE,
Professor at Mount St. Mary's Seminary.

In Three Volumes.

WITH THREE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES AND THREE ECCLESIASTICO-GEOGRAPHICAL MAPS.

VOLUME I.

CINCINNATI, O.
ROBERT CLARKE & CO.
1874.

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TO THE

MOST REV. J. B. PURCELL, D.D.

ARCHBISHOP OF CINCINNATI,

WHO HAS FAITHFULLY SERVED GOD IN THE MINISTRY FOR NEARLY HALF A CENTURY, AND IN THE EPISCOPACY FOR FORTY-ONE YEARS;

WHO, DURING THAT TIME, HAS BEEN AN EXAMPLE TO HIS FLOCK AND A PATTERN TO HIS CLERGY;

WHOSE FIDELITY TO HIS DUTY AND TO HIS FAITH IS EQUALED ONLY BY HIS FATHERLY CHARITY TO ALL MEN;

WHOSE ZEAL IN THE CAUSE OF EDUCATION IS WITNESSED BY THE NUMEROUS INSTITUTIONS SCATTERED UP AND DOWN HIS DIOCESE, AND PARTICULARLY BY THE PROVINCIAL SEMINARY, WHICH WAS INSPIRED BY HIS ZEAL AND COMPLETED BY HIS ENERGY;

WHO IS EVER READY TO HELP ON ANY WORK THAT HE CONCEIVES TO BE EITHER FOR THE GOOD OR THE HONOR OF THE CHURCH;

AND WHO HAS GIVEN ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE PRESENT, THIS TRANSLATION IS, WITH HIS GRACIOUS PERMISSION,

MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

AS A TOKEN OF GRATITUDE FOR THE MANY AND GREAT FAVORS RECEIVED AT HIS HAND BY THE

TRANSLATORS.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICA

PREFACE.

It gives the translators great pleasure to be able to place within reach of the English-speaking community, and the student of theology, the classical text-book of Church History of the Rev. JOHN ALZOG, D.D., Professor of Theology at the University of Freiburg. The *want* of such a book has been long felt and much deplored by scholars generally, and by educators in particular. These acknowledge that Church History is, for the theologian, not simply a very valuable aid, but rather an independent science, and the foundation of his other ecclesiastical studies; and that even the profane historian, the jurist, the statesman, the man of letters, the artist, the philosopher, can not, for evident reasons, dispense with it.

Many institutions of learning, appreciating the correctness of this view, have made Church History a branch of general education.

A *good text-book* is the first condition and essential requisite to any sort of success in a movement of this kind, and particularly in this country, where professors are, as a rule, overworked, and have not the time to write out their own lectures.

There is, indeed, quite a number of monographs in English, treating of ecclesiastical subjects; and in French there are those great and immortal works of the golden age of Louis XIV., but these are not text-books. *The utter inadequacy of all the existing Manuals of Church History, in English, is too notorious* to require further mention here; and the *Revue Catholique*, of Louvain (1872, p. 610), ingenuously confesses the inferiority of all those in use in France and Belgium. *They are declared to be wholly inefficient, either to prepare the student for serious studies, or to create and foster a taste for the higher branches of learning.*

On the other hand, the whole literary world admires the fecundity of Germany in historical works, and particularly in Manuals, written with the special purpose of facilitating historical instruction. Among these, that of Dr. Alzog is without a rival, and it may be confidently asserted, that, as a text-book of Church History, it has no equal in the English language. The well-known character of the studies in the University to which the author belongs, and the fact that he was called to Rome, in 1869, to assist in the preparatory work for the Vatican Council, are a sufficient guaranty of the correctness of his views and the soundness of his doctrine. Moreover, the vast literary attainments of the author, and his long experience as a professor of Church History in various universities, extending over a space of thirty years, leave no room for doubt that his work, although comparatively brief, and, as a text-book, necessarily concise, is yet a comprehensive and exhaustive exposition of the subject of which it treats. "The Church History of Dr. Alzog," says the *Nouveau Monde*, of Montreal, Canada, November 4, 1873, "is worthy of great praise. It is brief, learned, and accurate. The author, who is a distinguished professor of history, modestly says that the aim he proposed to himself in writing his abridgment was simply to give an outline which should prepare the way for his course of lectures, and give to it unity and coherence, without, however, completely filling it out;—an outline which should sustain the attention of his hearers, and open up to them the way to more profound and comprehensive research. Besides a full acquaintance with the ordinary sources, he has made himself absolute master of this profound science of Germany. One feels that the works of the immortal *Möhler*, of *Döllinger*, *Ruttenstock*, and *Katerkamp*, are perfectly familiar to him."

It may be stated here that Dr. Alzog has made almost as extensive use of Protestant and infidel as of Catholic writers. The names of *Gieseler*, *Engelhardt*, *Neander*, *Carl Hase*, and many others, will at once come up to the memory of those acquainted with his work. His first object was to gain reliable information, and it mattered little whence it came, if it was to his purpose. It is this broad, impartial, and Catholic spirit of investigation which gives to his History its peculiar worth, and which should recommend it to men of every creed and shade of opinion.

"There is in this work," says the *Bibliographie Catholique*, "extensive learning, immense and conscientious research, a well sustained treatment and methodical plan, a just appreciation of facts, and a comprehensive and correct survey."

"It is," says the *Univers*, "a work destined to render great service, and can not be read and studied too much; it has, in a great measure, contributed to break down the prejudice which has existed against the Church for the last three centuries, and seems to be a token that better days will soon dawn upon a great part of Germany. It is, therefore, a precious book, and too much pains can not be taken in translating and spreading it. It nevertheless contains some blemishes," etc.

The translators claim that they have taken special care to remove these, wherever they occur, by the addition of notes, corrections, observations, and amplifications. Dr. Alzog frequently takes it for granted either that the student is moderately well acquainted with Church History, or that the professor will fill up whatever is wanting, and, consequently, gives at times but hints, or references, or vague allusions, to facts, which it might cost the student or professor some trouble to look up. In nearly all such cases, the translators have given particular information on these points, and worked it into the text. Again, owing to the technical terminology of Church History, or to the vagueness of the author's style, his meaning is often obscure—at least to those just entering upon the study—and the translators, in order to remove this obscurity, have frequently departed from the exact phraseology of the German original, and have, in all cases, deemed it of more consequence to bring out the sense of the author in idiomatic English, than to scrupulously adhere to the German text. There are many reasons for this course; the principal of which is, that it is of vastly more importance to interpret an author's ideas, than to give an exact translation of his language. It is not, however, to be inferred, that any passages of the original have been either altered or omitted: on the contrary, everything has been conscientiously given, but very often with additions and amplifications.

The translators also feel confident that the English edition of Alzog's Church History contains fewer typographical errors and misquotations, than either the French or German.

Alzog's work seems *specially adapted to the wants of our time*. It is not so voluminous as to frighten the business man of the world, and is sufficiently complete to answer all the needs of the *priest* in the work of his ministry. It combines the conscientious research of German learning with boldness of thought and breadth of view; but for all this the author always manifests the most submissive obedience to the supreme authority of the Church, whose teachings are the rule and standard of all ecclesiastical science.

The quotations and references, though very numerous, never interfere with the steady march of the narration. There is neither prolixity nor dryness. Dogma, discipline, archaeology, Christian art, current events, biographies of remarkable men, are all woven into the text in such way that the transition from one to the other is easy and natural.

There is also another merit peculiar to the text-book of Dr. Alzog. He invariably places at the head of every chapter and paragraph a comprehensive list of the sources of information and of the works relating to them, which, together with the foot-notes, form the basis of every assertion advanced in the text.

Should the reader desire to go deeply into the science of Church History, and to study the *sources* whence facts are derived, and on which conclusions are based, he can have no better or more trustworthy guide than Dr. Alzog. The student will learn from him how to put a just estimate upon facts, and how to criticise them intelligently. Without this practical ability in dealing with the facts of history, man can neither gain profit from the study itself, nor apply its teachings to kindred sciences.

Finally, this history will be of great utility to the *general reader*, who can find, without effort or long research, whatever is most essential to the defense of his faith, which is no small gain in these days, when religious controversy is steadily becoming more general and of greater interest. He can find here, in authentic form, the principal documents relating to the teachings of his Church, and by their aid will be enabled to give to the world a reason for the faith that is in him.

As to the *success* of the work, it is sufficient to say that it has, in the space of about thirty years, passed through nine editions in German and four in French. It is also used as a text-book in almost all Catholic seminaries, in twenty universities, and in many other institutions of learning in Europe and in this country, wherever either German or French is understood. Every professor engaged in the work of higher clerical education will find it an invaluable text-book for his class of theology. The plan of the work is such that it may be developed to any extent, and yet the student will never lose the grasp of his subject.

This *translation*, while scrupulously faithful, is, as has been said, not a slavish rendition of the German, but embodies the results acquired from the reading of various reliable authors, and may, it is hoped, be a partial improvement on the original.

The elegant French translation by *Goeschler* and *Audley*, made on the fifth German edition, although containing about one-third less matter than the present ninth German edition, has been of great service to the translators in enabling them to render with greater clearness the sometimes involved language of the lengthy German periods.

The Greek passages, generally left untranslated in the original, are here all rendered into English; or, if Conciliary decrees, given in an authentic Latin version.

It is the purpose of the translators to follow the division of the Paris edition of 1849, and to publish the work in *three volumes*; the first to embrace ancient; the second, mediæval; and the third, modern history. This division is at once easy, natural, and scientific. Each of the three volumes will be accompanied by a map—the third of our own making, representing the modern Christian world.

The third volume will be considerably larger than the first two, as it will contain the History of the Pontificate of Pius IX., and much original matter concerning English-speaking countries—a valuable addition, not embraced in any other Church History. Each volume will also contain three chronological tables and a table of contents, and the last volume a copious alphabetical index. The whole work will be of greater bulk than the four volumes of Abbé Darras.

The second volume will be completed within a year from the present date, and the third within two years, so that at the end of this time the whole work will be in the hands of subscribers.

There are many reasons that suggest this plan, the principal of which is that our college course of ecclesiastical history embraces *three years*, corresponding to the division of subject-matter given above, and by bringing out one volume yearly the book may be at once introduced.

It seemed better that this translation, like the French, should be made by *two* persons, one of whom would be conversant with the German and the other with the English language, that thus fidelity and a certain degree of elegance might be secured for it.

The translators take this occasion of expressing their gratitude to the hierarchy of the country, to the rectors of seminaries, to the clergy in general, and to the laity, for the promptness and generosity with which they came forward with their subscriptions, and at an early stage of the work placed its financial success beyond all doubt.

This work has been long the subject of our thoughts, and now that the first volume is completed, we can not but express our thanks to God, who has given us the time and the strength, in the midst of our other duties, to extend, beyond our ordinary sphere, the noble mission of teaching.

THE TRANSLATORS.

MOUNT ST. MARY'S OF THE WEST, FEAST OF ST. LAWRENCE, 1874.

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EXPLANATION OF SIGNS USED IN THIS WORK.—†=A reliable author. *=An original and luminous author. †*=An author combining all the foregoing qualities.

PROPERTY OF
PRINCETON
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY.

SCIENTIFIC INTRODUCTION.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.—†*Fleury*, Préface de l'Historie Ecclésiastique, § I–XI. †**Moehler*, Introduction to Church History, complete edition, Vol. II. †*Gams*, Moehler's Letters on Church History, Vol. II., pp. 1–82. *Schleiermacher*, History of Christian Church, Berlin, 1840, pp. 1–47.

CHAPTER I.

OUTLINE AND DEFINITION OF CHURCH HISTORY.

§ 1. *Religion. Church. Christian Church.*

Religion is a condition to the existence of a church, and, as such, must be the basis of Christian church history.

Religion, in its objective sense, is a divinely appointed connection between man and his God; in its subjective sense, it is the voluntary acceptance of the conditions of this connection; that, by the acknowledgment and worship of a Supreme Being, man may become like Him and be united with Him.[1] The knowledge of a God and the necessity, thence arising, of seeking happiness in a union with Him, is natural to man,[2] but not less so is his need of living together with his fellow-men and enjoying their society. And as man prospers in the affairs of this world only when working in harmony with his kind, so, also, in his relations with God, spiritual life being preserved and religious fervor quickened and sustained by the harmony and energetic action of religious bodies.

---

[1] *Plato* speaks repeatedly of the ὁμοίωσις ϑεῷ κατὰ δυνατόν, as, for instance, Theaet., p. 176; de Republica, lib. X., p. 320, ed. H. Stephani. The word religio is, by *Lactantius*, derived from religando, *i. e.*, a binding of man to God, an obligation (Divin. Instit. IV., 28); still better, by *Cicero*, from relegendo, *i. e.*, considering attentively, and hence conscientiousness, devotion (de Natura Deorum, II., 28; de Inventione, II., 53). *St. Augustine*, *St. Thomas Aquinas*, and *Ficinus* connected both, as, nos ipsos relegendo, religantes Deo religiosi sumus, but this seems arbitrary and inadmissible. †*Stiefelhagen*, Theology of Paganism, Ratisbon, 1858, p. 41, seq.

[2] *Cicero* de Legg. I. 8: Ex tot generibus *nullum* est animal praeter hominem, quod habeat notitiam aliquam Dei, ipsisque in hominibus nulla gens est neque tam immansueta neque tam fera, quae non etiamsi ignoret qualem habere debeat, tamen habendum sciat.

Religious communities were the natural outgrowth of this idea, and partook of the nature of those who composed them. These being men, who are a union of a perishable body and an immortal soul, gave both a secular and a religious, a human and a divine phase, to religious community life.

We find associations of a cognate character among nations from which, in consequence of original sin, the light of primitive revelation had almost entirely faded away; among those who had "changed the glory of an incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of corruptible man, and of birds and four-footed beasts, and of creeping things,"[1] and thus fell into *Polytheism* and *Pantheism*.

Such associations, however, give but a faint idea of a church, for so closely were they bound up with the state, both as regards their internal constitution and external development, and so intimately were the political and religious interests blended, that the church became an integral part of the state, without even a separate existence or name of its own. The words used in the Old Testament, קהל יהוה Kehal Jehovah,[2] though of limited application, give an idea of a church widely differing from these, and incomparably more perfect. They designate the people of Israel as a nation set apart from others, chosen of God, dedicated to His service, and destined to enlarge their tents and receive all the nations of the world.[3]

The Septuagint translates the words from Numbers by *συναγωγὴ κυρίου*, the synagogue of the Lord, and those of Deuteronomy by *ἐκκλησία κυρίου*, the church of the Lord.

Christianity alone was capable of realizing the true idea of a church. Christ revived among men the primitive knowledge of God, and by the religion which he preached,

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[1] Rom. i. 23.

[2] Num. xx. 4; Deut. xxiii. 1.

[3] Gen. xxii. 18.

religio per eminentiam, and which created the very spirit of charity, exercised a subduing and irresistible influence on the hearts of men and brought them together into one living society. This society, according to the express will of Christ, was to be one which should possess not only an *interior* life, but should moreover have *external* relations with the world. The body, so constituted, he called, after the manner of the ancient covenant, the church, ἡ ἐκκλησία.[1] The human race, fallen from grace and degraded by sin, was now to have the religion of Christ announced to it, enjoy the benefits of the grace merited through His passion,[2] and possess in Him, to the end of time, an abiding teacher, priest, and king. Jesus Christ, the Son of God, made provision and gave instructions for the carrying out of this design. Hence, shortly after His glorious ascension, a religious society sprung into existence, the members of which being united under one head, Christ, professed the same faith, participated in the same sacraments, and were governed by the divinely inspired apostles, with Peter at their head. This office is still continued by their lawful successors the Popes and bishops of the Church.

Such is the *Church*[3] which was established as a means of teaching and saving mankind, as the kingdom of Christ on earth, and which, true to the promises of her divine Founder, has realized, amid unceasing conflict and countless vicissitudes, the eternal idea of Christianity, namely, the sanctification and union, through Christ and in the Holy Ghost, of all mankind with God.

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[1] Matt. xvi. 18.

[2] John i. 17.

[3] So called from its being a place of meeting. It may be derived from the Greek *τὸ κυριακὸν* sc. *οἰκεῖον*, or *κυριακὴ* sc. *οἰκία*. For example, the Emperor Maximinus (Euseb. h. e. IX, 10) calls the house where the Christians met *τὰ κυριακὰ οἰκεῖα*, and Eusebius, omitting the substantive, uses the adjective *κυριακά*, just as we use the word "kirche," "kirk," or church. The Goths, who received their notions of Christianity from the Greeks, adopted also their nomenclature. "Kyrch" originally designated both a number of Christian communities and the place or building in which they assembled. We meet analogous words in all Germanic dialects, as the Swedish *kyrka*, the Danish *kyrke*, and the English *church;* and also in the Sclavonic, a people converted by the Greeks, as the Polish *cerkiew*, the Russian *zerkow*, and the Bohemian *zyrkew*. The *Latin nations* preferred the substantive designation ἐκκλησία, ecclesia, to the adjective *κυριακή*, dominica; French, l'église; Spanish, la iglesia; Italian, la chiesa. [Transl. Add.—*Professor H. Leo* maintains that

§ 2. *The True Church. Sects.*

Von Drey, Apologetics, Vol. III. 313, et seq. †*Dieringer*, Dogmatics, 583, et seq., 5 ed.

If it was the intention of the Son of God that, upon His incarnation, the intellectual and moral differences of the ancient world should cease, and that the divine and therefore unchangeable doctrine[1] preached by Him, should be kept pure from taint of error through coming generations, then was it necessary that He should make provision against heretical opinions and false interpretations, else He would be wanting in the prudence which He counseled in the parable of the building of the tower.[2] It was, then, essential, if the Church would fulfill her mission as a divine institution, that she should possess some unerring and acknowledged authority for the definition of primitive saving doctrine. This office of teacher, whose declarations are infallible because divinely directed, was instituted by Christ himself, when He made the Church the pillar and ground of truth,[3] and thus gave her this means of declaring with absolute certainty who are and who are not of her fold.[4]

Whenever it happened that the unity of doctrine and harmony of belief existing in the Church of God were violated, a corresponding separation of some of her members, a *heresy*, (*αἵρεσις*), took place. Material, as well as formal heretics, followers as well as leaders, were always excluded by the

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this word is of Celtic origin, viz., from *cyrch* and *cylch*, a place of meeting, and that it was brought to Germany by English (Irish?) missionaries. Others derive it from *curia*, etc. *Conf. Loebbe*, de origine vocis Kirche. Altenburg, 1855: J. Grimm, German Grammar, 3 ed. The scriptural designation of the church is *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, τοῦ θεοῦ, Χριστοῦ*, and also ἐκκλησία.

[1] Matt. xxiv. 35; Hebr. xiii, 8.

[2] Luke, xiv. 28.

[3] 1 Tim. iii. 15.

[4] *Οἱ ἔξω*, 1 Cor. v. 12, 13; 1 John ii. 19.

Church from her fold, as gangrened members are amputated, lest the poison infect the whole body. Whenever, on the other hand, the Church's constitution and discipline were misunderstood and misinterpreted, the bond of charity, uniting all her members, was sundered, *schism* (*σχίσμα*) arose, and its authors and supporters were called schismatics.[1]

These grave offenses should not be confounded either with the theological controversies (*dissidia theologica*) which have grown out of the various theories of different schools in theological science, without affecting its substance, or with the strange, and sometimes dangerous views of individuals (*theologumena*), concerning which the Church has not given an authoritative and final decision, but which in no way directly contradict her doctrine. Neither of these has anything in common with either heresy or schism.[2]

§ 3. *History. Church History.*

† *Goerres.* On the Foundation, Organization, and Chronological Order of Universal History. Breslau, 1830.

History, in its widest sense, includes everything that takes place in this changeable world. Every such event does not, however, properly fall within the province of history, as the term is usually understood, but only those which afford either intellectual profit or enjoyment to man. Man himself, endowed as he is with reason, viewed in his private and social relations, as an individual and a member of society, and in his religious and political character, becomes the proper subject of history. History, therefore, represents the development of the human mind, as it is manifested in the organization and public functions of the state. Considered as a science, it is a knowledge of the various facts of this development and their relations to each other; and, as an art, it is the application to current events of the lessons furnished by scientific investigation.

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[1] On the distinction between heresis and schisma, see *St. Augustine*, contra Cresconium grammatic. Donatist. lib. II., c. 3., et seq. (opp. ed. Bened. T. IX.

[2] The saying, which has been erroneously attributed to *St. Augustine*, "In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus charitas," is quite in harmony with the spirit of the Church.

These were the limits of history before the coming of Christ, when man was viewed only in his temporal, social, and political aspects. The union which then existed, of church and state, of things spiritual and things temporal, of political and religious interests, left no field for church history. This grew out of Christianity, which made the necessary distinction between Church and State. Before the coming of Christ religious history had scarcely any meaning. The aspirations and sympathies in ancient nations were centered in the state. The good of the state, "*Reipublicae salus summa lex esto*," not religion, was the source of all inspiration and activity in society. It is not uncommon, even in these days, for historians to make man the central figure in historical narrative, and everything about him subservient to the one purpose of contributing to his honor. From a Christian point of view,[1] as Moehler remarks, it is the duty of the historian, instead of attributing effects to mere human agency, to fully recognize the providence of God in the affairs of men.

History, in this sense, may be said to be a record of the development of mankind under the providential guidance of God; or, more precisely, a record of the systematic training and improvement of the human race by divinely appointed means as a preparation for the birth of Christ, that God might, through the coming of His Son, secure from man a spontaneous homage, and a worship worthy of Himself. The coming of Christ, in this view, gives a definite character to history and the periods both before and after that event, constitute its two grand divisions. This idea of history will be more striking and impressive, the more clearly it is understood that the human mind, enlightened, elevated, and purified, is alone able fully to comprehend the divine agency which was at work shaping the destinies of men both before and after the coming of Christ. "No man is able . . . to open the book, nor to look on it. Behold the lion of the tribe of Juda, the root of David hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof."[1]

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[1] Acts xvii. 28.

It is quite evident that the interposition of God in human affairs in both periods, formed a link between them—giving one an essential bearing on the other, making one the preparation for things to come, and the other its complement;[2] and further, that the current of events in either period, to be intelligently understood, must be viewed in the light of the other.

Hence, church history, in its objective sense, is an explanation of the origin and growth of the kingdom of God on earth, of its progress and spread from age to age, during both the period of preparation before Christ, and of fulfillment after; and, in particular, a statement of the foundation, nature, development, and vicissitudes of the Church of Christ, the regeneration of man and his gradual union with God through Christ in the Holy Ghost.

§ 4. *Object of Church History.*

The object of church history being to follow the fortunes and trace the progress of the kingdom of God on earth, the following heads come naturally within its sphere:

1. To state the circumstances, both favorable and unfavorable, under which the Church, by command of Christ, and after the manner of the mustard seed[3] in the Gospel, sprang into life and *spread* to the ends of the earth, and how, by the energizing power of the vital principle within her, she leavened[4] and renewed the world, and gradually came into con-

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[1] *John von Müller*, after a searching study, acknowledged the necessity of recognizing a divine providence in the history of mankind, as the only means of giving it unity. Conf. Comp. works, 8vo. ed., Vol. VIII. 246, and Vol. XVI. 138, seq. † *Gams*, End and Aim of History, Tübingen, 1800, p. 96, seq.

[2] *Στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, elementa mundi, Galat. iv. 3, 9; Coloss. ii. 8, 28, in opposition to *πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου*, Galat. iv. 4; Ephes. i. 10.

[3] Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

[4] Matt. xiii. 33.

tact with all nations,[1] to which she stood in various relations.[2]

2. To explain how a divinely constituted hierarchy in the Church, consisting of a primacy, an episcopate, a presbyterate, and a diaconate, necessarily called into existence an ecclesiastical *constitution*, which embraces the members of the whole body, assigns to each his appropriate place, and defines the rights and duties of all,[3] and how the Church adapts her discipline to the requirements of every age and country.[4]

3. To show how the church, assured that she alone was in possession of the deposit of saving and sanctifying truth, impressed the same conviction on the whole body ecclesiastic, and with special emphasis at the breaking out of heresies; and how she has built up a complete system of *theological science* whose dogmas are marked with the same characteristic.

4. To point out how the Church, by her public *worship* (*λειτουργία*), gave expression to her inner religious life, thus

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[1] *J. A. Fabricii* salutaris lux evangelii toti orbi exoriens seu notitia propagatorum christ. sacror. Hamb. 1731. 4to. † *Mamachi*, orig. et antiq. chr. Rom. 1749, lib. II. *Gratianus*, Origin and Progress of Christianity in Europe. Paris, 1766–73. 2 parts. *Blumhardt*, Essay of a General History of the Missions. Basle, 1828. 3 parts. (Incomplete.) † *Hiemer*, Introduction of Christianity among the German nations. Schaffhausen, 1857, et seqq. 6 vols. Important for Modern History of the Missions: "Lettres édifiantes et curienses des missions étrangères. Paris, 1717–77. 34 vols. Choix de lettres édifiantes, etc., précédé de tableaux géographiques, etc. 3 ed. Paris. 8 vols. (until 1808.) Continuation in the nouvelles lettres édifiantes (until 1820). These are followed by Lyons' Annales de la propagation de la foi, which have been translated into English, German, and Italian. † *Wittmann*, The Glory of the Church in her Missions since the Schism of the Sixteenth Century. Augsburg, 1841. 2 vols. † *Baron Henrion* General History of the Missions. Paris, 1846. German translation. Schaffhausen, 1845–52. 4 vols. Brought down to the sixteenth century by *Wittmann*. Augsburg, 1845. † *Hahn*, History of the Catholic Missions, from Christ to the most modern times. Cologne, 1837, et seqq. 5 vols.

[2] For *sources* and *works* upon them, see below, p. 23, note 3.

[3] Ephes. iv, 11.

[4] † *Petavius* de hierarchia ecclesiastica (Dogmata theol. T. VI.) † *L. Thomassini* vetus et nova ecclesiae disciplina circa beneficia et beneficiarios. Lucc., 1728. 3 T. f. Mogunt, 1787, et seqq. 10 T. 4to. Protestant edition by *Planck*. History of the Christian Ecclesiastical Constitution of Society. Hanover, 1803–9. 5 vols.

awakening and nourishing the piety of her children, and vindicating her divine origin and supernatural tendency.

5. To show how the Church instilled into her children her own instinctive hatred of sin, and set before them, with a view to their sanctification, the excellence of a religious and *moral life*, and in this way led them on to the vigorous maturity of the full age of Christ.[1]

6. Finally, to prove that through these influences she has shaped a *church discipline* truly educational in character, meeting all the wants of every age, and the only hope of society.

Observation. If we hold that the *church is a divine institution*, perfect in its nature, by which the salvation of man is to be secured, we must also adopt a method of viewing her process of development, different from that common among Protestants. According to the Catholic view of church history, truth exists in the visible church, is objectively known, and should grow daily more clear, make a deeper impression on men's minds, and, as time goes on, gain a fuller expression in public and private life, in politics and morals, in art and science. The Protestant view, on the contrary, asserts that truth exists objectively only in the *invisible church*, and is but imperfectly known in the visible church, because, by the light of history, we make only a more or less distant approach to it.

The denial, moreover, by Protestants, of a clergy with its various grades instituted by Christ, of celibacy, and of the excellence and prerogatives of virginity, as well as many teachings of a kindred nature, has exerted a vast influence on their method of historical exposition.

Schleiermacher was correct when he said that the essential requisite in any organic view of history, and preëminently of church history, is the *identity of first principles*, it being quite natural that, in historical research, opposite parties should each draw conclusions favorable to its own interests and views, and antagonistic to all others, on points concerning which they are at issue. The same may be said concerning the different views of morality held by the various schools of philosophy.[2]

§ 5. *Universal and Particular Church History.*

It was quite impossible that there should have existed, anterior to Christianity, any clear and connected view of universal history, or that such should have been fully grasped and realized. Polybius had some such idea in his mind, when he expressed the opinion that *particular history* (*ἡ κατὰ*

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[1] Ephes. iv. 13. Conf. Coloss. ii. 19.

[2] *Schleiermacher*, Church History, pp. 3–10.

μέρος ἱστορία) is isolated, unconnected, and without any common purpose to harmonize its parts; that *universal history* (*ἡ καθόλου ἱστορία*), on the contrary, is like an organic body (*σωματοειδής*), having an internal principle of life and unity; that though one may have a tolerable knowledge of the various peoples and nations of the earth, it does not follow that he will also have a comprehensive view of the relations of each to all the rest, and the general development of all taken together, any more than one, by considering singly and unconnectedly the parts of any work, can form a just idea of its strength and beauty: and that an intelligent view of history is obtained by combining and connecting the histories of all nations, and showing the influence of each in the common purpose of all, *συντέλεια τῶν ὅλων*. Still we look in vain through the pages of Polybius for any adequate expression of this idea.

The promise of Diodorus of Sicily was equally illusory. He proposed to connect the various events which had happened throughout the whole world, from the earliest times down to his own day, in such way that the history of the world should be that of *one great commonwealth*. Notwithstanding the rich materials placed at his disposal in the well-stored libraries of Alexandria and Rome, his attempt at best was but an effort of imagination. The cause of this is to be sought for not so much in the lack of historical knowledge among the ancients, as in the fact that the Greeks and Romans cared little for any history whatever of a general and abstract character. This characteristic is principally traceable to their religion. Polytheism made those nations harsh and exclusive in their dealings with others, and deadened all feelings of interest and sympathy when they were brought in contact with the barbarians.

Christianity, by teaching that there is but *one* God, the Father of all men, that all have come of common parentage, been redeemed by Christ, and called to a heavenly destiny, gave the fundamental idea of universal history. This idea embodied in the *Catholic* Church, and realized during her growth and progress, was expressed with wonderful clearness by St. Augustine, the great Bishop of Hippo, in his work entitled "*The City of God.*" The same line of thought was pursued by Bossuet, in the seventeenth century, in his "Discourse on Universal History."

A church whose members are so united that the evidence of this unity is everywhere revealed in her ministrations and their acts of worship, should bring this principle clearly into view in the course of her history; and hence the universal history of the church should be the history of Christianity itself.

The object, therefore, of *universal church history* is to trace the action and influence of the Church under all her various attitudes, in every age and country, and to show that her whole course is steadily directed to one definite end, (*συντέλεια τῶν ὅλων*) the honor and glory of God. For this purpose, such events are selected as have a wide scope and lasting influence.

Particular church history, on the contrary, is limited to one of the various branches of general church history; such as the spread of Christianity, the constitution of the Church, heresies, liturgy, and discipline; or takes up single countries and distinct periods: thus we have a church history of the first three centuries, of the Middle Ages, of modern times, and of Italy, France, Spain, etc.

CHAPTER II.

METHOD OF WRITING CHURCH HISTORY.

Sources of Information.—*Lœbell*, on the Different Historical Epochs and their Relations to Poetry, Mystic-epic Period, Transition Period, Herodotus and Thucydides, the Greeks and Romans, the Middle Ages, Modern Classic School, Gibbon and John von Müller. The Nineteenth Century.—*Fr. v. Raumer*, Historical Manual, 1841. *W. v. Humboldt*, The Scope of History.

§ 6. *Qualities Raising History to the Rank of a Science.*

Church history, like all history whatever, should be the result of truly scientific research, and written in clear and elegant language. The former elevates it to the dignity of a science, and the latter gives it the characteristics of an art, and allows the historian to become both æsthetical and rhetorical.[1]

Church history, besides these general qualities, should have others which are in a certain sense special to it. It should be:

1. *Critical.* What is true should be carefully sifted from what is false;[2] and facts which give a character to any period of church history should be drawn from reliable sources, with an earnest regard for truth and strict impartiality; and when facts can not be fully established, historical conjecture should be used for arriving as near the truth as possible.

2. *Religious.* A church history which is not truly Christian in spirit and tone, can not be in harmony with its subject, and will be incapable of fairly presenting the various phenomena of the kingdom of God on earth. For it requires a mind in full sympathy with Christianity to grasp and appreciate the manifold phases of Christian life.

3. *Philosophical.* It should not confine itself to the simple narration of facts, but should, moreover, show their bearing upon each other, trace their causes, and follow up their influence and consequences.

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[1] The various forms of historical writing are: 1. *Chronicle,* which like the epos in poetry, is the original form of all historic composition; 2. The *annals,* or narration of events by years; 3. The *histories of modern times*; and, 4. *Pragmatic history,* or philosophy of history, which traces the causes and effects of events.

The words of *Cicero* on this subject are remarkable: "Erat enim (antiquissimis temporibus) historia nihil aliud nisi *annalium* confectio, cujus rei memoriaeque publicae retinendae causa, ab initio rerum Romanarum usque ad P. Mucium, pontif. max., res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat litteris pontifex maximus, efferebatque in album, et proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset populo cognoscendi, ii qui etiam nunc *annales maximi* nominantur. Hanc similitudinem scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum. hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum, reliquerunt; non exornatores rerum, sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt. . . . Et post illum (Herodot.) *Thucydides* omnes dicendi artificio mea sententia facile vicit: qui ita creber est rerum frequentia, ut rerum prope numerum sententiarum numero consequatur: ita porro verbis aptus et pressus, ut nescias, utrum res oratione, an verba sententiis illustrentur." De Orat. II. 12, 13.

[2] *Cicero:* Nam quis nescit, primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde ne quid veri non audeat? ne qua suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo? ne qua simultatis? Haec scilicet fundamenta nota sunt omnibus. De Orat. II. 15.

We do not, however, wish to be understood as speaking here of that superficial philosophy of history which limits itself to natural causes, and attempts to explain facts on psychological and diplomatic principles, and which, seeing but man in his works, never rises to a higher and final cause;[1] but of a philosophy deeper and more scientific, which recognizes in the events of history the united work of both man and God, and ascribes an active part in the historical drama to Him "who hath mercy and teacheth and correcteth as a shepherd doth his flock."[2]

St. Paul refers in clear and simple language to the intimate relation existing between things human and divine, in the following passage: "In Him we live and move, and have our being."[3]

Only such a philosophy as this can be in complete harmony with the principles and teachings of Christianity, or give a clear, intelligible, and dignified idea of its history. It represents man to us, not as the sport of *chance* and fortune, or the victim of fate and *destiny*, such as we meet him in the gloomy and comfortless pages of Herodotus, Cæsar, Tacitus, and others among the ancients, but as a free agent, directed but not constrained by God, and working out, in willing obedience to this divine guidance, his appointed end.

The more clearly the nature and aim of the Church of Christ are understood, the more fully will we recognize in her growth among men a systematic development of conduct at once human and divine, which seems to point the way to the final fulfillment of God's purposes on mankind.[4]

God himself,[5] or some one inspired by Him, can alone give a clear and satisfactory solution of all the questions involved in the philosophy of church history.

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[1] The words of *Cicero* are apposite: "Et cum de eventu dicatur, ut causae explicentur omnes vel casus, vel sapientiae, vel temeritatis hominumque ipsorum non solum res gestae, sed etiam qui fama ac nomine excellant, de cujusque vita atque natura." Ibid. *Tacitus* also says in Hist. I. 4: "Ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio etiam causaeque noscantur." See *Staudenmaier*, Genius of Revelation, Giessen, 1837, p. 55–113.

[2] Ecclus. xviii. 13.

[3] Acts xvii. 28.

[4] †*Dieringer*, System der göttlichen Thaten des Christenthums, 2 ed., Mentz, 1857.

[5] Apoc. v. 3–5.

This problem would be completely and satisfactorily solved were church history a clear and convincing record of a race of men, who, by a law of their being, increased in wisdom, knowledge, and virtue, as they grew in years.

If to these requirements be added a sense of responsibility, sympathy with the work, a clear knowledge of theology, and a style in keeping with the dignity of the subject, then has church history all the conditions of a science, and is justly entitled to the name.

§ 7. *Impartiality of the Church Historian.*

It was a saying among the ancients that the historian should have neither country nor religion; and among the moderns, it is affirmed that he should be entirely free from prejudice. Neither is possible; for no one can either entirely divest himself of his religion and patriotic feelings, or escape the deep influence of a church whose teachings he imbibed in early youth. And the men who boast of being exceptionally free from prejudice are precisely those who are most completely under its control.

Historical impartiality demands no such conditions. It only requires:

1. That the historian shall not knowingly and intentionally change facts which appear to tell against his religious convictions, but shall investigate them, narrate them as he finds them, and pass judgment upon them with prudence and moderation.[1]

2. That he shall frankly acknowledge and openly confess the possible shortcomings of his church, for silence here would be more damaging than beneficial to her cause.[2]

The religious belief of the historian, moreover, should be unequivocally professed and made so to pervade his whole work, that it will give it the advantage of a definite character, so much more satisfactory and pleasing than what is vague and indistinct.

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[1] Isaias v. 20.

[2] Major erit confusio voluisse celare, cum celari nequeat. *Bernard.* Epist. 42 ad Henric. Archiep. Senon.

This should be especially prominent when there is question of heresies, because the Church in this case has clearly pointed out and rigorously defined the truth, and has consequently rejected and condemned every opinion contrary to her dogmatic definitions.

Finally, the historian should keep clear of the indifferentism of Greek and Roman schools of philosophy, which, having had neither a recognized authority nor an infallible guide, were obliged, while most violently opposed to each other, to acknowledge and recognize the equal authority and rights of all.

§ 8. *Divisions of History according to Time*

It is now generally admitted that the plan of writing history by divisions of years, centuries, and reigns is both inconvenient and defective. It seems preferable to select certain *periods* of so marked a character as to be easily distinguished both from those which precede and those which follow them. This division is both easy and natural.. Each period includes some great movement in the Church, and the events belonging to it, which being easily grouped, give it a character peculiarly its own. Nor does this interfere with the steady march of historical narration; for each period is at once the effect of the preceding and condition of the following one, and this again the total result and full expression of all.

When events so influence a period as to essentially change its character, a new period is then entered upon; when, however, the change is less complete, but still sufficiently marked to give it prominence, such is called an epoch.

All church history may be divided into the three following periods:

I. The influence of the Church upon the government and civilization of the Greco-Roman people, to the end of the seventh century.

II. The Christian Church comes in contact with the German and Sclavonic nations, her influence is predominant, the union of Church and State, to the sixteenth century.

III. The separation of Church and State, the Western Schism brought on by Luther, down to our own day.

These periods are divided into the following *epochs*, and these again into parts:

FIRST PERIOD.

First Epoch: From the foundation of the Christian Church to the reign of *Constantine the Great*, and the edict of Milan.

Part First: The foundation and government of the Church of *Christ and the Apostles.*

Part Second: From the death of St. John the Evangelist to *Constantine the Great*; the propagation of Christianity; conflicts of the Church with pagans from without and Gnostics and Anti-trinitarians from within; her external growth and development an enduring proof of her Catholicity.

Second Epoch: From the death of Constantine the Great to the Second Council of Trullo (692); age of heresies; doctrinal developments of the Church with regard to the Holy Trinity, the person of Christ, and grace; the constitution of the Church, and her form of worship; the early Fathers and writers of the Church; monasticism; the complete victory of Christianity over the paganism of the Roman Empire; the Church threatened by Islamism.

SECOND PERIOD.[1]

First Epoch: From the establishment of the Christian Church among the Germans to *Gregory VII.* (1073); increasing harmony between Church and State.

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[1] This important division suggested by *Neander*, is the one adopted by *Hase* in his Church History of the Germans, a treatise quite distinct from his Church History of the Greco-Roman Empire. *Möhler* insisists still more strongly upon this division (Works, Vol. II. 276–281). To present under the same head the church history of the Germans and the great doctrinal controversy among the Greeks, would prove a source of great confusion. It will be sufficient to mention, as occasion offers, the contemporary events of importance.

Part First: To the death of *Charlemagne* (814); victory of the Catholic Church over German paganism and Arianism; foundation and growth of the spiritual and temporal power of the head of the Roman Catholic Church.

Part Second: The Roman Catholic Church from the death of Charlemagne to *Gregory VII.* (1073); flourishing condition of the church in the Frankish Empire; her decline; efforts to prevent it; separation of the Greek from the Roman Catholic Church.

Second Epoch: From Gregory VII. to the first indication of the approaching Western Schism; full development of mediæval influences in the Church.

Part First: From Gregory VII. to the death of *Boniface VIII.* (1303); the flourishing period of the Middle Ages; the Popes and their influence throughout the world; the Crusades; chivalry; monastic orders; scholastism; mysticism; Gothic cathedrals; sects; repeated attempts to re-unite the Greek Church with the Roman.

Part Second: From the death of Boniface VIII. to the *Western Schism;* decline of the temporal power and spiritual authority of the Popes after their residence at Avignon (1305); simultaneous decline of religious life in the Church; revival of paganism; multiplication and threatening attitude of the sects; the councils of Pisa, Constance, Basle, Ferrara, Florence, and Lateran but partially realize their attempted reforms.

THIRD PERIOD.

First Epoch: From the beginning of the Western Schism by *Luther*, to the political recognition by the treaty of Westphalia (1648) of the various Protestant sects that had separated from the Church; political and religious wars; discussions between Catholics and Protestants on the hierarchy, grace, the sacraments, and Christian anthropology; true reformation of the Catholic Church at the Council of Trent.

Second Epoch: From the peace of Westphalia to modern times; recognition of Protestantism by the laws of the Empire; its development; a conflict ensues between the conservative principles of the Church and false political and scientific theories, whose tendency was to bring both the Church and Protestant sects under the control of the State.

I. There was a comparative lull during the first part of this epoch, distinguished by a despicable pretense of enlightenment and a growing indifferentism, down to 1789.

II. The Catholic Church in recent times asserts with greater clearness the doctrines in which she differs from Protestantism. New zeal, fresh vigor, and a deeper scientific spirit penetrates her whole system, and their effect is to inspire a reverential love for the Church and admiration of her teachings. The constantly increasing rationalism of Protestantism, on the contrary, has tended to subvert the fundamental dogma of Christianity, the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, has loosened the bonds of social life, and inspired a dislike for the Church. Extraordinary events during the disturbed pontificate of Pius IX.

§ 9. *Division of Church History according to Subject-matter.*

The method pursued in this division consists in pointing out the various phases of church history, and in tracing the internal and external workings of the Church as seen in the *propagation* of *Christianity*, in the conflicts carried on against the hostile powers of the world, in the formation of the *Church's constitution*, and the growth of a definite system of *ecclesiastical doctrine*, *public worship*, and *discipline*, and in the development of a religiously moral life. These, as we have pointed out (§ 4), form the elements of the history of the Church, both in her internal and external aspects.

Should the history of the periods indicated above be written according to the *synchronistic* method, in the order of events as they occurred year by year, subjects of a very different character would necessarily come up simultaneously for treatment, and interfere with a full and clear statement of any one in particular; while, on the other hand, should one subject be followed up singly through a whole period, the result would indeed be a general and compendious view of it, but the influence of contemporary history would be lost sight of, and a comprehensive idea of the whole period impossible.

The division of church history according to the synthetic method is not altogether novel, and although the various phenomena of the life of the Church are more clearly understood when considered in connection with the age in which they occurred, they are, however, the effect of circumstances of a nature kindred to their own, rather than of the epoch to which they chronologically belong.

Though a perfect synchronism in history is something ideal, it should be the aim of the historian to make as near an approach to it as possible. This, it seems, is most satisfactorily accomplished by dividing church history, as has been done above, into periods, these into epochs, and these again into parts, and by so far as possible keeping in view the influence of contemporaneous events, while treating its various branches and subjects. It is, however, highly impracticable to follow any one division of subject-matter uniformly throughout all the periods, as has been done by Dannenmayer, Ruttenstock, and others.

Historical narration is a sort of historical painting, and, after the manner of painting, should bring to the foreground whatever most engaged the attention and called forth the energies and activity of the great minds of any age, and had the most marked and lasting influence upon contemporaneous events; while affairs of lesser moment should be grouped according to their importance.*

It may be remarked that some have attempted to limit the scope of church history to subjects bearing on the propagation of Christianity and the constitution of the church.

There are, indeed, works in abundance treating in detail the various phases of the life of the Church. Thus, in doctrinal subjects we have histories of *her-*

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*The difficulty of properly arranging facts in historical narrative is thus stated by *Schroeckh:* "There still remains a very important and, in my opinion, a very difficult question: What order should be observed in the narration of the facts of church history? What method should be followed in order to give the reader a clear idea of the different views under which a subject may be presented?" Church History, Vol. I. 392, 2 ed.

esies and *dogmas*,[1] while the numerous works on Christian *antiquities* and *ecclesiastical archæology* treat of the Church's constitution, public worship, and discipline.[2]

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[1] In early times, strictly doctrinal subjects were treated in the history of heresies. Among the Greeks, *Irenaeus*; *ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμοι γνώσεως*, lib. V. adv. Haereses (*Origenes* or *Hippolytus*); *φιλοσοφούμενα ἢ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος*, refutatio omnium haeresium e cod. Parisino nunc primum edita, Emm. *Miller*, Oxon. 1851, ed. *Dunker* et *Schneidewin*, Gotting. 1856. *Epiphanius*, Bp. of Constantia (Salamis) in Cyprus (†403), *πανάριον* seu adversus LXXX. haereses libb. III. (opp. ed. *Petavius* Paris, 1622; Colon. 1682, ed. *Oehler*, Berolin, 1859, sq. ed. *Dindorf*, Lips. 1860). *Theodoret*, Bp. of Cyrus (†457 or 58), *αἱρετικῆς κακομυθίας ἐπιτομή*, haereticarum fabularum compendium (opp. ed. *Jac. Sirmond* fol. ed. Schulze T. IV.); *Joan. Damasceni* († after 754) de haeresib. lib. graece et latine (*Cotelerii* monum. eccl. gr. T. I.) Among the Latins, *Philastrius*, Bp. of Brescia († about 387), de haeresib. (opp. Brix. 1738 fol max. Bibl. T. IV. *Galland.* Bibl. T. VII.), and *St. Augustine*, Bp. of Hippo († 430), de haer. conf. *Cozza*, commentarius historico-dogmaticus in lib. St. Aug. de haer. Romae, 1707. From the Middle Ages, *Plessis d'Argentré*, collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus saec. XII. to 1632. Paris, 1728, 3 T. f. This department was treated as a history of dogmas by † *Dion. Petavius*, S. J., Opus de theologicis dogmatibus. Paris, 1644, sq. 6 T. f. ed. Th. Alethinus (Clericus). Antw. 1700, 6 T. f. In melior. ordin. redactum et locupletatum by F. A. Zaccaria. Ven. 1757, 6 T. f. ed. *Passaglia* et *Schrader*. Rom. 1857, sq. † *Thomassini*, dog. theol. Paris, 1684, sq. 3 T. f. Ven. 1757, 7 T. † *Klee*, Text-book of the History of Dogmas. Mentz, 1837, sq. 2 vols. † *Ginoulhiac*, Histoire du dogme chrétien dans les trois premiers siècles de l'église. Paris, 1852. † *Schwane*, History of Dogmas. Münster, 1862–66. 2 vols. *Zobl*, Innsbruck, 1865. *Fr. Walch*, Complete History of Heresies. Leipsig, 1762, sq. 11 vols. (down to the Iconoclasts). *Münsher*, Manual of a History of Dogmas (to 604). Marburg, 1797, sq. 4 vols. 3 ed. Vols. I–III. 1817, sq. Abridgment of the History of Dogmas, by the *same* (1811–19); with authentic documentary proofs by *Dan. of Cologne*. Cassel, 1832, sq. Continued by *Neudecker*, 1838, 2d div. *Engelhardt*, History of Dogmas. Neust. 1839. 2 vols. Abridgments of the History of Dogmas, by *Augusti* (1805–11–20), 1835. *Baumgarten-Crusius*, Jena, 1832, 2 div. *Meier*, Giessen, 1840. *Hagenbach:* Lps. 1840. 4 ed. 1857. *Baur*, Stuttg. 1847. Lectures by the *same*, on the History of Christian Dogmas. Tüb. 1865. *Marheinecke*, Brl. 1849. *Noack*, Erlang, 1853. *Gieseler*, Bonn. 1855. *Neander*, Berlin, 1856, sq. 2 vols. *Beck*, History of Dogmas to our own day. 2 ed. Tübing, 1864. *Nitzsch*, Berlin, 1870.

[2] *F. Th. Mamachi*, originum et antiquitat. christian., libb. XX., of which only four have appeared. Rom. 1749, sq. 5 v. ed. *Pet. Matranga*, Rom. 1841–51. 6 T. † *Selvaggii*, antiquit. chr. institution. libb. III. Neap. 1722, sq. 6 vols. Mogunt, 1787, sq. 6 vols. † *Pelliccia*, de chris. eccles. primae, med. et noviss. aetatis politia, lib. VI. (Neap. 1777. Ven. 1782, 3 T.) edd. *Ritter* et *Braun*. Colon. 1829–38. 3 T. Treated in German by †*Binterim*, the Principal Memoirs of the Catholic Church. Mentz, 1825, sq. 7 parts in 17 vols. † *Stau-*

Though it may be very desirable to have separate works on such subjects, they should not, on this account, be ignored in a treatise on the general history of the Church, as they are sometimes of vital interest in questions of greatest moment. It would be quite impossible to obtain a true idea of the Church's condition, during any period, should important events belonging to it be passed over. The treatment of these subjects as special branches of church history will be different both in extent and method from what it necessarily is in any general history, where they are mentioned only when and in so far as they have a bearing on the whole course of events, and receive only the consideration to which by their importance they are entitled.

CHAPTER III.

SOURCES. PREPARATORY AND AUXILIARY SCIENCE. VALUE AND UTILITY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

Sources of Information.—*Sagitarii,* Introductio in Hist. Eccl., Jenae, 1644 (Curante J. A. Schmidio, Jenae, 1718, 4). *Walch,* First Principles of the Preparatory Knowledge and the Study of Books necessary for the Church History of the New Testament, Giessen, 1793, 3 ed. *Potthast,* Bibl. Historica Medii Aevi (Dictionary of Historical Works of Mediaeval Times), from 475 to 1500, Berlin, 1862; Supplement to the same, ibid. 1868.

§ 10. *Sources of Church History.*

Fr. Walch, Critical Statement of the Sources of Church History, Leipzig, 1770.

The sources of information in church history are of either *divine* or *human* origin, and the latter are either *direct* or *indirect.*

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denmaier, Genius of Christianity. Mentz, 1835. 7 ed. 1866. †*Krull,* Christian Archæology. Ratisb. 1853, sq. †*Schmid,* Liturgics. Passau, 1832, sq. in several editions. †*Lüft,* Liturgics. Mentz, 1844, sq. (incomplete). †*Fluck* Cath. Liturgics. Ratisbon, 1853, sq. *J. Bingham,* Origines ecclesiasticae. The Antiquities of the Christian Church. London, 1870. 2 vols. *The same:* Origines seu antiquitates eccles. ex anglic. lat. redditae a Grieshofio, Hal. (1724, sq.) 1752, sq. XI. T. 4to. *Augusti,* Memorabilia from Christian Archæol. Lpz. 1817, sq. 12 vols. Manual of Chris. Archæol. et abridgment of memor. by the *same.* Lpz. 1836, sq. 3 vols. *Rheinwald,* Eccl. Archæol. Berlin, 1830. *Boehmer,* Christian Ecclesiastical Archæology. Breslau, 1836. 2 vols.

The writings of the Old and New Testaments constitute the sources of divine origin.

Human testimony is said to be direct when taken from contemporary authors, eye-witnesses, or from persons living at the place where the events occurred of which they claim to be witnesses; it is indirect, when derived from sources once extant, but now for the most part lost or destroyed.

Apart from Holy Scripture, all the sources of historical information may be reduced to three: *public documents, monuments*, and the writings of *private individuals.*

Public documents are such as were either composed or recognized by some ecclesiastical or civil authority, as the *acts of the councils*,[1] the *laws of church*,[2] the *decretals* or bulls and briefs *of the Popes*,[3] *public professions of faith*,[4] *litur-*

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[1] Concilior. omn. collectio regia, Paris, 1644. 37 T. f. Sacrosancta concilia stud. *Labbei* et *Cossarti*, Paris, 1672. 18 T. in f. (T. 1 Supplem. Baluzii, Paris, 1683). *Concilior. collectio regia maxima stud. *J. Harduini*, S. J. 1715. 12 T. f. Sacrosancta concilia—curante Nic. Coleti. Ven. 1728. 23 T. f. c. Supplem. *Mansi*, Luc. 1748. 6 T. f. *Sacrosanctor. concilior. nova et amplissima collectio, cur. *J. D. Mansi*, Flor. et. Ven. 1759. 31 T. f. (*Dr. Nolte*, of Paris, has commenced a still more complete collection.) Extracts and Surveys in *Cabassutii* notitia ecclesiastica historior. concilior. et canonum, Lugd. 1680, ed. VII. Ven. 1722. 1 T. f. *Barthol. Caranza*, Summa concilior., in many editions. Cyclopedia of councils, together with a compilation of the most important canons by *Alletz*, from the French by †*Disch*, Augsburg, 1843–44, 2 vols. †**Hefele*, a History of the Christian councils, Freiburg, 1855, sq. (of which 6 vols. and part 1 of vol. 7, containing the council of Constance, 1414–18, have already been published.) French Transl. Compl. English Transl. Vol. I. by Wm. R. Clark, M. A. Oxon. Edinburgh, 1871.

[2] Corpus juris canonici (first complete edition by *Chappuis*, Paris, 1499, sq. 3 T. ed. II, 1503, edd. correctores Romani, Rome, 1582. 3 T. f. and oftener). Critical edition, c. rec. *Pithoeor.*, ed. *le Pelletier*, Paris, 1687. 2 T. f. ed. *Boehmer*, Halae, 1797. 2 T. 4 ed. *Richter*, Lipsiae, 1833, 1839, 1841, sq. 2 T. in 4to. 8 ed. by Dove, 1867.

[3] Bullarium Romanum, Luxemb. 1727. 19 T. f. Bullarum amplissima collectio op. *C. Coquelines*, Romae, 1727, sq. 38 T. in f. *Appendix nunc primum edita, Taurini, 1867, sq. Magni bullarii continuatio summor. Pontificum Clementis XIII. et XIV., Pii VI. et VII., Leonis XII. et Pii VIII. (1758–1830), constitutt., literas in forma Brevis, epp., etc., collegit Andr. Advocatus, *Barbieri*, Romae, 1835, sq., continued to Gregory XVI., inclusively, 18 T. f. Still more completed in Bullarum diplomatum ac privilegiorum omnium Romanor. Pontificum *Mauritii Marocco*, St. Theol., Dr. recensio, etc., Taurini, 1857, sq. A summary statement in *Jaffé*, regesta Romanor. Pontif., Berolini, 1851(to 1198).

[4] *Walch*, Bibl. symbolica vetus ex monumentis V. priorum saeculorum max-

gics,[1] *rules of religious orders*,[2] *civil ordinances* regarding ecclesiastical affairs, and treaties between Church and State, or *concordats*.[3]

Private testimony consists of the writings of individuals without any sort of official character, but conveying valuable information concerning remarkable personages, events and religious opinions. Such are *the acts and biographies of the martyrs and confessors*,[4] *the works of*

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ime collecta, etc., Lemg. 1770. *Hahn*, Library of the symbols and rules of faith of the apostolic Catholic Church, Breslau, 1842. †*Denzinger*, Enchiridion symbolorum et definitionum quæ in rebus fidei et morum a Roman. Pontif. et concil. oecum. emanarunt. Wirceb. ed. IV. 1865.

[1] *J. A. Assemani*, Codex liturgicus eccl. universae, Romae, 1749, sq. 13 T. in 4to. *Eus. Renaudot*, liturgiarum orientalium collectio, Paris, 1716, 2 T. 4to. *Muratori*, liturgia Romana vetus, Venet. 1748. 2 T. f. *Daniel*, codex liturgicus eccl. universae in epitomen redactus, Lipsiae, 1847, sq. 4 T. *Treatises: Martène*, de antiquis eccl. ritibus. lib. III. ed. auct. Antv. 1736. 4 T. 4to. and many portions of *eccl. Archæology*.

[2] Codex regularum monast. ed. *Luc. Holstenius*, Romae, 1661. 3 T. 4to. aux. *M. Brockie*, Aug. Vind. 1759. 6 T. f. *Treatises* on the history of religious orders, by *Helyot*, ordres monastiques et militaires, Paris, 1714–19. 8 T. 4to. by *Henrion*, Histoire des ordres religieux, 8 vols. German treatise by *Fehr*, Tübing, 1845, 2 vols.

[3] Codex *Theodosian.*, ed. *Ritter*, 1737. 6 T. f. Codex *Justinianeus*, by Tribonianus, 529. Capitularium *regum Francorum* collectio ed. *Steph. Baluz.* Paris, 1677, cur. *P. de Chinia.* Paris, 1780. 2 T. f. In **Pertz*, Monumenta Germaniae T. III–IV. Collectio constitutionum imperialium, studio. *Goldasti*, Francofurti, 1713. 4 T. fol. Complete collection of all ancient and modern concordates, by *E. Muench.* Lpz. 1830. 2 vols. † *Walter*, fontes juris ecclesiastici antiqui et hodierni. Bonnae, 1861. †*Nussi*, conventiones, etc. Moguntii, 1870. Treatises on the same, by †*de Marca*, arch. Paris, dissert. de concordia sacerdotii et imperii, etc. libb. VIII. ed. stud. *Baluz.* Paris, 1633, f. ed. *H. Boehmer.* Lipsiae, 1708, f. †*Riffel*, Historical account of the Relation of Church and State in the Roman Empire (Mentz, 1836), down to the most recent times. †*Phillips*, Canon Law, vol. 3, pt. 1.

[4] *Ruinart*, acta primorum Martyrum sincera et selecta, ed. II. Amst. 1713, f. repet. *Galura*, Aug. Vind. 1802, sq. Ratisb. 1859. *Assemani*, acta st. martyrum oriental. et occidental. Romae, 1748. 2 vols. f. Acta Sanctorum, quotquot toto orbe coluntur edd. *Bollandus* aliique (Soc. Jes.). Antw. 1643–94. 53 vols. f. New edition. Paris, 1863, sq. Of which six volumes are to appear annually. Continuations of the months still wanting, October, November, and December, announced at Paris and Brussels (see de prosecutione operis Bollandini, quod Acta sanctor. inscribitur. Namur, 1838.) *Acta Sanctorum Octobris*—edd. *Vandermoere* and *Vanhecke.* Brux. 1845, sq., and have appeared already in eleven volumes up to the 26th of October. *de Ram*, les nouveaux

the holy fathers, ecclesiastical writers,[1] and *church histo-*

Bollandistes, rapport fait à la commission royale d'histoire, Brux. 1860. For the history of the Bollandists, see the *Bonn Periodical* for Philos. and Cath. Theology, number 17, page 245, sq. n. 20, page 235, sq. Extracted from the whole work, and printed separately, appeared: Praefationes, tractatus, diatribae et exergeses praeliminares atque nonnulla venerandae antiquitatis tum sacrae tum profanae monumenta a J. Bollando, etc. Nunc primum conjunctim edita et in 3 tomos distributa. Ven. 1749–51. 3 T. f. *Surius* († 1578), vitae Sanctor. (1570, sq.) Colon, 1617. 6 T. f. *Butler* (1773), the lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints. New edition. Dublin, 1838. 2 T. royal 8vo. Translated into French (1763, sq.), 1786–88, by *Godescard.* 12 T. into German (from the French) by *Ræss* and *Weis.* Mentz, 1821–27. 23 vols.

[1] Maxima bibl. vett. Patrum, Lugd. 1677, sq. 28 T. f. (with 2 vols. of indexes, comprises but less extensive works, and the Greeks only in Latin translation). Bibliotheca vett. Patrum antiquorumque scriptorum eccl. op. *Andr. Gallandii*, presbyt. congreg. orat. Ven. 1756, sq. 14 T. f. (the Greeks both in original text and translation.) Patrologia completa ed. *Migne.* Paris, 1843, sq., in 217 T. 4to. The Latins, down to Innocent III.; the Greeks, down to Photius. Paris, 1857, sq., in 104 T., and the series altera to the sixteenth century, in T. 105–162; in which, to a great extent, are contained the supplementary gleanings of *Routh*, reliquiae sacr. Oxoniae, 1814, sq. 4 T. ed. 2, 1840. *Pitra*, Spicilegium Solesmense. Paris, 1852, sq. *Angelo Mai*, Scriptorum veterum nova collectio. Romae, 1825–38. 10 T. in 4to. Spicilegium Roman. Romae, 1839–44. 10 T. Nova Patrum bibl. Romae, 1852–55. 7 T. 4to. By *Canisius*, Lectiones antiquae auxit *Basnage*, Amst. 1672. 4 T. f. By *Combefis*, Graecolatinae Patrum bibliothecae auctuarium novum. Paris, 1648. 2 T. f. *D'Achery*, Spicilegium veterum aliquot scriptor. Paris, 1655–77. 13 T. 4to. ed. *de la Barre.* Paris, 1723. 3 T. f. *Martène* and *Durand*, Amplissima collectio. Paris, 1724–33. 9 T. fol. and thesaurus novus anecdotorum. Paris, 1717. 5 T. fol. *Pez*, Thesaurus novus anecdotorum. Aug. Vind. 1721. 6 T. fol. *J. A. Fabricii*, bibl. Latina mediae et infimae aetatis. Hamb. 1734, sq. 6 T. 8vo. auxit. *Mansi*, Patav. 1754. 6 T. 4to. *Ejusdem* bibl. graeca. Hamb. 1705, sq. 14 vols. 4to. ed. nova curante *G. Ch. Harless.* Hamb. 1790–1809. 12 T. 4to. †*J. S. Assemani*, bibliotheca orientalis. Romae, 1719, sq. 4 T. f. Add to these the treatises on the history of Christian Literature, by *St. Jerome* de viris illustribus, with all his continuators in *J. A. Fabricii* bibliotheca ecclesiastica. Hamb. 1718, f. By *Ellies du Pin*, Bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques (Paris, 1686, sq. 47 T. 8vo.) Amst. 1690, sq. 19 T. 4to. and oftener. By the *same:* Bibliothèque des auteurs séparés de la communion de l'église romaine du 16 et 17 siècle. Paris, 1718, sq. 3 T. conf. †*Richard Simon*, Critique de la bibl. de M. du Pin. Paris, 1730. 4 T. *Cave*, Scriptorum ecclesiasticor. hist. litteraria (Lond. 1688) ed. 3. Oxon. 1740, sq. 2 T. f. *Remy Ceillier*, Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques, etc. Paris, 1729–63. 24 vols. in 4to. (down to the thirteenth century), ed. 2, Paris, 1860, sq. 15 T., enlarged, but not sufficiently corrected. *Casim. Oudinus*, Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis illorumque scriptis. Lipsiae, 1722. 3 vols. f. (down to 1460.) *Tillemont*, Mémoires, etc. (see further down,

rians,[1] to which may be added the writings of the Pagans who rose up against the Church.

Monuments consist chiefly of *churches*,[2] *inscriptions*,[3] *paintings*,[4] and *coins*.[5]

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§ 19.) Histoire littéraire de la France, par des relig. Bénédictins de St. Maur. Paris, 1733. 20 T. 4to. †*Busse*, Sketch of Christian Literature (down to the fifteenth century). Münster, 1829. 2 parts. †**Moehler*, Patrology, or History of Christian Literature. 1 vol. Edited by *Reithmayr*. Ratisb. 1840. †**Fessler*, Institutiones Patrologiae. Oenip. 1850–52. 2 T. (down to 604.) *Alzog*, Abridgment of Patrology. 1 vol. Freiburg (1866), 1869. Transl. into French. (Tr.)

[1] See chap. IV. of this introduction.

[2] *Hospiniani* libb. V. de templis. Tig. 1603 f. †*Kreuser*, Christian Church Architecture, Bonn, 1856. 2 vols. †**Hubsch*, The Ancient Christian churches. Carlsruhe, 1858, seq. 63 plates, and explanatory text. *Dr. Wm. Lübke*, Hist. of Architecture. 2 ed. Cologne, 1858. (The last two authors added by translator.)

[3] *Apianus* et *Amantius*, Inscr. ss. vetustatis. Ingolst. 1534. (Tr.) *Gruteri* thesaurus inscriptionum, cura Graevii, Amst. 1707. 2 T. *Reinesius* syntagma inscript. Lips. 1682. *Fleetwood*, Inscr. ant. Sylloge. Lond. 1691. **Fabretti*, Inscr. ant. explic. Rom. 1699. †*Muratori*, novus thesaurus vett. inscription. Mediol. 1739 sq. 4 vols. in f. **Boissieu*, Inscr. antiq. de Lyon, Lyons, 1846–54. **Gazzera*, Inscr. christ. antiche del Piemonte. Torino, 1849. *Le Blant*, Inscr. chrét de la Gaule. 2 vols. Paris, 1855–65. (Tr.) *Sebastian Donati* supplementa, Lucc. 1764. †*de' Rossi*, inscriptiones christianae (17,000) Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores. Rom. 1857–61. The *same*, Roma sotterranea: *Boeckh*, corpus inscriptionum graec. Berol. 1828–59. †*Zell*, Manual of Roman Epigraphics, Heidelberg, 1850 sq. 2 vols. Furthermore, added by the transl.: Corpus inscriptionum latinarum (20,000), edited by the Royal Academy of Science at Berlin. So far three parts have appeared, viz: 1st part, by *Ritsche* and *Mommsen*, 1863, containing the inscriptions until Caesar's death; 2d part, by *Huebner*, 1868, containing Spanish inscriptions; 3d part, by *Zangermeister*, 1870, containing the mural inscriptions of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae. Inscriptiones regni Neapolis, by *Mommsen*. Particular collection, Berlin.

[4] *J. Ciampini*, vett. monumenta, Rom. 1747. 3 T. f. *Jacutii* christian. antiquitatum specimina, Rom. 1752. 4. On the historical development of the pictorial art of the middle ages: *Seroux d'Agincourt*, histoire de l'art par les monuments. Paris et Strasbg. 1823. New ed. with German text, Berlin, 1840. And (as stated by the transl.) with Italian text, Mantua, 1841, 7 vols. in fol. max. (Tr.) *Kugler*, manual of the hist. of art, 3 ed., Stuttg. 1856. 4 ed. 1871, with atlas by *Caspar* and *Guhl*, Stuttg. 1845–56. *L. Perret*, Catacombes de Rome. Paris, 1852–53. 6 vols. fol. max. (Tr.) *Rio*, de l'art chrétien. 6 vols. Paris et Fribourg, 1861–70. (Tr.)

[5] *F. J. Eckhel*, doctrina nummor. vett. Vienna, 1792 sq. 8 vols. 4to. *Cohen*, description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire Romain. Paris, 1859 sq. *Sabatier*, Descr. générale des monnaies byzantines. 2 vols. Paris, 1862. *Lenormant*, Mélanges d'archéol. tom. III. Par. s. a. *Olearius*, Prodr. hagiol. numism. cf. bibl. scr. eccl. Jen. 1711. (Tr.)

Legends and *popular traditions*[1] may be finally mentioned as sources of information, of which the historian may make a legitimate use.

§ 11. *Criticism and Use of Sources.*

Sources of Information.—*Honoré* de *St. Marie*, réflexions sur les règles et sur l'usage de la critique, Paris, 1713, 1 vol. f. lat. serm. 3 vols. 4to. † *Mabillon*, tractatus de stud. monast. P. II. c. 8. *Danz*, de Eusebio Caesar. etc. § 7, pp. 13, seq. † *Fessler*, de arte critica (institutiones Patrologiae, T. I. pp. 65–87). Conf. *Tubingen Quarterly*, 1842, pp. 437–442.

As the truth of facts depends entirely upon the trustworthiness of the sources, it becomes a matter of the utmost importance that these should be examined with care and used with prudence. For this purpose judicious criticism must be employed in sifting the following questions:

1. Are the writings attributed to each author authentic in every particular? Are they in no part supposititious or interpolated? Can their *authenticity* and *integrity* be proved by intrinsic and extrinsic arguments?

2. Had the writer the advantages of position which would enable him to become either an ocular or an auricular witness? Was he qualified by education to give intelligent testimony of the facts he narrated? Was he sufficiently free from prejudice to guarantee the veracity of his narration?

Should an author possess all these requisites, we may still hesitate to put implicit trust in all he says, for it is quite possible that, while wishing to be fair, he may be blinded by prejudice, which will give a character of partiality to his writings.

When it is impossible to fully establish the authenticity and integrity of writings, and the veracity of their authors, it is necessary to assign the probable date and circumstances of their origin, and to make only such use of them as the investigation will warrant. If, however, it is evident that any writings are genuine, it is simply an arrogant assumption on the part of the critic, when he tries, by *a priori* reasoning, to prove the possibility or impossibility of what they contain. This would be equivalent to the rejection of an established fact.

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[1] On the importance for history of legendary lore and popular tales: *Hist. polit. periodical*, vol. 1, p. 389 sq., and *Illgen*, hist. theol. treatise, vol. 3, p. 140 sq. *Wiseman*, truth in legends and fables. *Huttler*, Cath. Studies, n. 2.

§ 12. *Preparatory and Auxiliary Sciences necessary to C. H.*

A knowledge of the following subjects is necessary for an intelligent criticism and a proper use of the sources:

1. Of the languages in which they are written. This requires an acquaintance not only with the ancient classical languages, but also with *ecclesiastical philology*,[1] in order that the literature of the church and its idioms may be understood.

2. Of *ancient documents*,[2] and skill in deciphering and reading their characters and determining their ages.

3. Of *ecclesiastical geography*,[3] which renders one familiar with the places where the events happened.

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[1] *Suiceri* thesaurus eccles. e patribus Graec. Amst. 1728. 2 Tom. f. Spec. Supplem. in Suiceri thesaur. by *Nothnagel*, 1821. *Dufresne du Cange*, glossarium mediae et infimae graecitatis. Lugd. 1688. 2 T. in fol. *Ejusdem* glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis. Paris, 1733 sq. 6 T. f. ed. locupletior, opera et stud. monach. St. *Benedicti*. Par. 1733. 6 T. f. Venet. 1737; 6 parts in 3 vols. f. Basle, 1762 (Tr.); new ed. by *Henschel*. Paris, 1840–50. 7 vols. in 4to. (*Adelung*) glossarium manuale ad script. med. et inf. latinitatis. Halae, 1772. 6 T. Also, the glossaries on the Romanic and Germanic languages.

[2] *Mabillon*, de re diplomatica ed. II., Paris, 1709 f.; Nouveau traité de diplomatique par deux religieux Bénédictins de la congrégation de St. Maur (*Toustain* et *Tassin*). Paris, 1750 sq., 6 vols. in 4to. *B. de Montfaucon*, palaeographia graeca. Paris, 1708. *Schoenemann*, complete system of general diplomatics. Hamb. 1801, 2 pts. *Wailly*, éléments de palaeographie. Paris, 1838. 2 T. f. *Wattenbach*, a guide to Greek Paleography, Lpsg. 1867; the same, a guide to Latin Paleography, Lps. 1869. *Sickel*, History of Records. Vienna, 1869, 2 vols.

[3] †*Emman. Schelstrate*, antiquitates ecclesiar. illustr. in Tom. II. *Miraeus*, notitia episcopatuum orbis christiani. Antv. 1613 f. †*Carolus a St. Paulo*, geographia sacra cura Clerici. Amst. 1703 f. *Nic. Sansonis* atlas antiquus sacer et profanus, collectus ex. tabb. geog.; emend. *Clericus*. Amst. 1705 f. *Spanhemii* geographia sacra et eccles. (Opp. Lugd. 1701. 1 T. f.) †*Le Quien*, ordin. Praedic. presb., Oriens christianus, quo exhibentur ecclesiae, patriarchae, etc. totius Orientis. cum. tabb. geogr. Paris, 1740. 3 Tom. in f. *Bingham*, origines ecclesiasticae; or, the Antiquities of the Christian Church. libb. IX. *Staeudlin*,

4. And, finally, of *chronology*,[1] which determines their dates. The last two sciences, because of their paramount importance, have been called the torches of history.

The sciences, which it is important should be known preparatory to the study of church history, are:

1. The *history of the different religions*.[2] These, accord-

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eccl. geography and statistics. Tübing. 1804. 2 vols. *Wiggers*, eccl. statistics, or Survey of the Universal Christian Church, in its actual internal and external condition. Hamb. 1841 sq. 2 vols. †* *Carolus a St. Aloysio*, Statistical Annals of the Church; or, the present condition of the Universal Cath. World. Ratisb. 1860 sq. *Jacob Neher*, eccl. geography and statistics. Ratisbon, 1864–68. 3 vols. (Tr.) * *Wiltsch*, Atlas sacer s. ecclesiasticus, down to the 16th century; five large music folio sheets, with several secondary maps. Gothae, 1842. By *same*, Manual of Ecclesiastical Geography, and Statistics. Berlin, 1846. 2 vols. *Dufour*, twenty-four geogr. maps to Rohrbacher's Univ. Ch. H. Paris, 1870. (Tr.) For political geography, see *Spruner*, Historic Geogr. Atlas, Gotha, 1840 sq., and *Wedel*, hist. geog. manual Atlas, Berlin, 1843 sq. * *Gams*, Series Episcoporum. Ratisbon, 1873. 4to. (Tr.)

[1] *Jos. Scaligeri*, opus de emendatione temporum, Jena, 1629 f. †*Dion. Petavii* opus de doctrina temporum, Antwerp, 1703 f., and oftener. By the *same*, Rationarium temporum. Venet. 1783. 2 vols. (Tr.) L'art de vérifier les dates des faits historiques, etc., par un religieux *Bénédictin*. Paris (1750). III. ed. 1783 sq. 3 vols. fol. IV. ed. 1818–20. *Ideler*, manual of mathematical and technical Chronology. Berlin, 1825 sq. 2 vols. Compare *de' Rossi* in the introduction to his Inscriptiones Christianae. Special mention must be made of the following eras: 1. *Aera Seleucidarum* seu contractuum, October 1, 312 B. C. prevalent in the East, and still the eccl. era of the Syrian Christians. 2. *Aera Hispanica*, 716 post Urbem conditam 38 years B. C., abolished in Spain in the 14th cent.; in Portugal only 1415. 3. *Aera Diocletiana* seu Martyrum, from the 25th of August, 284 A. D., used in the Christian Roman Empire, and still among the Kopts. 4. *Cyclus indictionum*, a cycle of fifteen years, since the 1st of September, 312; by the Germans called "Roemerzinszahl." 5. *Aera Constantinopolitana*, dating from the creation of the world, September 1, 5508 B. C.; abolished among the Greeks since the Trullan Synod (692), and among the Russians since 1700. 6. *Aera Dionysiana*, seu Christiana, since the 6th century. Dionysius (Exiguus) says of it, ep. 1: Quia vero s. Cyrillus I. Cyclum ab anno Diocletiani 153, coepit et ultimum in 247, terminavit, nos ab 248 anno ejusdem tyranni potius quam principis inchoantes noluimus circulis nostris (paschalibus) memoriam impii et persecutoris innectere, sed magis elegimus *ab incarnatione Domini* nostri J. Chr. annorum tempora praenotare, quatenus exordium spei nostrae notius nobis existeret, et causa reparationis humanae, i. e. passio Redemptoris nostri evidentius eluceret. Conf. *Piper*, eccl. era, Berlin, 1841, 4to, and *Roeckerath*, biblical chronology, Münster, 1865. * *Weidenbach*, Calend. med. aev. Ratisb. 1855.

[2] † *Döllinger*, the Jew and the Gentile. Ratisb. 1867. †*Sepp*, Paganism and its significance for Christianity. Ratisb. 1853. 3 vols. †*Stiefelhagen*, Theology of Paganism. Ratisb. 1858.

ing to their nature and character, contributed more or less to the introduction of Christianity, and their history, on this account, will serve to explain many phenomena, otherwise strange and unaccountable, which appeared in the church at a later date, such as Gnosticism, Montanism, ordeals, Gothic architecture, etc.

Christianity, moreover, being the perfection and complete expression of all religions, will appear to greater advantage, and its truth, beauty, and beneficent influence will be more strikingly displayed when contrasted with them.

2. *The history of philosophy.*[1] Christianity was frequently obliged to combat the different systems of philosophy, some of which it entirely rejected, while it adopted others after having purified them and made them thoroughly Christian.

3. *The history of literature*,[2] which informs us of the condition and progress of science and letters, among various nations in different ages. The state of literature in any age is frequently the result of the salutary influence exercised by religion, and always reacts upon theology.

4. *Universal history*,[3] which is so intimately connected

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[1] *Tennemann*, Hist. of Philos. Lps. 1798, sq. 11 vols. 2 ed. by *Wendt*, Lps. 1829. †*Ritter*, Hist. of Philos., Hamb., 2 ed. 1837, 4 pts.; and Hist. of Christian Philos., Hamb. 1841, sq., 4 vols. *Zeller*, History of the Philosophy of the Greeks, and its gradual development. 2 ed. Tübingen, 1856-68. 3 vols. *Schwegler*, Outline of a History of Philos. 5 ed. Stuttg. 1863. †*Deutinger*, Hist of. Philos. Ratisb. 1852, sq. †*Uschold*, Outlines of the Hist. of Philos. Amberg, 1852. †*Michelis*, History of Philosophy. Braunsberg, 1865. †*Stoeckel*, Compendium of the Hist. of Philosophy. Mentz, 1870.

[2] *Wachler*, Manual of the Hist. of Literature. 3 ed. 1833. 4 vols. *Graesse*, Manual of the general history of the literature of all known nations, from the most ancient to the most modern times. Dresden, 1837 sq. In several volumes. An abridgment of it. Dresden, 1844, sq.

[3] *John v. Mueller*, twenty-four books of univ. hist., with special reference to the European nations. †**Fred. v. Schlegel*, Philos. of Hist. Vienna, 1829. 2 vols. *Herder*, Ideas for the Philos. of the History of Mankind. *Kriegk's* revised edition of *Schlosser's* Universal Hist. for the People. Frankft. 1841–55. In 18 vols. (down to 1815.) *H. Leo*, Text-book of Universal Hist. Halle, 1835–44. 6 vols., complete. †Universal Hist., with particular attention to the several churches and states, for all classes of people. Ratisb. 1840, sq. 6 vols. †*Kiesel*, Universal Hist. for higher schools and self-instruction. 2 ed. Fribourg, 1865. 3 vols. †**Caesare Cantù*, storia universale, Turin, Dalmazzo; in French, Paris, 1844, sq. (20 vols.) German free translation, by Brühl. Schaffh. 1849–69. 13 vols. 8vo. (Tr.)

with church history that it is often difficult either to understand or elucidate the one without reference to the other. This is especially the case in treating of the Middle Ages, when Church and State were so closely united that one seemed an integral part of the other.

§ 13. *Value of Church History and Utility of its Study.*

Sources of Information.—† *Valesius*, in the dedication of his edition of Eusebius to the clergy of France. *Koethe*, on the influence of the study of church history in forming the mind and shaping life. Leipsig, 1810. 4to. † *Jäger*, Method of studying church history with profit. Austrian Quart. 1867.

The value of a science depends on its own intrinsic merits. The beneficial effects it produces in society and its contributions to other sciences are the measure of its utility.

The science of which we are treating is the establishment and growth of the kingdom of God on earth, and the deliverance, restoration, and sanctification of man by divine power and grace, the grandest subject that can engage the attention of the historian, and as such possesses a corresponding value.

With Christianity, man began a new era of development and civilization. Every Christian and member of the Church looks upon her history as his own. Fully appreciating all the Church has done for the improvement of morals and the sanctification of the human race, he feels a pure and generous love for both her and her doctrines. The scandals that occur here and there in her bosom do not change the estimate which the Christian has put upon her worth. "For," as Klee has very well remarked, "all history has shown man encompassed with evil and providence in continual conflict with sin; and hence the influence of the latter will be more manifest in the church than elsewhere. This is a matter of course."

The principal motive for the study of church history is to satisfy the laudable interest which, as members of the human family, every one should take in its historical development. To this may be added others of minor importance, such as assuring one's self of the divinity of Christianity, forming a proper estimate of the present state of the Church from a study of the past, strengthening one's religious convictions, and the like.

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† *Ludwig*, Manual of Universal Hist. Ratisb. 1857–61. 2 vols. † *Weiss*, Text-book of Universal Hist. Vienna, 1859, sq. (so far 4 vols.) from 1450–1600. *E. Friedlaender*, Exposition of the Morality of Rome from the age of Augustus down to the extinction of the Antonines. 3 pts. 1864, sq. (Tr.)

Church history, as regards its utility, offers the usual advantages of any history whatever; directing one's thoughts to real practical life, in much the same way that pure sciences form the mind to habits of speculation and theory. We may recall in this connection the well-known words of Cicero: "Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vitae memoria, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis;" and the saying of Diodorus of Sicily, which is perhaps less known: "History is the servant of Providence, the priestess of truth, the mother of philosophy;" and finally, that of Titus Livius, who says: "Si haec monumenta te non movent, nulla te movebunt."

The study of church history, while furnishing a complete illustration of these words, has advantages peculiar to itself. A consideration of the influence of Christianity and the Church upon society proves the divine origin of both,[1] while the long line of grand and noble characters, whose lives add lustre to its pages, inspires the mind with sentiments of deep piety and genuine religion. In all this it is eminently superior to profane history.

"Others indeed," says *Eusebius*,[2] "who compose historical narratives, would record but victories gained in battle, the trophies of war, the warlike achievements of generals, the bravery of soldiers, sullied with blood and countless murders, for the sake of children and country and home. But our narrative embraces a line of action and conduct agreeable to God. The wars and conflicts are most pacific in character, and their ultimate aim is to give peace of soul. Our narrative would inscribe on imperishable monuments the deeds of those who have manfully contended for the truth rather than for their country, and who have preferred a life of piety to the company of dearest friends. Church history proclaims and holds in everlasting remembrance the firmness of the champions of the true religion; their fortitude in the endurance of countless trials; their triumphs and victories over Satan and invisible powers; and the glorious crown which all these have merited."

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[1] *Dieringer*, System der göttlichen Thaten, or Divine Economy. Vol. I., pp. 52–58; 2 ed., p. 36, sq.

[2] *Eusebius*, hist. eccl. lib. V., in the preface.

Church history enables the theologian, who is an intelligent representative of the Church's doctrine, to account for her growth and progress, and furnishes him with the practical knowledge of life, which, as a pastor of souls, he may employ for her welfare and for that of her members. It moreover renders him very essential service in the ecclesiastical studies, as *canon law*, *exegesis*, *dogmatic* and *moral theology*.

It should be borne in mind, when the relative importance of church history, as compared with the other branches of theology, is considered, that it sets forth with greater clearness and more comprehensively than they do, the work of redemption accomplished by Christ, and continued by the Apostles and their successors. When it is further stated that revelation is in a great measure of an historical character, it becomes plain that historical theology and church history are not merely auxiliary to the study of dogmatic or any other branch of theology, but independent sciences in themselves, and the foundation of all others.

"One ignorant of church history," observes the great Dominican, Melchior Canus, "does not merit the name of theologian." And Staudenmaier remarks that "church history gives the clearest idea of what the Catholic Church should be."[1]

Neither can the profane historian, the jurist, the statesman, the man of letters, the artist, nor the philosopher, safely neglect the study of church history. From it the profane historian may better understand the true character of those ages during which the Church exercised a dominant influence in politics; the jurist and statesman may learn that innumerable laws and decrees emanated directly from the Christian Church, and that her genius penetrated and quickened the whole political system; the man of letters will perceive that from the beginning of Christianity down, its spirit inspired the grandest of literary productions, while it furnishes every variety of subject to every province of art. It teaches the philosopher the beneficent influence of Christianity upon philosophy; introduces him to those great Christian thinkers and philosophers of the primitive ages, the Fathers of the Church, and to the school-men of the Middle Ages, and gives him an idea of the conditions and circumstances under which they lived, and their minds and characters were formed.

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[1] Loci theol. lib. XI., c. 2. (Tr.) Genius of the Cath. Church. Freiburg, 1845. Preface, vii.

It would seem that the value of church history is being daily more sensibly appreciated, and the prophetic words of *Koethe*[1] approaching their fulfillment: "It is reserved," says he, "to future ages, and, in a special sense, to institutions of learning, to give to church history its proper place in the curriculum of studies. When its nature and importance come to be fully appreciated, it will no longer be limited to *one faculty*. It is a subject of just complaint that in our day, theologians, who have special need of its services, and whose science would be nothing without it, so little appreciate its true value. They consult it only when compelled by stern necessity to do so, and derive from it only such advantage as may be gained from a study approached without love and pursued without zeal."

Many church histories have been prepared with the aim of meeting the particular wants of colleges and primary schools. Among other authors may be mentioned Barthel, Haas, Robitsch, Siemers, Engeln; also, *Fessler*,[2] of Vienna, who is remarkable for his independent treatment of the subject, and an English clergyman whose book received the approbation of Cardinal Wiseman.

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[1] *Koethe*, in l. c., p. 48.

[2] *Fessler*, Hist. of the Church of Christ, for colleges. Vienna (1857), 3 ed. 1868.

CHAPTER IV.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN CHURCH HISTORY.

Sources of Information.—*Baur*, Epochs of Church History. Tübingen, 1852. *†*Hefele*, Articles in Freiburg Cyclopedia, Vol. VI. pp. 134-158. See also **Potthast*, a history of church literature during the Middle Ages, in the Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi.

In the enumeration of works on church history, we shall follow the division of periods already given, because there is a necessary connection between events as they actually take place and their record, the latter to a certain extent being contemporaneous with the former.

FIRST PERIOD.

GREEK AND ROMAN CHURCH HISTORIANS FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO THE END OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

§ 14. *Greek Church Historians.*

It is quite impossible that any satisfactory church history could have been written until after the Church had been for some time in existence, developed her doctrines, experienced vicissitudes, witnessed changes, and in some sort made a history of her own. In the meantime, however, a feeling of religious love, in those who had lived with the divine Founder of the Church, early inspired them with the thought of committing to writing the events of His life. This is the origin of the *Four Gospels*. We are indebted to a similar motive for the *Acts of the Apostles* by St. Luke. These give a faithful picture of the first Christian communities and their organization, of religious assemblies, their growth and vicissitudes, and furnish a complete outline sketch of church history.

Hegesippus, a converted Jew, was the first who attempted to write a methodical church history. He lived, according to Eusebius, during the reign of Adrian (117-138), but St. Jerome assigns him to that of Marcus Aurelius (161-180).[1] The former calls his book, entitled *Memorabilia*, a "history of the Christian Church,"[1] but these words can hardly be taken in their literal sense, since he asserts in the preface to his own church history that he himself was the first to undertake the task, and he very justly enjoys the honor of being called the father of church history.

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[1] *Euseb.* h. e. IV. 8. *Hieronymus* de viris illustr. c. 11 and 12.

He was bishop of Cesarea, in Palestine, and among the most influential men of his age. He wrote from the materials he had got together during the preparation of his Chronicon,[2] a church history, in ten books, which he brought down to the year 324. He obtained much valuable information from the Christian library of Cesarea, founded by Origen and Pamphilus, and, by special favor of Constantine the Great, gained access to the archives of the empire, from which he collected materials with zeal and judgment. His work is a storehouse of information, documents, and extracts relating to the various branches of church history. It is, however, much to be regretted that, throughout the whole of his work, he is not sufficiently critical,[3] and notably in his account of Constantine the Great, which is rather of the nature of a panegyric than sober biography.

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[1] The full title is probably *ὑπομνήματα τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πράξεων* in fifteen (not 5) books. Only fragments in *Euseb.* h. e. II. 23; III. 16, 19, and 20; IV. 8, 22; in *Photius* cod. 232 cf. 893; compiled and commented upon in *Routh*, reliq. sacr., Vol. I., p. 187, sq. 1 ed. *Gallandii* bibl. PP. Tom. II., p. vii., p. 59. *Jess*, Hegesippus' importance as an historian of the Church. *Niedner's* Periodical for hist. Theol. 1865. No. 1.

[2] *Euseb.* chron., consisting of two books, the first of which probably bears the title, *παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία*, is a short history of the world, from the beginning to the year 324 A. D., whose principal object is *to fix dates.* The Greek text is lost. St. Jerome has left us a loose Latin translation and continuation to the year 382. The learned Armenian monk, *Aucher*, found, in 1787, at Constantinople, a complete Armenian translation of the Chron. Cf. *T. J. Scaliger*, thesaurus temporum Euseb. cum. Hieronymi latina interpretatione et suis animadversionibus. Lugd. Batav. 1606. Amst. 1658, lat. ex cod. armen. edd. *Aug. Majus* et *J. Zohrabus* Mediolan. 1818. 4to. (interpolated!) chronicon bipartitum armen. et lat. ed. *J. B. Aucher.* Ven. 1818. 2 vol. 4to. In *Migne's* ser. gr. T. 19, with the whole apparatus. See *Hefele* (Quarterly Review of Tübing. 1845, No. 2) ed. **Schoene.* Berol. 1866. 2 vol.

[3] *Danz*, de Eusebio Caesar. ejusque fide historica recte aestimanda. Jen. 1815. *Kestner*, de Eus. auctoritate et fide diplom. Goetting. 1817. *Rienstra*, de fontibus Eus., etc. Traj. ad Rhen. 1833. *Baur*, comparatur Eusebius h. e. parens cum parente historiar. Herodoto. Tüb. 1834. 4to.

Socrates, a lawyer (*Scholasticus*) of Constantinople, who lived about the middle of the fifth century, was the first continuator of the history of Eusebius. His work in seven books, from 306 to 439, is written with care, accuracy, and fullness of detail, but is on the whole too partial to the Novatians.

Hermias Sozomenus, another lawyer of Constantinople, began, about the year 446, a second continuation of Eusebius, from 324 to 423, in seven books. He is more labored and less fluent in his style than Socrates, and, though more severe in his judgments, is not equally trustworthy. It is evident, from a comparison of these two authors, that they wrote entirely independent of each other.

The assertion has often been made that it was the intention of *Theodoret*, bishop of Cyrus, in Syria, who died in 457 or 458, to complete the histories of Socrates and Sozomenus.

He makes no such assertion, but, on the contrary, intimates that his design was to complete the history of Eusebius. His work, in five books, extending from 320 to 428, is strikingly original, and though the most inconsiderable of the continuations of Eusebius, is superior to them all in merit.[1]

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[1] *Holzhausen*, de fontibus, quibus Socr. Sozom. ac Theodoret. in scribenda historia sua usi sunt. Goetting. 1825. Eusebii, Socr. Sozom. Theodor. et Evagrii item Philostorgii lectoris quae exstant historiae eccl. graece et latine ed. *Henr. Valesius* cum adnotationibus. Paris, 1659. 3 T. f. ed. II. 1677. Defective copy, Mogunt, 1672; better, Amst. 1695. Scriptores graeci cum notis Valesii ed. *G. Reading*, Cantabrig. 1720. 3 T. f. Faulty pirated impression, Taurin. 1748; in *Migne* ser. gr. Euseb. T. 20; Socrates and Sozom. T. 67; Theodoret, T. 82; Philostorgius, T. 65; Theodorus and Evagrius, T. 86. P. 1 et 2. Manual edition of Euseb., by *Zimmermann.* Frankft. 1822. 2 T. 8vo. *Heinichen*, Lps. 1827, sq. 3 T. 4to. Euseb. hist. eccl. libb. X. ad codd. manuscr. recens. ed. *Burton*, Oxon. 1838. 2 T. 8vo. ed. *Schwegler*, Tub. 1852, ed. gr. et lat. *H. Laemmer* (who compared nineteen manuscripts not before made use of). Scaphus. 1860. Transl. into German of Euseb. Ch. H., by *Stroth* (with notes). Quedlinb. 1776 and 1799. 2 vols. By *Closs.* With notes and life of Euseb. Stuttg. 1839. By *Stiglohr*, Kempten, 1870; into English by *C. F. Cruise* (afterward Bp. of Marseilles), Boston, 1836; London, 1847.—(Tr.) Socrates h. e. gr. ed. *Hussey.* Oxon. 1853. 2 T. *Theodoreti* h. e. libb. V. ed. *Gaisford.* Oxon. 1854. *Sozom.* ed. *Hussey.* Oxon. 1860. 3 T. *Evagrii*, Oxon. 1844. Cf. *Dr. Nolte's* remarks to the new edition, in the Tub. Review of 1859, p. 518, sq., 302, sq.; of 1861, p. 674, sq.

The Eunomian, *Philostorgius* of Cappadocia, wrote a church history, in twelve books, from 300 to 423, in which he attempts to show that the doctrines of Arianism were the primitive teachings of Christianity. A few fragments compiled by Valesius, from Evagrius, are all that remain of this work.

Theodore the Lector wrote at Constantinople, in the beginning of the sixth century, an abridgment of Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoret, in two books, and also a continuation of the history of Socrates, from 439 to 518, of which we have only the extracts preserved in the works of Nicephorus Callisti, a Greek historian of the fourteenth century.

Evagrius, a lawyer of Constantinople, who lived about the middle of the sixth century, wrote, in six books, a continuation of Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoret. The work is especially valuable for the information it contains relative to the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies.

Henry de Valois (Valesius), a lawyer, at the request of the French bishops, edited a complete collection of the Greek Church historians. He corrected the text, rendered difficult passages into Latin, appended explanations, and altogether did his work with considerable credit to himself.

Mention may finally be made of those who are called *Byzantine* historians, and who flourished at Constantinople during the sixth century. We shall have occasion to speak more at length of these in paragraph seventeenth.

§ 15. *Latin Church Historians.*

As the Greek historians confined themselves entirely to the history of the Eastern Church, the language of which was Greek, or made only passing allusions to the Church of the West, it was some time before writers arose in the latter to supply this deficiency; and when they did spring up, their works were not original, but for the most merely translations and compilations from the Greek. Such was the work of *Rufinus*,[1] a priest of Aquileia, who, besides the writings of

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[1] *Rufini* hist. eccl. libb. XI. ed. *P. Th. Cacciari*, Rom. 1740, sq. 2 T. in 4to. Conf. *Kimmel*, de Rufino Eusebii interprete lib. II. Ger. 1838.

Origen, translated, about the year 400, the church history of Eusebius, which he reduced to nine books, instead of ten, and added a very inaccurate history of the Arians (318–395) in two books. His contemporary, *Sulpitius Severus*,[1] a priest of Gaul, wrote a history from the beginning of the world to A. D. 400, in which he gives some attention to church history, and especially to the church of Gaul, concerning which he furnishes much valuable information. His concise and classic style has merited for him the honorable name of the Christian Sallust.

Paulus Orosius, a Spaniard of Bracara,[2] who left his country upon the invasion of it by the barbarians and fled to St. Augustine and St. Jerome, wrote, by request of the former, a history from the beginning of the world to A. D. 416, in which he endeavors to show that the disasters that befell the Roman Empire after the invasion of it by the barbarians, came upon it, not because it had embraced, but because it had rejected Christianity and persecuted the Christians.

Marcus Aurelius Cassiodorus,[3] a statesman of distinction, who had retained influence at Rome during several reigns, having been dismissed from court, retired to Vivarese, in Calabria, where he founded a monastery, and induced Epiphanius the Scholastic to translate into Latin the histories of Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoret, of which he made an abridgment known as the *Tripartite History*. He also continued the history of Socrates to the year 518, which, together with the writings of Rufinus, became the principal sources whence the writers of the Middle Ages drew their materials for ancient church history. He died at Rome about 562.

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[1] *Sulp. Severi* presb. hist. sacrae lib. II. a mundo cond.—400 p. ed. *Hieronymi de Prato*, Veronae, 1741, sq. 2 vol. 4to, et commen. *Hornii*, Lugd. Batav. 1647, ed. Dübner, Paris, 1852; also in *Galland.* bibl. T. VIII. ed. *Halm*, Vindob. 1866 (Vol. I., scriptor eccles. latin), cf. **Bernays* on the Chron. of Sulp. Sever. Berl. 1867.

[2] *P. Orosii* lib. VII. histor. adver. paganos ed. *Sigb. Havercamp.* Lugd. (1738), 1767, 4to. Confer *Gams'* C. H. of Spain, Vol. II., p. 348–411.

[3] Hist. tripart. libb. XII. (opp. ed. *T. Garetius* ord. S. Ben. Rotomag. 1679. 2 T. f. Ven. 1729.) Edited together with Rufinus, by *Beatus Rhenanus*, Basil. 1523; in *Migne*, ser lat. T. 69. The Church History of Syria was written by *John* of *Ephesus* (sixth century), and translated into German by Schoenfelder, Munich, 1861. Conf. *Land*, John of Ephes. Leyden, 1857. (Tr.)

Denys the Little, a monk of Scythia, and abbot of a monastery at Rome, who lived during the sixth century, rendered very important service to church history by introducing the chronology of the Christian era, and making a collection of the canons of the church and the decrees of the Popes from Siricius to Anastasius II. (384–496.)

SECOND PERIOD.

ROMANS—GERMANIC CHURCH HISTORIANS FROM THE EIGHTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—GREEK CHURCH HISTORIANS DURING THE SAME PERIOD.

§ 16. *Western, and Especially German Historians.*

Owing to the invasions of the barbarians, literature was, during several centuries, much neglected in the West, and, as a consequence, no attempt was made during this time to write church history. The materials, however, from which future historians might draw information, were carefully preserved in Benedictine monasteries, and multiplied by industrious copyists.

The mode of writing church history adopted by later historians, is very different from that followed by the Greeks and Romans. They did not treat church history either in a Catholic sense or as a separate science, but, on the contrary, confined themselves in their writings to their own time and country; while, owing to the intimate union of Church and State during the Middle Ages, many of them regarded it as a branch of political history. Their mode of treatment—that of the chronicle—was in exact keeping with the prevailing spirit of the age, which was one of purely speculative science, and inimical to historical and philological studies.

The works of *St. Gregory*, Bishop of Tours († 594), and of *Isidore* of Seville († 636)[1], are, according to Jornandes, the first attempts at historical writing after those of the Ostrogoths, in Italy.

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[1] *Jornandes*, de rebus Geticis (*Murat.* scriptores rerum Ital. T. I.) *Greg. Turon.* hist. eccl. Franc. libb. X. 397–591. (*Bouquet*, script. rer. Gallicarum, Tom. III. and bibl. max. PP. Lugd. T. XI.) German transl. Wurzb. 1848 sq. *Isid. Hispal.* chronicon from the creation of the world to 627 A. D.; historia de regibus Gothorum, Vandalor. et Suevorum.) opp. ed *F. Arevali*, Romae, 1797–1804. 4 T. 4to.

Venerable Bede († 735),[1] an English monk, greatly contributed to the progress of science among the Germans, and wrote, besides the chronicle of the Six Ages of the World, a valuable history of the English church down to the year 731.

Paul Warnefried († 799), called Paulus Diaconus, a Lombard, private secretary to Desiderius, the last of the Lombard kings, and who, at a later date, resided at the court of Charlemagne, wrote a political and church history of his nation.

Haymo,[2] Bishop of Halberstadt and pupil of Alcuin, made an abridgment of the Latin translation of Eusebius by Rufinus, and appended many remarks of his own, which he is at pains to distinguish from the text († 853).

Anastasius († 886),[3] abbot and librarian at Rome, compiled a church history from three Byzantine authors. A history of the Roman Pontiffs, entitled Liber Diurnalis, has also been attributed to him, but it is quite certain that only the biographies at the end of the work are his.

Flodoard[4] († 966), an abbot, afterward bishop, well known for his active and disturbed life, is the author of a very creditable history of the Church of Rheims, which goes down to the year 948.

Luitprand,[5] Bishop of Cremona († 972), who lived about the middle of the tenth century, was a talented but unprincipled writer. (Tr.)

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[1] *Bedae Venerab.* hist. gentis Anglor. libb. V. down to 731 (opp. ed. *P. F. Chifflet.*) et stud. *Smith.* Cantabr. 1722 f. *Stevenson*, Lond. 1838; opp. ed. *Giles* lat. et angl. Lond. 1843. 12 Vol. (hist. Anglor. Vol. II–III.) ed. *Hussey*, Oxon. 1846. Translated into German by *Wilden*, Schaffh. 1866.

[2] *Haymo*, libb. X. rer. christianar. memoria ed. *P. Gallesini.* Romae, 1564, ed. *Boxhornii* Lugd. Bat. 1650, 12.; ed. opt. *Joach. Mader*, Helmst. 1671, 4to.

[3] Hist. eccl. s. chronographia tripartita ex *Nicephori*, *Georgii Syncelli* et *Theophanis* ed. *Fabrotti*, Paris, 1649 f. ed. *Imman. Bekker* in the Bonn edition of the Byzantines, in T. II. of the chronography of Theophanes. Liber pontificalis seu de vitis Romanorum Pontificum edd. *Blanchinus* et *Vignolius*, Romae, 1718. 4 T. f. Cf. Tubing. Review, 1845, p. 320 sq.; and *Baehr*, Hist. of the Roman Lit. in the Carlovingian age, p. 261 sq.

[4] *Flodoardi* hist. eccl. Rhemens. ed. stud. *Jac. Sirmondi*, Paris, 1611, 8vo. (Sirmond. Opp. T. IV.) ed. stud. *G. Colvenarii*, Duaci 1617, 8vo. [5] *Pertz* Monum. SS. III. 264 sq.; and Muratori Script. II. His works are: 1. Hist. impp. and regg.; 2. De rebus gestis Ottonis. M. imp.; 3. An account of his embassy to Constantinople. (Tr.)

Adam,[1] a canon of Bremen, wrote a history of the church from 788 to 1076. It is very accurate, and the only reliable record of the church history of Denmark, Sweden, and Saxony.

Oderic Vital[2] († 1142), Abbot of St. Evreul, in Normandy, wrote, at the advanced age of 67, a church history, in ten books, down to 1142.

Ptolemy de Fiadonibus († 1312), called as Bishop of Torcello Bartholomew of Lucca, is the author of a church history down to 1312, in twenty-four books.[3]

Apart from these writers, there is a great deal of church history to be found, interwoven with contemporary political history, in the Italian, French, and German *chronicles*, of which many collections have been made. *Freher* has given, in a general way, a tolerably intelligible idea of them; while *Fr. v. Raumer* has made us familiar with their style in his Chrestomathy, and *Wattenbach* has given us a just estimate of their merits.[4]

The chronicles of *Regino de Prüm* († 915), *Herman Contractus* († 1054), *Marianus Scotus* († 1083), *Lambert of Hersfield* († 1080)—not as has erroneously been said of Aschaffenburg—*Sigbert of Gemblours* († 1112), *Ekkehard* († 1125), *Otto of Freisingen* (about † 1156), *Matthew of Paris* († 1259), and *William of Tyre* († 1178), merit particular mention. We may finally mention *Martin of Troppau*, called Martinus Polonus, a Dominican, 1278, Archbishop of Gnesen, whose abridgment of Universal History, arranged in tables, became the almost exclusive historical text-book of Europe, and exercised a very destructive influence.

Toward the end of the Middle Ages, speculative science began to lose ground, and historical studies to come into favor.

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[1] *Adami Bremensis* hist. eccl. praesert. Bremens. libb. VI. ed. *Lindenbrog.* Lugd. Batav. 1595, 4to. ed. *Fabric.* in *Lindenbrogii* script. rerum Germ. septentr. Hamb. 1706 f. German translation, with notes, by *Carsten Misegaes*, Bremen, 1825. Cf. *J. Asmussen*, de fontibus Adami Bremens. Kil. 1834, 4to.

[2] *Oder. Vital.* hist. eccl. libb. XIII. ed *du Chesne* (with Script. veteris. hist. Normannor. Paris, 1619 f.) ed. *Prevost*, Paris, 1838. 3 T.

[3] *Ptolem. de Fiadonibus*, hist. eccl. (*Murator.* script. rer. Ital. T. XI.)

[4] Scriptores rer. Italicarum; rer. Gallicarum; rer. Germanic. etc., whose works are more definitely pointed out, when the sources for the second period are stated. Cf. Directorium historicorum medii potissimum aevi post Freheri et iteratas Koehleri curas rec. et emend. et aux. *Hambergerus*,

This growing tendency toward historical inquiry received a fresh impulse from the Speculum Historiale of *Vincent of Beauvais* in thirty-one books († 1264), but perhaps the Western Schism of the fifteenth century contributed more than any other cause to its development. As many charges were at that time brought against the Popes, it became necessary for those who wished either to sustain or refute them, to have recourse to the history of the past. The enthusiasm with which the study of both the language and civilization of Greece was prosecuted awhile before and immediately after the fall of Constantinople, exercised a powerful influence in promoting historical research.

Antoninus,[1] Archbishop of Florence († 1459), who has left the greatest historical monument of the Middle Ages, was thoroughly under this influence, and fully appreciated the value of historical criticism and classic culture.

It is possibly more noticeable in *Laurentius Valla*, whose various historical writings, and particularly his inquiry into the supposed gift of Constantine the Great to Pope Sylvester, which he clearly proves to have been a mere invention,[2] greatly stimulated historical research and provoked much criticism.

John of Tritenheim († 1516), who was perhaps more erudite than any of those who went before him in the same line of study, was a persevering and conscientious student of original works.[3]

The Metropolis,[4] or History of the Church in Northern Germany from 780 to 1504, by *Albert Cranz*, canon of Hamburg,

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Goett. 1772, 4to. *Roesler*, de annalium medii aevi varia conditione Tub. 1788 sq. 4. *Fr. von Raumer*, Manual of Curiosities of Latin authors in the M. A. Breslau, 1813. *Lochner*, the German M. A. in important documents. Nürnbg. 1851. * *Wattenbach*, Germanic Sources of History in the Middle Ages. 2 ed. Berl. 1866.

[1] *Antonini Florent.* summa historialis (to 1459). Norimb. 1484. 3 T. ed. *Joh. de Gradibus*, Lugd. (1512 and 27) 1587 f.

[2] *Laur. Valla*, de falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione declamatio (opp. Basil. 1540 and 1543 f.) Lugd. 1620. Calumnia theologica Laur. Vallae Neapoli intentata, quod negasset, symbolum membratim articulatimque esse compositum ipso Laur. Valla auctore (opp. Basil.)

[3] *J. Trithemii* annal. Hirsaug. cura *J. Mabillon.* St. Gallae, 1690. 2 T. f. Also in *Fabricii* bibl. *Silbernagel*, John Trithem. Landsh. 1868. *Ruland* Chilianeum. Wurzburg, 1869.

[4] *Metropolis* contains a history of the Archbishoprics of Hamburg and Bremen, and of their suffragan bishoprics in Lower Saxony.

is valuable for its deep and discriminating research; but the picture which he draws of the abuses in the Church at the close of the Middle Ages, is entirely too highly wrought.

§ 17. *Greek Historians.*

The Eastern Church, since the time of her separation from the Church of the West, has ceased to excite special interest, no longer giving evidence of her former vigor and energetic life, and, as a consequence, the number of the historical works she has given to the world has been proportionately small. Moreover, when she became the ready instrument of political power, her history ceased to be a thing distinct in itself, and was merged in that of the state. This is very conspicuous from the end of the fifth to the end of the fifteenth century, in the writings of that school of historians at Constantinople, known as *Byzantines*,[1] whose most famous work is the Chronicon Paschale seu Alexandrinum, down to 630.

Nicephorus Callisti,[2] probably an ecclesiastic of Constantinople, compiled from original documents a church history, to the death of Emperor Phocas in the year 610, in twenty-four books, of which only eighteen are extant. His statements are frequently inaccurate, and his style seems to vary and accommodate itself to that of the author from whom he was at the time drawing his information.

Mention may also be made of the history of *Eutychius*, Patriarch of Alexandria († 940).[3] It is written in Arabic and in the form of a chronicle, beginning with the creation and coming down to the year 937.

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[1] Scriptores histor. Byzantinae (viz., Geo. Syncellus, Theophanes, Simeon Metaphrastes, Leo Diaconus, Joan. Zonaras, Nicetas, Nicephorus Gregoras, Joan. Cantacuzenus, Malalas, Joan. Ducas, etc.—Tr.) Paris, 1648, sq. 27 vols. f. Ven. 1727. 22 T. f. Latest edition, Corpus scriptor. hist. Byzant. Bonnae, 1828, sq. 46 T.

[2] *Niceph. Callisti* hist. eccl. ed. *Frontoducaeus.* Paris, 1630. 2 T. f. in *Migne* Patrologia, ser. gr. T. 145–147.

[3] Alexandrinae eccl. origines seu annales, etc., arabice et latine in *E. Pocoche* patr. Alex. annal. Oxon. 1658. 2 T. 4to. Latin, in *Muratori* scriptores rer. Italic. T. II., P. 2.

THIRD PERIOD.

CHURCH HISTORIANS FROM THE WESTERN SCHISM (1517) TO OUR OWN DAY.

§ 18. *Historical Controversies between Protestants and Catholics.*

While the troubles of the Western Schism seriously interrupted the progress which had been made in the method of writing church history at the close of the last period, a fresh impulse was given to the study of it by the growing needs of controversy.

Modern church historians seem to insist on keeping the history of the Church distinct from that of the State, and are inclined to group all its various branches under the comprehensive title of Universal Church History.

Matthias Flacius,[1] an Illyrian, and preacher at Magdeburg, a man of violent temper and restless disposition, with the hope of showing that the teachings of Luther and his followers were not entirely without an historical basis, associated with himself a number of educated Protestants, such as Matthew Judex, Basil Faber, Andrew Corvinus, Holtzhuter, and others, and began the immense work of writing a history of the church by centuries, and the writers are called on this account *Centuriators*. They exhibit much acuteness and great powers of generalization, but their judgments are unprecedentedly arbitrary and unfair.

This was for a long time highly esteemed and looked upon as the very perfection of historical writing, and that its circulation might be increased, the theologian, *Luke Osiander*, made an abridgment of it,[2] and continued it down to the sixteenth century. It naturally created a sensation among Catholics, and *Cæsar Baronius*, a priest of the Roman Oratory, and afterward Cardinal († 1607), came forward as the most formidable opponent of the Centuriators. His history, the fruit of thirty years of uninterrupted labor, is remarkable for the great number of original documents it contains, which up to his time were entirely unknown, and for his skillful refutation of the Centuriators.

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[1] Eccl. historia, integram eccles. Chr. ideam quantum ad locum, propagationem, etc., complectens, congesta per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe Magdeburgica. Basil. 1559–74. 13 T. (centur.) f., with Calvinistic modifications, ed. *Lucius*. Basil. 1624. 6 T. fol. The new edition, started by *Baumgarten* and *Semler*, Nürnbg. 1757–65, incomplete, only six parts. Cf. *Twesten* on M. Flacius. Brl. 1844.

[2] Epitome histor. eccl. Centuriae XVI. Tub. 1592, sq. 8 T. 4to.

The work was continued to 1564 by *Abraham Bzovius*, a Polish Dominican of Cracow (†1637); by *Spondanus*, Bishop of Pamiers (†1643), to 1640, and by *Odoric Raynaldus*, an Oratorian, who is perhaps the equal of Baronius himself, to 1566. *James of Laderchi*, also an Oratorian, wrote in three volumes a continuation of Baronius, from 1566–1571.[1] In 1856, *Augustine Theiner*, a priest of the Oratory and Librarian of the Vatican, undertook the continuation of this work.

Anthony Pagi,[2] a learned Franciscan, added to the Annals, notes and annotations, in which, by supplying omissions and correcting chronological errors, he furnished so complete a refutation of the Protestant adversaries of Baronius that their works are now almost, if not entirely, forgotten. The notes of Pagi are invaluable to any one wishing to read Baronius, and should always be at hand for reference.

At the close of this period great efforts were made in France to stimulate the study of church history.

§ 19. *Studies in Church History in France.*

In France, quite a number of Oratorians, Dominicans, Jesuits, and members of the congregation of St. Maur, whose example was speedily followed by the secular clergy and the laity, zealously applied themselves to the elucidation of the various branches of church history, and we owe to their labors and learning many valuable editions of the Fathers, so essential to its thorough study. The names of many of these writers will never be forgotten by the students of church history; such are *Aubespine*, *de Marca*, *Launoy*, *Dupin*, *Arnauld*, *Petau*, *Thomassin*, *d'Achery*, *Mabillon*, *Ceillier*, *Martène*, *Morin*, *Gallandi*, *Ruinart*, *Maran*, *Durand*, *the Sirmonds*, *de La Rue*, *Montfaucon*, *Coustant*, *Garnier*, *le Nourry*, *Cotelier*, *Baluze*, *Rigault*, and many others.[1]

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[1] *Baronii* Annales eccl. Rom. 1588–1607. 12 T. f., and oftener, revised and corrected by the author. Mogunt. 1601–5. 12 T. f. (to 1198), which served as a standard for the following editions: Coloniae, 1609; Antw. 1610; Ven. 1738, c. not. crit. Ant. Pagii. 13 T. f. The continuation by *Abraham Bzovius*, Annales eccl. post Baronium. Romae, 1616, 8 T.; ed. auct. Colon. 1621, sq. 8 T. Annal. Baronii contin. post *Spondanum*. Paris, 1640–41. 2 T. f. *Od. Raynaldi*, Annal. eccl. ab anno 1198. Romae, 1646–1677. 10 T. f., that is, T. XIII. to XXI. A complete edition of these works, Raynaldus contin. included. Cologn. 1693, sq. *Jac. de Laderchio*, ann. eccl. T. XXII–XXIV. Romae, 1728–37. Continuavit *Aug. Theiner*, Romae and Paris, 1856, sq. [So far, 3 vols., reaching to 1583, compl. ed. Bar-le-Duc, 1864, sq.—Tr. Add.]

[2] A. *Pagii* critica historico chronologica in annal. Baronii. Paris, 1698. 2 T. f., to which he added 3. T. Colon. 1705; complete, Antw. 1705, 4 T. f. The best ed. of Baronii Ann. c. continuatione Raynaldi, Laderch. atque critica Pagii ac not. Dom. *Georgi* et Dom. *Mansi*. Lucc. 1738–59. 38 T. f.

The works of *Godeau*,[2] Bishop of Venice, in which he aims at embracing the whole scope of church history, although written in an attractive and popular style, are lacking in solid worth and original research.

The church history of Natalis (*Noël*) *Alexander*,[3] on the contrary, is characterized by clearness, depth, and a thorough knowledge of original documents. It is, however, much to be regretted that the scholastic method of treatment adopted by the author renders his style heavy and unattractive, and that the work itself is frequently marred by expressions of extreme Gallican opinion, which caused it to be placed for a time under censure.

The dissertations which introduce and form the basis of every important question, are the most valuable portions of the work. The history of the good and gentle Abbé *Fleury* († 1723),[4] a Gallican, prior of Argenteuil, and tutor to the princes royal, is far more agreeable. It comes down to the year 1414, and its statements, even when the author does not distinctly say so, are all the result of original investigation. The special purpose of Fleury is to prove both to the man of science and to the ordinary reader that the Church is divine in her origin and establishment, that her influence tends to ameliorate the condition of man, and that, as a matter of fact, she has accomplished that work. Jean Claude *Fabre*, the Oratorian, who continued Fleury's history to the year 1595, is inferior to him in every respect. This is very apparent in his prolixity, in the disposition he evinces to shirk difficulties, and in the way in which he brings together under the same heading, subjects most opposite in character. A like unfavorable criticism must be passed on his Latin translator and second continuator (1596–1765), the Carmelite, Alexander a S. Joanne de Cruce, of Augsburg.

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[1] *Herbst*, the merits of the Congr. of St. Maur in Literature. (*Tübing. Review*, 1833-34.) The *same*, The literary achievements of the French Oratorians (in the same review, 1835—not finished).

[2] *Godeau*, hist. de l'église depuis la naissance de J. Ch., jusqu'à la fin du IX. siècle. Paris, 1633. 3 T. f.; translated into Italian by *A. Speroni*; into German by *Hyper* and *Groote*, Augsburg, 1768–96. 38 vols. 8vo.

[3] *Nat. Alexandri* hist. eccl. N. T. Paris, 1676 sq. 23 vols. in 8vo. Moreover selecta historiae V. T. capita. Paris, 1689. 8vo. 6 vols. Hist. eccl. Vet. et Nov. Test. Paris, 1699. 8 T. f. and other editions. Lucc. 1734. Cum notis Constant. Roncaglia, 9 T. f., ibid. 1749 cum notis *Mansi*. Then Venet. 1759 and 1778. 9 T. f. cum II. T. supplement; also, 1151, 18 T. 4to; ed. Bingae, 1784 sq. 18 T. 4to, cum supplement. 2 T. 4to.

[4] *Fleury*, hist. eccl., Paris, 1691–1720. 20 T. 4to, and oftener. New edition, containing four additional volumes, written from a manuscript *plan* of Fleury's, found in the royal library (coming down to 1517). Paris, 1840. 6 T. 4to. (Latin translation, together with the continuation, by Fathers *Alexander* and *Bruno*, of the same order. Augustae Vindelicorum, 1768–98. 91 T. 8vo.)

Bossuet,[1] the great bishop of Meaux, in his Discourse on Universal History, has shown the influence of divine interposition in human affairs. *Cramer*, a Protestant, made an attempt to continue the work of Bossuet, but entirely lost sight of the aim and purpose of the original. *Tillemont*, (†1698) the last of the glorious line of French church historians, was unfortunately unable to continue his great work on the first five centuries of the Church, which consists principally of *biographies* of her most remarkable men and quotations, conscientiously and laboriously collected, from original documents. To these the author has added observations of his own, which he carefully distinguishes from the quotations by the use of brackets. Each volume contains,

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Germ. transl., without the continuation, Lps.,1751–70. 14 vols. 4to, continuée par Fabre, Paris, 1726–40. 16 T. 4to (to 1595). The ecclesiastical history of M. L'Abbé Fleury, from 381 to 456. *English* translation, with notes. 3 vols. Oxford, 1843–44. (Tr.) Cf. *Hefele*, on the value of Fleury, his continuation, and the newly discovered four vols. in the Tübing. Quart. of 1845.

[1] *Bossuet*, discours sur l'histoire universelle, Paris, 1681, and repeatedly. German, 2 ed. Würzburg, 1832, translated and continued by Cramer, Lps., 1751–86. 7 pts. translated into English. A Discourse on Universal History, Dublin, 1811. (Tr.) Histoire des variations des églises des Protestants, Paris, 1688. 2 T. 4to, 1734. In German, by Mayer, Munich, 1825 sq. 4 vols. In English, History of Variations of Protestant Churches, New York, 1836. 2 vols. Dublin, 1845. 2 vols., 8vo.

under the unassuming title of "*Notes*," learned, judicious, and lengthy dissertations on the most important subjects.[1]

The scientific value of the works of *Choisy*,[2] of the Jansenist Abbé Bonaventure *Racine*,[3] and *Graveson*, who wrote in Italy, amounts to very little.

The history of *Berault Bercastel*,[4] written with fullness of detail and in a graceful style, has had a considerable circulation.

The *Christian Ages* of *Ducreux*,[5] Canon of Auxerre, upon the latter portions of which considerable labor has been bestowed, have still more merit.

Baron Henrion's church history, in thirteen volumes, has also had a very extensive circulation, while the works of *Blanc*, *Receveur*, *Jager*, *Rohrbacher*, *Darras*, *Capefigue*, and others, prove that in these latter days the interest in the study of church history is being revived. In Belgium, church history was treated by *Wouters*.[6]

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[1] *Sebastian le Nain de Tillemont*, mémoires pour servir à l'histoire eccl. des six premiers siècles, Paris, 1693–1712. 16 T. 4to. (Reaches only to 1513, and only the first four volumes appeared during his lifetime.) Ed. II. Paris, 1700–13. Pirated impression, Venet. 1732. 16 T. 4to (complete). Bruxelles, 1732. 10 T. 4to (incomplete, only 10 pts. of the Paris edition); and Brux. 1726 sq. 24 T. 12mo (only the first 8 vols. of the Paris ed.) We have to notice also *Tillemont*, hist. des empereurs et autres princes des VI. premiers siècles de l'église, Paris, 1690–1738. 6 T. f. Pirated edition, Bruxelles, 1707 and 1739. 16 T. 12mo. Conf. *Hefele*, the church historian *Tillemont* (Tüb. Quart. 1841, and in his lectures on Ch. H., vol. 1).

[2] *Choisy*, hist. de l'église, Paris, 1703. 2 T. 4to.

[3] *Racine*, abrégé de l'histoire eccl., Paris, 1762–67. 13 T. 4to.

[4] *Berault Bercastel*, hist. de l'église, Paris, 1773. 24 vols., 12mo. Augmentée de sa continuation depuis 1720 jusqu'à Léon XII (but reaches to 1720 only), par Pelier de Lacroix, chanoine de Chartres, Paris, 1830. Continued by Robiano, Paris, 1836. 4 vols. In German, Vienna, 1784 sq. 24 vols., 8vo. An abridgment prepared by *Wörz* and *Scheill*, Augsb. 1821–25. 9 vols. 2 ed. to the year 1857, continued by *Gams*, Innsbr. 1841–58.

[5] *Ducreux*, les siècles chrétiens, Paris, 1785. 10 T. 12mo. Mostly translated into German by *Heizerath*, Die christl. Jahrhunderte oder die Gesch. des Christenthums in seinem Ursprunge and Fortgang, Vienna, 1777. 9 vols. Translated by Fischer, Vienna and Landshut, 1781–90. 10 vols.

[6] *Blanc*, cours d'histoire eccl., Paris, 1841 sq. 4 ed., Paris and Lyons, 1867. [Tr.] *Receveur*, professeur à la faculté de Paris, histoire de l'église, Paris, 1841, sq. *Jager*, cours d'histoire universelle de l'église catholique, 1841 sq. *Rohrbacher*, histoire universelle de l'église catholique depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à nos jours, Paris, 1842 sq. 29 T. 2 ed., Paris, 1850–53. 6 ed. commenced in 1873. 17 vols., in two columns, accompanied with 24 maps, by Dufour, [Tr.] *Darras*, histoire générale de l'église depuis le commencement

§ 20. *Studies on Church History in Italy.*

Italy has produced, besides Baronius already mentioned, a number of excellent historians. Such are *Paul Sarpi* (*a*) and *Pallavicini*, both of whom have written *histories of the Council of Trent*, and have, for very different reasons, become famous; Cardinal *Noris*, who wrote on the Pelagian controversies, the Fifth Ecumenical Council, etc.; and *Mamachi*, *Selvaggio*, and *Pelliccia*, who wrote on Christian antiquities.

The two *Assemani* made collections of the literary treasures and various liturgies of the Eastern church; *Dominic Mansi* edited a very complete edition of the councils; *Muratori* studied ecclesiastical subjects very thoroughly, and by his collection of Italian historians, and other fragments of ecclesiastical literature, made known and rendered easy many original documents.

Cardinal *Orsi*, a Dominican, wrote a church history of the first six centuries, remarkable for the beauty of its style, which was continued by *Becchetti*, a member of the same order.[1] *Saccarelli*, an Oratorian, is the author of a church history, down to 1185,* of considerable merit and full of detail, and *Aurelius Sigonius*[2] is the author of another, more

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de l'ère chrét. jusqu'à nos jours. 3 ed., Paris, 1857. 4 vols. Translated into English by E. Boursand. A General History of the Catholic Church, New York, 1868. 4 vols. Of the larger Ch. H. by the same, 18 vols. have appeared, [Tr.] *Capefigue*, les quatre premiers siècles de l'église, Paris, 1850, 2 vols.; l'église au moyen âge, Paris, 1852, 2 vols.; l'église pendant les quatre derniers siècles, Paris, 1854, 4 vols. *Wouters*, compendium h. e., Lovanii(1837) ed. IV. 1863. 3 T. ed. V. 1871–72. [Tr.] Capita selecta h. e., 1869.

(*a*) His history, replete with historical and dogmatical errors, was justly put on the Index, November 22, 1619.—Tr.

[1] *G. A. Orsi*, storia eccles., Roma, 1748 sq. 20 vols. 4to. Continued (1370) by P. A Becchetti, Roma, 1770 sq. 17 vols. 4to; besides, storia degli ultimi quattro secoli della chiesa, Roma, 1788 sq. 9 vols., down to the council of Trent, ed. Venez. 1744–93, in 49 vols. New edition of Orsi, Rome, 1838 sq. Also of *Becchetti*, a new edition has appeared.

* Histor. eccl. per annos digesta, variisque observationibus illustrata, Romae, 1770 sq. 26 T. 4to.

[2] *Sigonii*, hist. eccl. libb. XIV. (to 311) Mediolan. 1732. 2 T. 8vo.

admired for the beauty of its style than valued for any intrinsic merit as a history.

The history of the times of Constantine the Great, by *Zola*,[1] a professor at Pavia, is, to a great extent, based on the works of Mosheim and other Protestant authors.

Lawrence Berti, an Augustinian,[2] published an abridgment of church history, to which he added some valuable dissertations; *Graveson*, a French Dominican,[3] wrote his church history in Italy; the work of *Delsignore*, coming down as far as the Council of Trent, though but a compendium, gives evidence of deep and earnest study; that of *Palma* treats, in a controversial way, the most important of the disputed points of church history, and that of *Giovanni Prezziner*, a professor at the University of Pisa, was intended for educated lay people.

We mention finally, with great pleasure, the name of *Tosti*, the learned Benedictine of Monte Cassino.[4]

§ 21. *Catholic Church Historians of Germany.*

The long wars which followed the great Schism in Germany seriously interrupted the study of church history and the progress of science. In Austria, at a later date, a fresh impulse was given to scientific inquiry by the encouragement it received from Maria Teresa and the emperor Joseph II.; but church history, which began about this time to excite general interest, is tinged with the spirit of Josephism, to which may also be ascribed the hostility to the hierarchy so conspicuous in the historians of that age. The spirit of opposition did not, however, originate with them. They had been preceded by *Hontheim* (Febronius),[1] coadjutor bishop of Treves, who, without thoroughly understanding the teachings of Gallicanism, wrote a defense of them. *Royko*,[2] at Prague, and *Michl*,[3] a professor at Landshut, wrote in pretty much the same spirit as Hontheim; *Wolf*[4] is trifling and unnecessarily sarcastic; *Gmeiner*[5] altogether too superficial; *Schmalfuss*[6] and *Becker*[7] more temperate and earnest, and *Dannenmayr*,[8] though scientific in treatment, exhibits at times a decided prejudice against the essential elements of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. *Pohl*, *Stoeger*, *Gudenus*, *Alber*, and *Molkenbuhr* are entirely destitute of originality and were the first to be forgotten.

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[1] *Zola*, prolegomena commentarior. de rebus Christian. Ticini, 1779; commentarii de rebus Christian. ante Constantinum M. Ticini, 1780, sq. 3 T. 4to.

[2] *Berti*, breviar. hist. eccl. post ed., Venet., Aug., 1761 and 1768. Viennae, 1774. 2 vol. 8vo.. Noviss. ed., Aug. Vindel. 1782, 1 vol. 4to. Dissertationes hist. eccl. V. prior. saeculor. Florentiae, 1753–4. Aug. Vindel. 1761. 4 T. 8vo. Continuavit Corn. Stephan., ordinis Cistercien. Prag. 1778. 3 T. 8vo.

[3] *Graveson*, hist. eccl. Vet. et N. T., variis colloquiis digesta. Romae, 1717, sq. 9 T. (to 1721), etc.

[4] *Delsignore*, institutiones hist. eccl. ed. *Tizzani*, Romae, 1837, sq. 4 T. *Palma*, praelectiones hist. eccl. Romae, 1838–46. 3 T., down to the council of Trent. *G. Prezziner*, storia della chiesa dalla promulgatione del Vangelo fin all'anno 1818. Firenze, 1818–22. 9 T. *Tosti*, prolegomeni alla storia universale della chiesa. Firenze, 1861. Monographies, storia della Badia di Monte Cassino. Napoli, 1841, sq. Di papa Bonifacio VIII. 1846. Dell' origine dello schisma greco. Firenze, 1856. Della contessa Mathilda. Ibid, 1859. Of the council of Constance (translated into German by Arnold), Schaffhausen, 1860.

A more promising era opened with Count Leopold of *Stolberg*[9] († 1819), whose history is written with the enthusiasm of a devoted convert and the love of a true Christian; but his way of presenting facts is deficient in orderly arrangement and his critical observation more or less unsatisfactory. *Kerz*, his continuator, is much inferior to him, and Brischar, a second continuator, more concise in style.

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[1] *Febronius* (Hontheim) de statu ecclesiae et legitima potestate rom. pontif. Bullioni (Frankfurt), 1763, sq. 4 T. 4to.

[2] *Royko*, Synopsis hist. rel. et eccl. Chr. Prague, 1785. Christian rel. and Ch. H. Prague, 1789, sq. (of the first three centuries.) History of the Council of Constance. Vienna and Prague, 1782, sq. 4 vols.

[3] *Michl*, Christian Ch. H. 2 ed. Munich, 1812. 2 vols.

[4] *Wolf*, History of the Christian Rel. and Church. Zurich, 1792. 2 vols. Hist. of the Roman. Cath. Church in the reign of Pius VI. Zurich and Lps. 1793–1803. 7 vols.

[5] *Gmeiner*, epitome h. e. N. T. ed. II. Graecii, 1803. 2 vols.

[6] *Schmalfuss*, Hist. et eccl. Chris. Prague, 1792, sq. 6 vols.

[7] *Becker*, Hist. eccl. practica, libb. VII (saec. I–XV). Monast. 1782, sq. Ch. H. of the 16th and 17th centuries. Munster, 1791.

[8] *Dannenmayr*, Institut. hist. eccl. Vienna (1788), 1806. 2 vols. Text-book of Ch. H., according to D., published in numbers. (Vienna, 1790. 4 pts.) Rottweil, 1826, sq. 4 pts.

[9] *Stolberg*, History of the Religion of Jesus Christ. Hamburg and Vienna, 1806–18. 15 vols. Continued by *Kerz* and *Brischar*. Mentz, 1824, sq. By the former vols. 16–45; by the latter vols. 46–53, till A. D. 1245. Register to vol. 15, by Moritz, 1825, and from vol. 16–23 by Fr. Sausen, 1834.

Theodore *Katerkamp*[1] († 1834), a warm and judicious friend of Stolberg's, professor at Munster and dean of the cathedral, and the author of a church history down to the year 1153, was a profound thinker, a vigorous and concise writer, with a keen appreciation of the motives which influenced and of the events which gave direction to the various periods of church history. His descriptions of the great Doctors of the Church are exceedingly interesting and attractive. The plan of the work is original, but not altogether suitable to the subject, and it is to be regretted that the author did not see fit to give the authorities for what he advanced.

The history of *Locherer*, a professor at Giessen, made its appearance about the same time. It is a work of a quite different character from that of Katerkamp, and in as far as it gives an insight into the sentiments of the writer, shows him to have been very little in sympathy with the Church. The history of *Reichlin-Meldegg* is at best but a pretentious and declamatory effort, which does great injustice to Christian antiquities.[2]

The announcement that the Chevalier de *Rauscher*,[3] professor at Salzburg, was about to publish a church history, gave great pleasure to all, and its success was everywhere predicted. But these hopes were never realized, a stop having been put to the further progress of the work by the new and increasing duties of the author, who was successively appointed Director of the Oriental Academy at Vienna, Bishop of Seckau, Prince Archbishop of Vienna, and Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church.

The history of *Hortig*,[4] professor at Munich, though written with ease and eloquence, lacks depth of thought. It was continued down to the year 1517 by Döllinger, who gave to his part of the work a scientific character, which has merited for it very general praise.

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[1] *Katerkamp*, Introd. into Ch. H. and Ch. H. Munster, 1819–34. 5 vols. (to 1153 A. D.)

[2] *Locherer*, Hist. of Rel. and Church. Ravensburg, 1824–34. 9 vols. (to 1073.) *Reichlin-Meldegg*, Hist. of Christianity. Freiburg, 1830. 1 vol. in 2 parts (to 324).

[3] *Rauscher*, Hist. of the Christian Church. Salzburg, 1829. 2 vols. (First three centuries.)

[4] *Hortig*, Manual of Christian Ch. H. Landshut, 1826, sq. The second part of the second vol. (from Luther to our own times) by v. Döllinger.

Professor *Ritter*,[1] dean of the cathedral of Breslau, is the author of a church history especially remarkable for the perspicuity of the style.

Klein,[2] a professor at Gratz, and afterward at Vienna, published in Latin a history containing much valuable matter which the author failed to put to the best account. The work of *Ruttenstock*[3] († 1844), down to the sixteenth century, has more merit, is a plain narrative of facts, and is written in excellent Latin.

Döllinger[4] recast Hortig's history, gave it a scientific character, and substantiated nearly all the facts, the truth of which had been called in question by the Protestants. This work was put aside when he began his own text-book of church history, which was originally intended to be in three volumes, but is still unfinished. The author has, in the meantime, enriched Catholic literature with many valuable works on detached subjects of church history.

Chérier,[5] a professor of the lyceum of Tirnau, in Hungary, in the preparation of his Latin institutes, followed in the main the histories of Ruttenstock and Klein; he also wrote a modern church history, beginning with the sixteenth century, the date at which Ruttenstock left off, but the work is almost worthless. The history of the Councils, together with various treatises and papers on other subjects, by Professor C. J. von *Hefele*, of Tübingen, now bishop of Rottenburg, have entitled him to a high rank among church historians. *Berthes*, a parish priest of the diocese of Mentz, published a church history, in two volumes, intended for the use of lay persons and missionary priests. It is written in an attractive and easy style, and has fully answered the purpose of the author. *Fortmann*, *Ginzel*, and *Sporschil*, whose works, however, have a very different aim, were in their way quite as successful. *Stiefelhagen's*[1] work, with its vivid pictures, drawn from early, medieval, and modern church history is very interesting. *Aschbach's Ecclesiastical Dictionary* and the Freiburg *Theological Cyclopedia* of *Wetzer* and *Welte* are very important contributions to Catholic church history. They contain a clear and intelligible statement of the Church's doctrines, institutions, and condition from her foundation down to the present time, and give biographies of her most important personages.[2]

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[1] *Ritter*, Manual of Ch. H. Elberfeld and Bonn, 1826, sq. (1864). 2 vols.

[2] *Klein*, Hist. eccl. Graecii, 1828. 2 vols., complete.

[3] *Ruttenstock*, Institutt. h. e. Vienna, 1832–34. 3 vols.

[4] *Döllinger*, Manual of Christian Ch. H. Landshut, 1833, sq. First vol., 2 parts (to A. D. 680). *The same writer*, Manual of Ch. H. Landshut, 1830, sq. Second division, 1843. An *English* transl. of D. Hist. of the Church, in 4 vols., by Rev. Edward Cox, D.D. London, 1840. The Jew and the Gentile. Ratisbon, 1857, in an Engl. transl., Christianity and the Church, 1860.—Tr.

[5] *Chérier*, Institutt. hist. eccl. N. T. Pesthini, 1840–41. 4 vols. (complete.) Abridged in 2 vols. Vienna, 1853.

Riffel of Mentz, *Schwab* and *Hergenroether* of Würzburg, *Reinkens* of Breslau, *Friedrich* and *Gams* of Munich, and others, to whose works there will be frequent occasion for reference, are well known. The abridgment of church history by *Groene* is a useful work. F. X. Kraus, Dr. Ph. and Th., began, in 1872, a text-book of church history, in three volumes, intended for the use of students, two volumes of which have already appeared and are highly spoken of by the Revue Catholique of Louvain.

§ 22. *Lutheran Church Historians.*

The controversies which sprung up after the time of the Centuriators among Protestant theologians themselves, while diverting their attention from the study of church history, directed it for a time to objects of a very different character. The labors of *Calixt*, *Kortholt*, *Ittig*, *Sagittarius*, *Rechenberg*, and *J. A. Schmidt* were of some historical importance; but little or no real progress was made in the study of church history till the end of the sixteenth century, when the learned but fanatical *Arnold*[1] gave a fresh impulse to it by the publication of his history of the church and of heresies, in which he gives repeated evidence of his bias of mind and unfairness by frequent attacks on the clergy and an unqualified defense of heresies. The gentle *Weismann*[2] was the most prominent among his opponents.

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[1] *Groene*, Compendium of Ch. H. Ratisbon, 1869. Berthes, Hist. of the Ch. of Christ. Mentz, 1840–43. 2 vols. (complete.) *Fortmann*, Hist. of the Ch. of Christ. Oldenburg, 1835. *Ginzel*, Hist. of the Ch. Vien. 1846, sq. (to 692.) *Sporschil*, Popular Hist. of the Ch. of Christ. Leipzig, 1846–48. 3 vols. (complete.) *Stiefelhagen*, Freiburg, 1860. 2 ed. 4to. 1869.

[2] The former published at Frankfort and Mentz, 1846–50, 4 vols.; the latter at Freiburg, 1847–54. 12 vols. [Translated into French by Canon J. Goeschler. 24 vols. Paris. The third French edition, in 26 vols., 8vo, is now complete. A second revised edition, German announced.—Tr.]

The writings of *Mosheim*,[3] a professor at Göttingen, exercised a far greater influence, and contributed not a little to the advancement both of scientific historical investigation and methodical treatment. Besides being very well versed in philosophy, philology, and history, and having an excellent knowledge of numismata, he conceived clearly, and wrote elegantly.

The many works of the *Walchs*, father and son, the one at Jena and the other at Göttingen, are valuable for the abundant and reliable references they contain, and the almost indispensable material they furnish for church history.[4]

Semler,[5] on the contrary, though he did something to advance the critical study of church history, is entirely too exacting, and his cynical rationalism distorts historical facts and strips them of interest.

The numerous works of *Matthias Schroeckh*[6] are pervaded with a better spirit, and give evidence of indefatigable industry. Their merits have won for the author a lasting reputation, but his dry, vulgar, and prolix style makes it a task to read him.

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[1] *Arnold*, Impartial Hist. of the Church and of Heresies (to 1688). Francft. 1699. 2 vols. f. Most complete ed. Schaffhausen, 1740. 3 vols. f. Conf. *Augusti's*, Arnold, and Neander as church historians. (Contributions toward the Hist. and Statistics of the Evang. C. H. III., p. 706, sq.) *A. Riff*, Arnold, l'historien de l'église. Strasb. 1847.

[2] *Weismann*, introd. in memorab. eccl. hist. (Tübg. 1718), Hal. 1745. 2 T. 4to.

[3] *Mosheim*, Institutt. hist. eccl. antiq. et recent, libb. 4. Helmst. (1754, 4to.) 1764, 4to. There were commenced, simultaneously, two German editions and continuations by J. A. Ch. ("by some one"), Lps. 1769, sq. 9 vols. (for the unlearned); better by *J. Rud. Schlegel*, Heilbronn, 1770–88, 6 vols., with the continuation of the eighteenth century (for the learned). Comment. de reb. Christianor. ante Constant. M. Helmst. 1753. 4to.

[4] The principal work of *Ch. W. Fr. Walch*, Sketch of a complete history of heresies, schisms, and religious controversies. Lps. 1762, sq. 11 vols. (to the iconoclasts.)

[5] Historiae eccl. selecta capita. Hal. 1767, sq. 3 T. Useful epitome of Ch. H. Hal. 1773, sq. 3 parts. Christian Annuary. Hal. 1782. 2 parts.

[6] *Schroeckh*, Christian Ch. H. (to Luther), 1768–1803. 35 parts. 2 ed. Parts

Notwithstanding the well-meant efforts of Schroeckh, the direction given to church history by Semler seemed more congenial to the public taste. It was evident that the spirit of modern rationalism was gaining strength, and that an attempt would be made to rob the Church of all that made her beautiful and sublime.

The leaders of this school represented church history as a mixture of superstition, fanaticism, and misrepresentation. As it requires a mind thoroughly in sympathy with Christianity to properly appreciate the facts of its history, it is very natural that men like these, with feelings entirely hostile to its spirit, should, in writing of it, totally degrade the subject. *Henke*[1] and, to some extent, *Spittler*[2] wrote in the same tone. *Christian Schmidt*[3] was more judicious. The works of *Planck*,[4] of Göttingen, a writer imbued with a very different spirit, though too diffuse in style, are Christian in tone, and impartial in judgment. *Stäudlin*,[5] his colleague and pupil, is distinguished for the same qualities, and is a writer of some reputation. *Neander*,[6] a professor at Berlin, a temperate writer and deep thinker, and also a pupil of *Planck*, gave to

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1–13, 1772–1802. Ch. H: since the Reformation. Lps. 1804–12. 10 parts (parts 9 and 10 by Tzschirner).

[1] *Henke*, Univ. Hist. of the Christian Church. Braunschweig, 1788, sq. 8 vols. First and second parts in five editions. The last edition revised and continued (part 7–8) by *J. S. Vater*.

[2] *Spittler*, Compendium of the Hist. of the Christian Church. Götting. 1782. 5 ed. Brought out and continued by *Planck*. Götting. 1812.

[3] *Schmidt*, Manual of Christ. Ch. H. Giessen, 1801–20. 6 parts (to 1216), continued (seventh vol.) by *Rettberg*. Giessen, 1834.

[4] *Planck*, Hist. of Christian Society. Hanover, 1803, sq. 5 vols. History of the origin and variations of Protestant doctrine to the formula of concord. Lps. 1791–1800. 6 vols.

[5] *Stäudlin*, Univ. Hist. of the Christian Church. Hanover, 1806. 5 ed. By *Holzhausen*, 1833.

[6] *Neander*, at first monographies on Emperor Julian; the Gnostic systems; Tertullian; St. Bernard and St. Chrysostom; then Universal Hist. of the Christ. Rel. and Church. Hambg. 1825–52. 6 vols. (complete to 1294, fragmentary after his death to 1517) in a superior and also a cheaper edition. 4 ed. Vols.

church history a more scientific character than his master, and delighted in bringing out the inner and hidden life of religion, which up to his time had been entirely lost sight of. He shows a deep knowledge and critical appreciation of the facts of church history, and in presenting heresies and passing judgment upon them, is just and considerate; but his prejudice is very manifest, and quite beyond his control, when he speaks distinctly of the Catholic Church. *Guericke* reduced Neander's larger works and lectures to the form of a compendium, following his author to the time of Luther, after which he thrusts him aside, and writes with the strong bias of a zealous Lutheran. *Lindner*,[1] of Leipzig, who wrote in the same spirit, gave special attention to the historical development of dogmatic truth. *Jacobi*, of Berlin, and *Schaff*, in America, imitated in their histories the general features of Neander.[2] The large work of *Engelhardt*[3] is liberal in sentiment, and a good specimen of historical style. *Danz*,[4] after he had made some valuable researches relative to the history of Eusebius, left off the task, and published at Jena a short work composed of extracts from original documents which had come in his way during the course of his labors. His design was fully carried out by *Gieseler*[5] († 1854), whose researches brought to light many old works on particular subjects of church history, which he was not slow to turn to the best account. *Hase*,[6] a professor at Jena, was the author of a compendium

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1–4. Conf. *Kling*, A. Neander; Hagenbach, Neander's merits in Ch. H. (Studies and Criticisms, 1851, Nos. 2 and 3.) *Krabbe*, A. Neander. Hambg. 1852.

[1] *Guericke*, Manual of Univ. Ch. H. Halle (1833), 9 ed. 1866. *Lindner*, Text-book of Christ. Church Hist. Lps. 1848, sq.

[2] *Jacobi*, Text-book of Ch. H. Berlin, 1850. Vol. 1 (to 590). *Schaff*, Hist. of the Christian Church. Mercersburg and Lps. (2 ed.) 1854. Vol. I.

[3] *Engelhardt*, Manual of Ch. H. Erlangen, 1833. 3 vols. Vol. IV. Erlangen, 1834, gives the sources of information, literature, and additions.

[4] *Danz*, de Eusebio Caesar., etc. See above, p. 35, n. 3. *The same*, Text-book of Christian Ch. H. Jena, 1818–26. 2 vols.

[5] *Gieseler*, Text-book of Ch. H. Bonn, 1823–57. 5 vols. (to 1848, of Vol. I. 4 ed.)

[6] *Hase*, Text-book of Ch. H. Lps. 1834. 8 ed. 1858. Conf. *Hase*, Theological controversy. Lps. 1836, p. 114. *Matter*, histoire du Christianisme et de la société chrétienne, ed. 2. Paris, 1838. 4 vols. *Niedner*, Hist. of the Christian

of church history, written in a pleasing style, and containing striking portraits of remarkable personages and accurate descriptions of the different epochs of church history, and of the events which made them remarkable. *Matter*, of Strasbourg, a contemporary of Hase, published a church history, which met a favorable reception. *Niedner* († 1865), a professor at Leipzig and Berlin, wrote a complete manual, the style of which is very heavy. The church history of *Kurtz*, of Dorpat, is both comprehensive and detailed, and evinces on the part of the author an ingenuous candor, great industry, and a thorough acquaintance with his subject. It was the intention of *Gfroerer*,[1] a professor at Freiburg, in Breisgau, to write a church history in such way as to make it attractive to all classes of readers; but as he progressed, this plan was given up. The work is, nevertheless, very valuable for the vast amount of detailed information it contains, illustrative of the Middle Ages.

The early church history of Dr. *Fr. Christian Baur*, modeled after the notorious Life of Jesus, by *David Strauss*, is replete with irreverent criticism, and pervaded with the rationalistic principles of the new school of Tübingen, which attempts to account for the growth and development of Christianity and the Church by natural causes, and entirely rejects any interposition of Divine Providence. His superficial writings contain ample proof of his arbitrary falsifications of history, his narrow-minded bigotry, and his silly and glaring attempts to mislead by sophistry. He is indebted to Gieseler for the facts of the second and third periods of church history, and can lay no claim to originality, unless it be for the tolerably full statement he has given of the pres-

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Church, being a text-book. Lps. 1846. *Kurtz*, Compendium of Ch. H. 6 ed. Mitau, 1866. Manual of Univ. Ch. H. Mitau, 1853, sq. Planned for 3 vols. (incomplete.)

[1] *Gfroerer*, Hist. of the Christian Church. Stuttg. 1841, sq. 4 vols. (partially to 1056.) History of the Carlovingians. Freiburg, 1848. 2 vols. Pope Gregory VII. Schaffh. 1856, sq. 7 vols. *Baur*, Christianity and the Christian Church during the first three centuries and from the fourth to the sixth century. Tübing. 1853–59. 2 vols. of Vol. I. 3 ed. Tübing. 1863. For the middle ages and modern times, 3 vols., Tübing. 1861–63. *Hasse*, Ch. H. ed. by *Kohler*. Lps. 1864. In three divisions.

ent condition of theology. Though he seems tolerably satisfied with the account he gives in the fifth volume of the state of theology in most recent times, it is very far from correct. The posthumous lectures of Prof. *Hasse*, of Bonn, edited by *Koehler*, are, on the contrary, distinguished by a spirit of honest historical inquiry, and a fair criticism of ecclesiastical literature. His treatise on Anselm of Canterbury, is remarkable for general honesty and fairness. The abridgments of *Schroeckh*,[1] *Augusti*,[2] *Rehm* and *Schmid*[3] of Erlangen, and the Synchronistic Tables,[4] are very convenient summaries of church history. Finally, *Herzog's Encyclopedia* of the Protestant Church and Theology gives the fullest information on all subjects relating to church history.[5] This grand work was suggested by *Fuhrmann's* small *Dictionary* of the Religion and Church of Christ.[6]

§ 23. *Historians of the Reformed Church.*

The greater number of the theologians of this church began by writing controversial treatises on the particular doctrines and the constitution of the Church, which were directed equally against Lutherans and Catholics. Among the best known of these authors are *Blondel*, *Daillé* (*Dallaeus*), *Aubertin*, and *Jean Claude*. The two last named wrote the History of the Last Supper.

The Anglican bishop, *Pearson*, *Cave*, *Bingham*, *Dodwell*, *Beveridge*, *Usher*, *Grabe*, and *Voss*, are known for their profound studies of Christian antiquities and literature.

Beausobre wrote a treatise on Manicheism; *Lenfant*, a history of the Councils of Pisa and Constance, and many others; *Hottinger*[1] began a universal church history, in which his constant aim was to blacken the Catholic Church; *James Basnage*[2] wrote a church history with the purpose of refuting Bossuet, and *Samuel Basnage*[3] made a similar attempt against Baronius; *Venema*[4] and *Spanheim*[5] wrote in a better temper; *Turretin*,[6] *Jablonski*,[7] *Thyme*,[8] *Münscher*,[9] *Hofstede de Groot*,[1] and *Royaards*, published useful and practical abridgments.

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[1] *Schröckh*, hist. relig. et eccles. Berl. 1777. ed. VII. cura *Marheinecke*, 1828, in usum praelect. catholicorum reformata et aucta a P. Gottfr. *Lumper*, Augustae Vindelic. 1788.

[2] *Augusti*, hist. eccl. epitome. Lps. 1834.

[3] *Rehm*, Abridgment of the Hist. of the Christian Church. Marburg, 1835. *H. Schmid*, Text-book of Ch. H. Nordlg. 1851.

[4] Such were furnished by *Vater*. Halle, 1803. 6 ed. by Thilo, 1833. *C. Shoene*, Berol. 1828. *Hald*, Havn. 1830. *Danz*, Jena, 1838. *Lange*, Jena, 1841. *Douai*, Lps. 1841.

[5] Hamburg, 1855–1864, in 18 vols., with 2 supplem. vols.

[6] Halle, 1826–1829, 3 vols.

The *lectures of Schleiermacher*, collected from his posthumous writings, though only fragmentary, abound in fine passages, are free from vague generalities, and show the author's preference for accurate and precise knowledge. The History of the Reformation, by Professor *Hagenbach*, in which he elegantly and graphically delineates the genius of Christianity in early, medieval, and modern times, and the History of Dogmas by the same author, a work replete with theological learning, were both very favorably received by the public.

Böhringer, a preacher of the canton of Zurich, wrote a church history in a series of biographies in a pleasing and graceful style, which, though evincing considerable knowledge of theology, is disfigured by a bitterly aspersive rationalism and dishonest misrepresentations of the character and practices of Catholics. *W. Zimmermann*, following the example set by Neander, gave special prominence to the interior life of religion.[1] *Merle d'Aubigné*, of Geneva, wrote in French an extravagant and enthusiastic History of the Reformation.[2]

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[1] *Hottinger*, hist. eccl. N. T. Hann. and Tigur. 1655 sq. 9 T.

[2] *J. Basnage*, hist. de l'église depuis J. Chr. Rotterd. 1699. 2 T. f.

[3] *S. Basnage*, annales politico-ecclesiastici. Rotterd. 1706. 4 T. f.

[4] *Venema*, institutt. hist. eccl. N. T. Lugd. 1773 sq. 5 T. 4to (to the end of the sixteenth century).

[5] *Spanheim*, hist. eccl. (opp. Lugd. Batav. 1701, p. 481–1919.)

[6] *Turretini*, hist. eccl. compend. Genev. 1734. Ex ed. *Jo. Simonis*. Hal. 1750.

[7] *Jablonski*, inst. hist. eccl. Frcft. ad Viadrum, 1753. 2 vols. III. T., by *Stosch* and *Schikedanz*. Hal. 1767–86.

[8] *Thym*, Historical Sketch of the Events of the Christian Church. Berlin, 1800 sq. 2 vols.

[9] *Münscher*, Text-book of Christian Ch. H. Marbg. (1804.) 3 ed. 1826.

[10] *Hofstede de Groot*, institutt. hist. eccl. chr. Gron. 1835. *Royaards*, compend. hist. eccl. chr. in usum scholar. Traj. ad Rhen. 1841 sq.

It is somewhat strange that the English who have treated portions of church history with great learning and ability should have studied it as a whole so little and so superficially. *Milner*[3] wrote more fully than any other, but in a tone entirely Methodistical, and more with the purpose of promoting piety than knowledge. *Gregory*[4] and the Presbyterian *Haweis* wrote only on such portions of church history as seemed both attractive and suited to the needs of the educated classes.

Among those who separated from the Reformed Church, histories were written by the Arians, *Christopher Sand* and *William Whiston;* by the Armenian, *John Clericus* (le Clerc); and by the Independent, *Joseph Priestley*.[5] A fresh impulse has very recently been given to the study of church history by the Anglo-Catholic or *Tractarian movement. Pusey*, *Newman*, *Waddington*, *Burton*, *Milman*, *Jarvis*, *Isaac Taylor*, *Wm. Palmer*, and others have written on church history in Great Britain; and, in America, *Henry C. Smith*, *Dr. Alexander*, *Dr. Jno. W. Nevin*, and others not so well known.

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[1] *Schleiermacher*, Hist. of the Christ. Church, edited by Bonnell. Berlin, 1840. *Hagenbach* on the nature and history of the Reformation. Lps. 1834, sq. 6 vols. 2 ed. 1851, sq. Ancient Ch. H. (1857.) 2 ed. 1854, 2 parts. The Middle Ages, 1860, 2 parts. Ch. H. of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (1848), 3 ed. 1856. Text-book of the Hist. of Dogmas (1840), 4 ed., 1857. *Boehringer*, Ch. H. in biographies. Zurich, 1842, sq. 2 vols. in 7 divisions to the sixteenth century. A second edition commenced in 1861. *Zimmermann*, Hist. of the Life of the Church of Christ. Stuttg. 1857. 2 vols.

[2] *Merle d'Aubigné*, Hist. de la reform. du 16. siècle. Paris, 1835, sq. Germ. ed. Elberfeld. 5 vols.

[3] *Milner*, History of the Church, translated into German by Mortimer. Lps. 1803, sq. 2 ed. Gnadau, 1819. 5 vols. (to 1530.) English continuation by *Stebbing*. T. 1. London, 1839.

[4] *Gregory*, Hist. of the Christ. Church. London, 1794. 2 vols.

[5] *Chr. Sandii*, nucleus h. e. exhibitus in hist. Arianor. III. libb. comprehensa. Cosmopoli (i. e. Amsterdam), 1686. Colon. (Amsterd.) 1676. *Whiston*, Sacred History of the O. and N. T. Lond. 1745 (to Constantine). *Clerici*, h. e. duor. primor. a Chr. n. saeculor. Amstel. 1716. Hagae Comitum. 1743. *Priestley*, General History of the Christian Church. Birmingham, 1790. 2 T.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

THE ANCIENT WORLD AND ITS RELATIONS TO CHRISTIANITY, FOR WHICH IT WAS THE PREPARATION.

To fully understand the development of the Church of Christ from the time of her establishment, and to present a clear idea of her progress, it is necessary to take a view of the state and peculiar circumstances of the world at the date of her entrance into it.

The religion of Christ, supernatural in origin, and including in its wide charity mankind in every age and country, necessarily came in conflict with all preëxisting popular creeds. Still, there existed among these ideas common to both, which served as connecting links between the two, and prepared the way for the coming of Christianity into the word "*in the fullness of time.*" This is manifest in the case of the Jews. They were in possession of the true religion, and had received the law and the promise of the Messiah. These truths and promises were preserved among them, either by direct interposition of God, or by ordinances given through the prophets and the priesthood of the law.

Even in Paganism were to be found links which connected it more or less directly with Christianity. In the philosophical systems and in the popular creeds, which professed a belief in the gods, lay hidden the germs of certain truths, just as in the moral code of every nation some virtues are recognized and held in honor. This morality is more pure and sensitive, and the germs of truth more definite and prominent, the further back we go, till finally traces of *Monotheism* may be met with almost everywhere. For this reason, Christ solemnly proclaimed that He "came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it,"[1] and said that He might be likened to a master of a house who bringeth forth out of his treasures new things and old,[1] pointing to the fact that Christianity and the Church of Christ are at once both new and old, their very office being *to restore man to his original state. Sts. Epiphanius* and *Augustine* on this account trace the origin of Christianity and the Church back to the creation.[2] Since, however, the primitive revealed religion, with its accompanying rites and ceremonies, had been greatly corrupted, and well nigh entirely lost among the greater portion of mankind, and had on this account to be restored to its original purity by the Son of God, we may, with Apostle of the Gentiles, recognize in the times *anterior to Christianity* only the elements, or with *Eusebius, only the preparation* for the introduction, of Christianity; while the complete establishment of the Church is the work of Christ alone. These divergencies and points of contact greatly influenced the destinies of the Church from the time of her establishment, accelerated or retarded her growth, brought her into conflict with the world, were the elements of disturbances that sprang up within her own bosom, and stamped their character distinctly upon her.

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[1] Matt. v, 17.

It appears necessary, therefore, if we would present a philosophical view of church history, to take a rapid review of the religious and moral condition of the world prior to the introduction of Christianity.

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[1] Matt. xiii, 52.

[2] *Epiphanius* says: *ἡ νῦν πίστις ἐμπολιτευμένη ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ἁγίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς οὖσα καὶ ὕστερον πάλιν ἀποκαλυφθεῖσα. τῷ γὰρ βουλομένῳ φιλαλήθως ἰδεῖν ἀρχὴ πάντων ἐστὶν ἡ καθολικὴ κὰι ἁγία ἐκκλησία* (haeres. lib. I. nr. V). (The faith now naturalized in the present Holy Catholic Church of God was in the beginning, and was afterward again revealed; for to him who wishes to see the truth, the Catholic and Holy Church is the beginning of all things.) In like manner, St. Augustin. de civ. Dei, lib. XVIII, c. 51, sub finem: "Sic in hoc saeculo, in his diebus malis, non solum a tempore praesentiae Christi et Apostolorum ejus, sed ab ipso Abel, quem primum justum impius frater occidit, et deinceps usque in hujus saeculi finem inter persecutiones mundi et consolationes Dei peregrinando procurrit Ecclesia." And in his first book of Retractions, chap. 13, he says: "Res ipsa, quae nunc christiana religio nuncupatur, erat et apud antiquos, nec defuit ab initio generis humani, quosque ipse Christus veniret in carne; unde vera religio, quae jam erat, coepit appellari christiana." Resting on this fundamental truth, *Abbé Rohrbacher*, following in the wake of former church historians, such as Natalis Alexander, Graveson, Stolberg, etc., has drawn the time before Christ into the exposition of Christian Church History, as historia ecclesiastica Veteris Testamenti.

REVIEW OF THE RELIGIOUS, MORAL, AND POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE PAGANS AND JEWS AT THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

"You were without God—you were dead." Ephes. ii. 1; v. 12; Conf. Rom. i. 21-25. "The scepter shall not be taken away from Judah, nor a ruler from His thigh, till He come that is to be sent, and He shall be the expectation of nations." Gen. xlix. 10. "And I will move all nations; and the *Desired of all nations* shall come." Aggeus. ii. 8; Conf. Isai. xi. 10; xlii. 6.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.—*Eusebius*, in the *προπαρασκευὴ εὖ αγγελικὴ*, libb. XV. ed. *Vigerus*, Paris, 1628; ed. *Gaisford*, Oxon. 1843 (lib. I-VI); ed. *Dindorf*, Lps. 1867. *St. Augustine*, in the first ten books of the City of God, libb. XXII, ed. ster. Lps. (1825) 1863. 2 T. Translated into English by Rev. M. Dods, M. A., Edinburgh, 1871. 2 vols. 8vo. (Tr.) German translation, Cologne, 1850. 2 vols. 8vo. Conf. †*Reinkens*, the Philosophy of History in St. Augustine. Schaff hausen, 1866. †**Rohrbacher*, Universal History of the Christian Church. German edition by *Huelskamp* and *Rump*. Münster, 1860-63, pts. 1-3.

WORKS.—**Creuzer*, Symbolism and Mythology of Ancient Nations, especially the Greeks. Lps. (1810 and 1819, sqq.) 2 ed. 1837. 4 vols. For the opposite view: *Lobeck*, Aglaophamus. 2 vols. Regiom. 1829. *Welker*, Greek Mythology. 3 vols. Goetting. 1857-63. *F. Jacobs*, Paganism and Christianity, miscellaneous writings. Vol. VI. Lps. 1837. *Naegelsbach*, Post-Homeric Theology of Grecian popular belief. Nuernberg, 1857. *Curtius*, Olympia. Berlin, 1852. *Preller*, Greek Mythology. 2 vols. Lps. 1854. (Tr.) †**J. Görres*, History of the Myths of the Asiatic World. Heidelberg, 1810. 2 vols. *Stuhr*, Religious Systems of Pagan Nations. Berlin, 1837. †*Stiefelhagen*, Theology of Paganism. Ratisbon, 1858. *Tholuck*, Nature and Moral Influence of Paganism. (*Neander's* Memorabilia of the History of Christianity, vol. I.) †*Sepp*, Paganism. Ratisbon, 1853. 3 vols. With de Maistre's motto, "Who will interpret for us mythology in such a manner as to show all Christian verities prefigured in it." †**Döllinger*, The Jew and the Gentile: The Fore-courts of Christianity. Ratisbon, 1857. †*Gförer*, Primitive History of Mankind. Schaffhausen, 1855. 2 vols. †*Möller*, Primeval History: the People of God, the Nations of the East. Freiburg, 1862.

§ 24. *The True Idea of Paganism.*

†**Möhler*, Paganism (histor. polit. papers, Vol. II). †**Lüken*, Traditions of the human race, or the primitive manifestation of God among men. Münster, 1855. *Kuhn*, Opposition of Paganism and Christianity in their moral views of the world. Tübingen Quarterly, year 1841, n. 2.) *Fabri*, Origin of Paganism and object of missions among Pagans. Bonn, 1859.

Before inquiring particularly what constitutes the preparation for Christianity, and what were the points of contact between it and Paganism, it may be well to gain an idea of the latter sufficiently accurate and comprehensive to guarantee a fair and just appreciation of it.

According to some, Paganism is a state perfectly natural to man, and indispensable as a preparatory condition to the development of the human mind; or, as it pleases some to term it, "*the virgin bloom of nature*," the legitimate and necessary outcome of which is Christianity.

A *second* view, and one directly opposed to the preceding, will admit neither truth in the religious tenets of the Pagans nor aught of good in their lives.[1]

There is a *third* view, which takes a middle course between the two extremes, and is based upon the words of St. Paul,[2] who affirms that the Pagans enjoyed a partial knowledge of the truth, gradually lost that little, and became, on this account, more and more corrupt and immoral. This is precisely the testimony which Paganism has borne to its own character. Ancient traditions make constant reference to a *golden age*, which, though never to return, is a perpetual theme with the poets, who represent it as the peaceful, happy, and glorious epoch of the human race.

Similar references to some past age of happiness may be found in the traditions of every nation, and imply a consciousness of guilt, a trespass against the gods by which former bliss was forfeited, and the grievous evils that afterward came upon the world entailed.

The golden age, the first of the world during which, according to Hesiod, *Cronos* wielded the scepter, differed materially from the silver and brazen ages, but still more from the age of iron, so replete with misery to the human race.

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[1] This is the view of symbolic Protestantism; wherefore Melanchthon, in his loc. theol., declared: Esto fuerit quaedam in Socrate constantia, in Xenocrate castitas, in Zenone temperantia, non debent pro veris virtutibus sed pro vitiis haberi. It is against this view the council of Trent protested, declaring: Si quis dixerit, opera omnia, quae ante justificationem fiunt, quacunque ratione fiant, vere esse peccata et odium Dei mereri, aut quanto vehementius quis nititur se disponere ad gratiam tanto gravius peccare—anathema sit. (Sess. VI. can. 7.)

[2] Rom. i. 17–32.

During the golden age men lived like gods; their minds were without care, their bodies exempt from toil, and their days spent in one continued round of banqueting and pleasure. They enjoyed in peace the fruits which the earth produced spontaneously and in abundance. After a time, Cronos and the Titans, aided by the powers of darkness, the Cyclops and Hecatoncheirs, rebelled against heaven, and were speedily punished for their temerity. Cronos was stripped of his sovereignty, and the golden age came to an end. The myth of Prometheus is probably of similar origin. He was excluded from the company of the gods on account of ingratitude, and Pandora, a woman formed of earth and water by Hephaestos, completed his ruin.

Legends of the various ages of the world are also found among the Roman and Italic nations in pretty much the same form, with the exception that Saturn takes the place of Cronos.

In the ancient myths of northern nations, the Ases, who are sometimes represented as gods, and at others as men, are said to have enjoyed in the beginning of the world the privilege of dwelling in Asgard, or paradise, from which they were excluded on account of their excessive love of money and woman's lust.

There exist in Asia still more striking evidences of this tradition. The *Hindoo* legend enumerates four ages of the world, the first of which is the age of truth, when Brahma, the first man, lived, who, because of his pride, was expelled from Brahmapatna, or paradise.

A tradition has been preserved among the *Chinese* sect of Tao-tse, according to which men, in ages long gone by, are said to have lived in a state of perfect happiness and in complete accord with the brute creation. The legend goes on to say that after they had enjoyed this felicity for many generations, Fo-hi, begotten of a dragon that came out of the deep, acquired knowledge, which instantly dispelled their happiness.

The *Zendavesta*, or holy books, of the Persians, also give four ages of the world, during the first of which the land created by Ormuzd is represented as the abode of peace and plenty; but the first men suffered themselves to be deluded by Ahriman, and lost, in consequence, "the hundred happinesses" which they had hitherto enjoyed.

The ancient traditions of the savage tribes of Africa and America, though scanty and incomplete, contain substantially the same belief,[1] and it is an undeniable fact that all nations have divided their history into at least two periods, during the first of which man is represented as enjoying a more perfect state of existence, and during the second, as having, through his own fault, lapsed from it into Paganism. And this view receives stronger confirmation in proportion as the historical account of the social, political, and religious condition of the Pagan world becomes more full and precise. Owing to the prevailing corruption, the living knowledge of the *One True God*, once possessed by man, gradually died away, leaving no trace of its existence save a vague memory and an indefinite longing, till finally the traditions that interpreted the relations between man and his Maker, like strains of music issuing from some far-off paradise, fell unheeded upon minds stained with sin; and the full glory of primitive revelation faded away into the misty twilight of error.[2]

After man had become estranged from God, the grandest and most sublime object that could occupy his mind was *nature and nature's works;* and he contemplated with wonder her unvarying manifestations, whether as the bearers of blessings or the messengers of destruction. It is not surprising, then, that man, having lost, in the knowledge of the true God, the only means of properly interpreting the phenomena and laws of nature, should have worshiped these as the objects most worthy of his reverence, and deified the power of reproduction. God was thenceforth either wholly identified with nature, a belief which resulted in *Pantheism* and *Emanation*, or a *Dualism* was introduced, which admitted a principle of evil equal in power with God, and coëternal in duration, but in direct antagonism to Him. Nay, more, the demons, or subordinate spirits, and the phenomena of nature shared the divine homage; and hence arose the worship of the stars, the apotheosis of the living and the dead, the adoration of animals, and a gloomy and degrading fetichism, or prostration before idols of wood and stone. In this way the idea of a God essentially one was well-nigh lost; and if it still lingered among certain nations, it was only by making a single god supreme over all the rest, as the Allfadur, or Father-of-all, among the Germans. But the being in whom this preëminence was recognized was, by his very office, also elevated to such a height that he ceased to be an object of worship, and the words of the apostle were literally fulfilled: "When they had known God they have not glorified Him as God."

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[1] For particulars, see Lücken, p. 74–126.

[2] *Creuzer*, Symbolism, 2 ed. Vol. I. pp. 11, 12: "But I hold fast to my main point in all its bearings. It is the fundamental doctrine of a primitive pure knowledge and worship of *One God*, in relation to which all subsequent religions appear as the broken and paled rays compared with the full effulgence of the sun."

Among the Greeks and Romans the only trace of any recognition of the unity of God was to be found in their abstract idea of "*Fate*," a power which, though directing the destinies of all things and urging them on by a blind and irresistible necessity, could be neither understood nor worshiped. The *Pagan idea* of both *God* and *man* was essentially *wrong.* The former not being an absolute spirit, could claim only an external worship; and hence the Pagans could form no conception of either spiritual self-sacrifice and an unreserved surrender of the will to God, or an offering of a clean heart. Their only sacrifice was either one of propitiation, to appease the angry gods and deprecate their favor for the future, or of joyful thanksgiving in acknowledgment of benefits. As Pagans had no conception of God as a holy and free being, it was quite impossible that they should place before their minds ethical considerations as motives to action; and it was on this account equally impossible to find among them any traces of either humility or holiness, in the Christian sense of these words. There was not even a word in their languages adequate to express their meaning, which was so little understood and appreciated that even in public acts of worship, like those in honor of Bel at Babylon and of Aphrodite at Corinth and on the island of Cyprus, the *grossest immorality* was practiced, and lust personified as a goddess, to whom thousands of priestesses dedicated themselves and did her honor, by leading lives of prostitution. The welfare of the state was the highest motive, and it must be admitted that this was at times sufficient to inspire men to practice the most exalted *civic virtues.* And since Paganism did not search for motives outside of the finite, man could not, through its teachings, acquire a knowledge of his supernatural destiny, and he gradually forgot that he was immortal. This fact may be offered in explanation of the *excessive fear of death*[1] so common among Pagans and of the continual dread of its approach. Homer brings out in many passages this state of feeling, with endless variety of expression.[2]

> "The race of man is as the race of leaves:
> Of leaves, one generation by the wind
> Is scattered on the earth; another soon
> In spring's luxuriant verdure bursts to light.
> So with our race; these flourish, those decay.
> Wretched mortals! for of all that breathe
> And walk upon the earth, or creep, is naught
> More wretched than th' unhappy race of man."
> —*The Earl of Derby's Transl.*

Akin to this erroneous notion of the destiny of man and the immortality of the soul, was the existence and universal sanction of *slavery.*

The inhuman treatment of slaves and the lavish and reckless loss of life so remarkably exemplified in their gladiatorial combats, excited in the Pagan world no surprise, or compassion for a fellow-being. When man looks upon himself as only mortal, he can have no true respect for the real dignity of human nature either in himself or in others.

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[1] †**Lasaulx*, de mortis dominatu in veteres. Monaci, 1835. *W. Menzel*, the Pre-Christian Doctrine of Immortality. Lps. 1870. 2 vols. *Schneider*, the Idea of Immortality in the belief and philosophy of ancient nations. Ratisbon, 1870.

[2] *Homeri*, Ilias VI, 146, and XVII, 446–47. Similarly, *Democritus*, "Man's whole life is but a protracted illness." And *Sophoclis* Antigone, vers. 1011, "It is the common lot of all men to sin." Also, the universal and oft repeated saying, "The greatest blessing is not to be born at all; the next best thing, to die as soon as possible." *Lactantius*, institutt. relig. chr. III, 18, 19. *Augustin.* contra Julian., IV. 15. *Döllinger*, Paganism, p. 266, sq.

Notwithstanding these wild excesses of Paganism, there lingered in the souls of individual persons *traces of the divine image and heavenly aspirations* that raised the heart to God, and though these grew daily weaker and less articulate, they were never entirely hushed. The very errors of the Pagans and their belief in gods proved that the knowledge of the One True God, though fearfully perverted, had not been entirely lost. Its preservation was due to the lingering light of primitive revelation, which the intercourse constantly kept up between one nation and another, prevented from ever being wholly extinguished; while the mysteries of Paganism gave a deeper meaning to both its own myths and the remnants of early tradition. The various philosophical systems as such, and independently of the peculiar teachings of each, though entirely incapable of imparting a knowledge of the supernatural, exercised an ennobling influence upon the mind, by raising it above the material, and introducing it into the ideal world.

As the mind expanded under this elevating influence, the senseless myths of the popular religion gradually lost ground, and were finally altogether rejected, and this notwithstanding the fact that Greek and Roman philosophers accused of such impiety were frequently punished with death. Unbelief and skepticism were slowly but surely undermining the popular belief, leaving a longing in men's minds for they know not what. Such was the condition of the Graeco-Roman Empire, immediately before the birth of Christ, that men, in despair of anything better, embraced the religion of foreigners, and were initiated into their mysterious rites and ceremonies, that by this means they might quiet, if they could not entirely silence, the voice of conscience. This state of things afforded the Roman satirists abundant matter for ridicule, and their cold scorn and contempt aggravated the mental anguish of the many; while the philosophers found themselves unable to build up anything to replace what they had pulled down.

The yearning of the soul for its God became daily more imperative, and finally found expression in the numerous *prophecies of a Redeemer* to come, which, first appearing in the East, rapidly spread to the West, and abundantly show that all things pointed to the coming of the Savior. The causes, both good and indifferent, which contributed to produce this state of mind among the Pagans, merit attention. They are—1. The obscure *traces of primitive* and sacred *revelation* preserved among all nations, or the influence of revelation upon the ancient philosophers, who, as the Christian apologists constantly assert, drew the inspiration of their teachings from the Old Testament; 2. The *active influence of the Word* (λόγος), working in harmony with divine Providence in directing the religious development of mankind;[1] 3. The influence exercised upon the Pagans by the *Jewish people*, to whom the deposit of divine revelation had been intrusted, and who were living and competent witnesses to the fact; 4. *The human mind* cut off from God and left to itself, could not endure the hopelessness of such an existence.

§ 25. *Religion of the Famous Oriental Nations.*

†* *Windischmann*, History of Philosophy in the progress of the World's History. *Von Drey*, Apologetics, Vol. II, p. 96, sq. *Gfroerer*, Primordial History of the Human Race, vol. I and II. †*Bumüller*, History of Babylonia and Assyria, Syria, Phenicia, Israel, and Egypt. Freiburg, 1863.

Among Oriental nations many evidences of primitive revelation have been preserved.

The Vedas of the Hindoos, and the Zendavesta of the Persians, speak no less clearly than the Pentateuch, of the first man as one taught of God.

Still, the religious systems of those nations were far from being in accord with the truths of primitive revelation; on the contrary, they were greatly corrupted, and in general based on astrology. *Pantheism* was the prevailing religious *belief of Eastern*, and *Dualism*, *of Western Asia;* but the latter soon became a modified Pantheism, and the idea of creation common to both was expressed by *Emanation*.

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[1] *Tertullian* adversus Praxeam, c. 16. A primordio omnem ordinem divinæ dispensationis *per Filium* decurrisse. Also John i. 4, 5, 9, 10.

I. The religion of the *Chinese*,[1] the inhabitants of the Celestial Kingdom, or "The people of the Middle," is a system of natural philosophy thrown into the form of a religious creed, the origin of which is attributed to various persons—the most ancient of these *Fo-hi*, who is said to have been born 3370 B. C. Following him in the sixth century before Christ, the philosoper, *Lao-tse*, who in a limited sense advocated Hindoo teachings, proclaimed the doctrine of Tao or Supreme Reason; while his contemporary and rival *Cong-fu-tse*, the celebrated moralist, who died 479 B. C., perfected the established religion of China by making it a sort of philosophical state creed, and pointed for the truth of his own moral code to the examples of the distinguished emperors Jao and Shun. At the end of the fourth century before Christ, the teachings of *Meng-tse*, another moral philosopher, created fresh religious schisms, whose influence prepared China for the Hindoo doctrine of *Buddha*, by which, under the name of the religion of Fo, that country was invaded in the year 65 B. C., and was the occasion of the first introduction of idols into it.

The ancient Chinese believed that the primeval state of the world was an *infinite and eternal void*, out of which by fusion of the elements all things came, and to which they will again return. They had neither word nor sign in their language adequate to express or represent the Supreme Being, and used instead, either *Tesn*, meaning Heaven, or *Tao*, Supreme Reason; a power whose manifestations were visible in the starry heavens, on the earth, and in man.[2] This power was first *personified in the emperor*, the monarchy being with the Chinese a type of heaven and the expression of eternal reason. *Cong-fu-tse* gave definite shape to these religious theories, adjusted their relation with human life and conduct, and thus became the author of the *Chinese moral code of* utility, which, with all its emptiness, contained beautiful thoughts on filial love and submission.[1] Buddhism imparted to it a thoroughly religious element, of which more will be said hereafter.

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[1] *Windischmann* in the work cited above, pt. 1, div. 1. †*H. J. Schmitt*, Primit. revel., or the great doctrines of Christianity, shown in the myths and documents of the most ancient nations, especially in the canon. books of the Chinese. Landshut, 1834. *Von Drey*, Vol. II, p. 96–108. *Gfroerer*, Vol. I, p. 211–287.

[2] This idea of the Trinity is still more explicitly developed in the doctrine of Lao-tse. Conf. *Sepp*, Paganism, vol. I, p. 79; and Lao-tse, Tao-te-king, the way of virtue. Translated from the Chinese (into German) by *v. Plänkner.* Lps. 1870.

Side by side with the esoteric doctrines of Buddhism, and while they were being assimilated to the natural philosophy of the Chinese sages, there sprang up a *popular* and exoteric *religion* decidedly *polytheistic* in character, which accorded supreme homage to Tien, or heaven, to whom even the emperors offered sacrifice. There were also eight subordinate gods introduced by Fo-hi, who presided as tutelary deities over a corresponding number of primary elements, viz., ether, pure water, pure fire, thunder, wind, common water, mountains, and the earth.

The *followers of Buddha*, who now constituted the great mass of the people, worshiped him as a second-principle deity, and paid divine homage to his numerous spirits who presided as tutelary deities over particular places and callings. They seem by a sort of vicarious agency to have represented Buddha in the various elements, and given to Buddhism, which was otherwise of a spiritual character, a well-defined note of Fetichism. Many sects honored these different lesser deities by sacrifices, feasts, and ceremonies. Chinese of every rank paid a species of worship to their relatives after death up to the sixth generation, and the higher orders rendered divine honors to Cong-fu-tse by sacrificial offerings. They celebrated the anniversary of their deceased parents by formally inviting the spirits of the departed to a banquet, at which meats were served. Some of the sects, besides admitting the *immortality of the soul*, professed a belief in the existence of particular places, designated by them as *heaven* and *hell*, and out of the latter there was no redemption except through the efforts of surviving relatives. They also believed in a particular judgment after death, the arbiter of which, according to some, would be heaven, and according to others, Buddha or Phat, as he was called by the inhabitants of Cochin China and Tonquin. They furthermore expected a *Redeemer*, who was to come *from the West*.

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[1] *Stolberg*, Hist. of the Rel. of Jesus Christ, pt. 2, append. 4.

II. *India*.[1] We have more abundant information concerning the religion of this country, but the want of an accurate chronology renders it exceedingly difficult to determine its nature, and the successive steps of its growth and development. It may, however, be assumed with tolerable certainty that the Brahminism, which replaced the polytheistic worship contained in the Vedas, is more ancient than the religion of Buddha. There is, nevertheless, a great discrepancy of opinion relative to the precise date at which the latter was introduced, some placing it as far back as 1000, and others bringing it down to 500 B. C.

The two systems, *Brahminism* and *Buddhism*, are so interwoven with each other that it is difficult to say precisely what properly belongs to the one and what to the other. The most remarkable evidence of the civilization of the Hindoos is their sacred, but now dead language, the *Sanscrit*. It is admirably adapted to a high state of culture, exceedingly rich in the terminology of philosophy, and is the language of the *Vedas* or sacred books, which contain all revealed truths and form the four most ancient collections of documents bearing on religion. The Hindoos assert that the information contained in them came, in the earliest times, from the lips of the deity, and that it was the basis of all literature, laws, and religion. The *laws of Manu*, or the first man, were held in high esteem and considered the groundwork of all legal enactments, and he himself was ingeniously styled the grandson of Brahma. The Vedas and the laws of Manu must be regarded as the earliest developments of Hindoo civilization, to which may be added the Brahminic theology, a growth of later date.

The earliest worship of the Hindoos was a purely *natural*

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[1] *Fred. v. Schlegel* on the language and wisdom of the Hindoos. Heidelbg. 1808. P. *v. Bohlen*, Ancient India, with special reference to Egypt. Koenigsbg. 1830. 2 vols. *Windischmann*, cited above, 1 pt., 2, 3, and 4 div. Bonn, 1832–34. *Lassen*, Hindoo antiquities. Bonn, 1847–52. 2 vols. *v. Drey*, vol. II., p. 108 sq. *Gfroerer*, vol. I., p. 144–210.

religion, in which it is not difficult to discover in the honors paid to the cow and ox traces of zoolatry.

The Vedas mention as gods of the first rank *Indra*, god of air, thunder, and rains; *Varuna*, god of the vault of heaven which surrounds the air; and *Agni*, the god of fire, each of whom had a wife called respectively Indrani, Varunani, and Agnani.

Among the divinities of the second rank, the most prominent were the gods of light, of whom the god of the sun, known by different names, was the highest in dignity. He was designated, according to the attributes, phases, and effects of the object he was supposed to represent, generator, nourisher, aurora, meridian sun, beams, etc. To the air, over which Indra presided, belonged also the winds. These were characterized as gods, *Rudra* being the god of storms, and called the destroyer and the shining boar of the heavens. In Brahminic theology he was made one of the trinity, and his name changed to Shiva, the destroyer.

Out of this natural religion, modified by various oriental systems, *grew the philosophical religion of nature*, in which many evidences of an advance toward a more intelligent conception of the truth may be discovered. *Brahma*, the Supreme Being of the Hindoos, had more definiteness than Tien of the Chinese, and this became still more noticeable after he came to be known under the name of Parabrahma.

It was said that the distance between the infinite and the finite can not be bridged over in any other way than by *emanations* proceeding from the Supreme Being and Infinite Substance. These emanations were numberless in kind and finally reached man, animals, and plants, by which process they grew ever more limited and imperfect. Hence, the first emanations were divinities, and succeeding ones, by reason of contact with matter and sexual intercourse, became, as it were, fettered and imprisoned, and on this account all finite things were declared to be unhappy and the world itself evil.

It is comforting to find that there existed among the Hindoos, side by side with this saddening evidence of an apostacy from God, indications of a return to Him. Proof of this may be found in their love of retirement from the world, in their contemplative habits of life and merciless expiations. One of the consequences of this return is the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, the object of which is to purify them from all stain of sin, that they may be found worthy to be united to the divine substance. All this supplies an undoubted proof that the Hindoos believed in the immortality of the soul.

Brahma appeared to the Hindoos in person, but without form, under the name of *Parabrahma.* Still he was not entirely an abstract and isolated being, but came within the scope of man's knowledge by personifying himself under the various names of *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Shiva*, who proceeded from him as the creating, preserving, and destroying principles, each of whom, however, preserves his own individuality without detriment to that of any of the others. Such was the *trimûrti* or trinity of the Hindoo religion. To carry out the principle of emanation mentioned above, each of these personages was provided with a wife. Parashatti, the first mother, was the wife of Parabrahma; Sarasvadi, the wife of Brahma; Rakshmi, the prolific, the wife of Vishnu; and Paravadi, the chastening, the wife of Shiva.

A *Savior* was promised who should raise man from his abandoned and degraded state. This was Vishnu, who completed the work of redemption in nine or ten incarnations or avataras. The undisciplined mind of the Hindoo represented him in his first incarnation under the form of animals, but in his ninth as a man bearing the name of *Sakya-Muni*, known at a later date as *Buddha*, or the wise, the learned one.

The doctrine of *Buddhism*,[1] which came into existence at a later period, owed its origin to the son of the king, *Gautama*, and was established, not as has been erroneously affirmed, in the year 2422 or 1366 or 950, but during the sixth century before Christ, when Solon was organizing the Athenian republic, and Cong-fu-tse was at the head of the Chinese empire; when Pythagoras was teaching in Lower Italy, and Cyrus building up the great Persian monarchy. Gautama gave up his throne, his palaces, and the pleasures of court life, and, like the Brahmins, retired into the wilderness, where he spent six years in contemplation, fasting, and other acts of mortification, in the vain hope of attaining the state of ecstatic happiness he so much desired.

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[1] Freiburg Ecclesiastical Dictionary, vol. XII, art. "*Buddhism.*" **Koeppen*, the Buddha religion and its origin, vol. I., Berlin, 1857; vol. II., 1859, the Lama Hierarchy and Church.

A little later, while reclining under a fig-tree, the full light of knowledge, or Bodhi, dawned upon him and he became invested with all the prerogatives of Buddha, the wise or enlightened god in human form. He did not conceal his knowledge from the multitude, like the Brahmins, who considered it the heritage of a privileged class, but proclaimed it openly to audiences of enthusiastic hearers. He died 543 B. C., and his body was burnt with all the ceremonious pomp due to the supreme ruler of the whole country. He left no writings, but his discourses and instructions were taken down by his disciples, who subsequently so enlarged them by additions that they are now sufficiently numerous to form an immense library. It is very evident that the attempt to reconcile ancient doctrines with others unmistakably modern, every step of which is historically connected with the Buddhist synods, produced in the Buddhist religion that confusion for which it is remarkable.

Buddha followed in his teachings the system of Brahma, without, however, introducing any new form of worship. "Brahma," said he, "dwells in homes where children honor their parents." The new teachings had mainly in view the introduction of a code of morals, original Buddhism having been rather a *system of morality* than a religion. Its underlying principle, like that of Brahminism, was the conviction that the *life of man* is a continued state of *misery*, carried from generation to generation by the transmigration of souls. To be delivered from this misfortune, intimately united with, and merged in the Supreme Being, was, according to Brahminism, the supreme good; while according to Buddhism, it consisted in the Nirvana or total loss of one's personality. To merit this happiness one was obliged to renounce his own inclinations, detach himself from all things earthly, and utterly disregard all temporal good. Should any one have failed to reach this degree of perfection before death, his soul was condemned to again undergo a new migration and metempsychosis. To facilitate the attainment of this state of mind, oral instructions were given on the "*four sublime verities*," viz., pain, origin of pain, destruction of pain, and the means of destroying pain. The moral lessons were embodied in the "*three acts of submission*," or Tristarana, by which faith in the doctrines of Buddha was professed and submission to them acknowledged. Besides these there were the *twice* "*ten commandments of doctrine*," mostly of a negative character, and entirely lost sight of in the profuse detail of outward ceremonial. Everything contributed to produce an extravagant external monasticism, the perfection of which consisted in the ten progressive steps of almsgiving, virtue, patience, exertion, contemplation, wisdom, illuminating knowledge, prayer, strength, and learning. Public worship consisted originally in the offering of flowers and incense before the image of Buddha and the tomb containing his relics. Buddha is always represented with crossed legs, sitting in the attitude of meditation, his hand raised toward his breast as in the act of teaching. Buddhism, no longer confined to its native home on the Ganges, enjoyed an unlooked for popularity. For, in the third century B. C., in virtue of a collegiate decree, messengers were sent out for the purpose of propagating this doctrine, which before long found countless followers in all India and Ceylon. It afterward spread to the North, and at the time of Christ, favored by the emperors, obtained a firm footing. In the fifth century B. C., the 28th Buddha transferred his see to Tibet, a vassal state of China. The Buddhists rejected the doctrine of castes upon which the Brahmins set so much importance, and the latter became, in consequence, their uncompromising foes. So determined and obstinate was the opposition of the Brahmins that the Buddhists were eventually driven out of India. But in Tibet and among the Tartars, Buddhism acquired an immense popularity. Its priests, who were called Lamas, were persons of the most distinguished consideration, and the patriarchs, who resided at Lassa, received the title of *Dalai-Lama*, or Ocean-like Lama.[1] Even at the present day it has many institutions resembling those of Christianity, such as a hierarchy, monasticism, celibacy of the clergy, processions, pilgrimages, a kind of tonsure, choir-service, and many others, all of which are stupidly and maliciously brought forward as arguments against the Catholic Church.

The apparent similarity between the customs of the two may find some explanation in the fact that Lamaism was introduced at a time when the Nestorian Christians were already well known in those countries. Moreover, the embassadors frequently sent thither from the Papal court during the Middle Ages, practiced their religion openly and without molestation, under the very eyes of the native princes.[2]

III. The *countries of the Euphrates and the Tigris* were inhabited by the ancient nation of *Chaldeans*, in Hebrew Chasdim, with Babylon as their capital. Their religion consisted in a *worship of the stars*. The *sun* was the supreme god whom they adored as the source of light and heat, under the name of *Bel*. They gave a secondary rank to the moon, which they called Beltis, or Mylitta, and worshiped her with immoral religious rites. It is well known that the Chaldeans, though the best astronomers of antiquity, were also *astrologers* and horoscopers. The *Magi*, or philosophers, learned men and priests of ancient Persia, possessed great political influence in the early days of the empire. The sacred books of the Persians were the *Zend-Avesta*, or Living Word, to which the *Bundehesh*, a work treating of cosmogony, was added during the time of the Sassanidae.[3] We are informed by these books that Zaratustra, the Zoroaster of the Greeks, who lived probably during the thirteenth century before Christ, having been favored by many revelations from God, became the author and promulgator of the *religion of Zend*, probably one of the purest and most spiritual of all Pagan religions.

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[1] Freiburg Eccl. Cyclopedia, Vol. XII., p. 179 sq., and Vol. VI., p. 317–321.

[2] *Schlegel*, Philosophy of Hist., Vol. I., p. 114. *Nich. Wiseman*, Connection of Science and Revealed Religion.

[3] *Kleuker*, Zend-Avesta in German. Riga, 1776. Append. to the same. Riga, 1781–83. Zend-Avesta abridged. Riga, 1789. *Avesta*, the sacred writings of the Parsees, translated into German by *Spiegel*. Lps. 1852–59. 2 vols. *Dr. Haug*, on Zend-Avesta, in English. Bombay, 1862. *Windischmann*, the Persian Anahito, or Anaitis: a contribution toward the Mythology of the East. Munich, 1856. ***Döllinger***, Paganism, p. 351–390.

It was indeed a Dualism, but the good principle, *Ormuzd*, was supreme, and the great central idea of all things. He was the pure, the true, and the eternal god, *who created the world*, not by emanation, but *by the power of his word;* he dwelt in light inaccessible, and in a firmament of his own creation.[1]

In direct antagonism to him was *Ahriman*, a spirit of darkness, untruthfulness, and death, who, though neither omnipotent nor omniscient, but gifted with a sort of "*second-hand knowledge*," attempted on all occasions to mar what was good, and was the author of all the evil of the world. His power, however, was destined to be some day weakened, and himself destroyed. The tradition making Ormuzd and Ahriman the sons of Zervana Acarena, a being both omnipotent and eternal, seems to have been an invention of a later date.

At the side of Ormuzd were six minor deities, called *Amshaspands*, in whom the virtues and good attributes were personified. Of these Ormuzd himself formed the seventh. Ahriman had also at his side an equal number of minor deities called *Dews*. Besides these there were lesser gods, or *Izeds*, so named because they were reputed worthy of adoration. The greatest of them was *Mithra*, the sun god, created by Ormuzd.[2] There were also *Fervers*, corresponding to the angels of revelation. It would seem that Zoroaster was not the author of Maganism, or fire worship, it having been adopted from foreign nations. The teachings of *Sosiosh*, the victorious hero, also mentioned in the Bundehesh, were to the effect that he, by the power of Ormuzd, *raised the dead to life*, and that these, after the resurrection, were destined *to become immortal*. There was, moreover, a particular judgment for each individual—the good would enter *paradise*, and the rest to go to the abode of the wicked.

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[1] *Herod.* Histor. I. 131 and 132.

[2] *Felix Layard*, recherches sur le culte public et les mystères de *Mithra* en Orient et en Occident. Paris, 1847, with many illustrations.

The teachings of Zoroaster, besides the above tenets, included many *astrological superstitions*, such as the worship of the stars and the forces of nature. Astrology was, in fact, the basis of the whole system. On this account the Greeks, at a later period, represented the Persians as polytheists, because they worshiped the stars, *fire*, and the other elements, instead of men raised to the rank of gods.

For the purpose of conveying instruction and directing the exercises of public *worship*, there was instituted an order of *Magi*, or priests, of three distinct grades—the learners, or Herbeds; the masters, or Mobeds, and the chief master, or Destur-mobed—who during the twelve *solar* months celebrated the *five principal* feasts, corresponding to the *five hours* of the day when it was obligatory on all to offer prayer. The moral teachings of the code are contained in *five commandments*, enjoining the observance of the law of Ormuzd, the founding of cities and villages, the promotion of agriculture, and the raising of domestic animals; to which were added *five prohibitions*, forbidding anything contrary to what was prescribed by the code.

During the reign of Xerxes I., when the immorality prevalent at court rapidly spread from the higher to the lower classes, various forms of superstition came into vogue and corrupted the very best elements of this religion; while the victories of Alexander brought with them the manners and customs of the Greeks, whose contempt for everything barbarous became fashionable throughout the country. After the Arsacidae had overthrown the Sassanidae, the doctrines of Zoroaster regained something of their original purity, and became once more the prevalent religion of the land; but through the ignorance and corruption of both priests and people it again degenerated into the grossest idolatry. The accounts that reach us of the immorality common at the court of the Arsacidae during the decline of religion are most startling.

IV. If the superiority of matter to the spirit is quite visible in the religious systems of the Hindoos, it is still more conspicuous among the nations of Hither Asia, such as the

Chaldeans, *Phenicians*, and *Syrians*. The worship of the *sun*, *earth*, and *moon*, the seeds of which were derived from the Persian Mithra, is common to them all, though the worship of the stars or Sabeism belonged more distinctively to the *Chaldeans* than to any other people.[1] Throughout Asia Minor, the earth, or principle of fecundity, was called indifferently *Mylitta*, *Lilith*, *Derketo*, *Astaroth*, and *Brimo*, and *Aliath*, among the Arabians. But the sun, or male principle, was everywhere known as the Lord, or *Adoni*. They were the parents of the human race, and their relations as such were represented in mythology by Taurus, or the Boar, the symbol of winter, which was roused from its lethargic state by a virgin of doubtful character, known among different nations as Aphrodite, Artemis, Hecate, and Ashtaroth. Sexual intercourse was never lost sight of in these material religions, even the origin of the world being attributed to it, which may account for the licentious enthusiasm and unbridled lust so characteristic of their grossly obscene religious ceremonies.

As proof of this, it will be sufficient to instance the worship of Phallus, the ceremonies of Priapism, the religious honors paid to Mylitta, the goddess of lust, as well as others of a like character, to which may be added the savage and bloody sacrifices of human beings, and particularly children to the angry elements, as was the custom at the ceremonies in honor of *Dagon* and *Derketo*, *Moloch* and *Astarte*, *Baal* and *Mylitta*.

The infamous traffic in slaves, carried on by the Phenicians, explains why they were despised by ancient nations and execrated as the most vile of mankind.[2]

V. *Egypt*[3] presented in her religion all the peculiarities of both East and West. Bearing in many particulars a striking resemblance to India, the points of difference between them were nevertheless both obvious and numerous. *Astrology was* the *basis* of both Brahmanism and the religion of Egypt. The underlying idea of the somewhat confused mythological system of this country was, that primeval matter—that is, heaven or darkness—by an inherent male principle of generation, brought forth a new god called *Sun*, who afterward begot of his mother other gods. The worship of the Sun was the predominant feature of Egyptian idolatry. The Sun-god or *Ra*, known in many places as Amon, Amon-Ra, Mentu, and Kneph, occupied with his mother Neith the most prominent place in their religious belief. This included many local divinities, every nome or district having had its own tutelary god. Such are Phthah, Chnuphis, Khem, Horus, Thoth, and many others whom the Greeks identified with their own gods. At Thebes, *Amon*, *Mut*, and *Khonso*, the morning, noonday, and evening sun, constituted a kind of *solar Trimurti*—*Osiris* and *Jsis* being numbered among the gods of the first order, but Osiris, who is identified with Ra, was also worshiped as the sun-god, and Jsis as the goddess of the moon.

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[1] Jerem. viii. 2. Concerning the worship of the stars, compare *Cic.* de nat. Deor. II. 21. *Lactant.* institutt. II. 5 and 10 sq. *Kleuker* on the origin of Zabeism, according to the account given by Moses. (Zend-Avesta, abridged, p. 3 sq.)

[2] *Movers*, Inquiry into the religion of the Phenicians, with respect to the kindred worships of the Carthaginians, Syrians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Hebrews, and Egyptians. 1 vol. Bonn, 1840. *Gfroerer*, Vol. II., p. 263–327. *Döllinger*, The Jew and the Gentile, p. 391–404.

[3] *Bunsen*, Egypt's place in the world's history. 5 vols. Gotha, 1844–45, in Vols. IV. and V. *Lepsius*, on the first Egyptian assembly of the gods. Berlin,

The Egyptians derived from their gods their civilization, their knowledge of agriculture, and of the vine, their laws and religious ceremonies, and the invention of the art of writing, which they attributed to *Thoth*, who of all the gods possessed the greatest linguistic attainments.

Both the Egyptians and Greeks at a later day endeavored to explain the cause of the adoration of animals so universal throughout Egypt. The true explanation may possibly be, that animals leading a uniformly regular life, directed only by the laws of nature, and endowed with acute instincts and an intuitive apprehension of approaching danger, were thought to be favored with preternatural gifts and to possess certain divine attributes. Among animals, bulls, cats, lions, dogs, weasels, and others; among birds, the sparrow-hawk,

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1851. By the same author, monuments of Egypt and Ethiopia. Berlin, 1849–59, with 900 tables. *Gfroerer*, Vol. II., p. 140–262. *Döllinger*, The Jew and the Gentile, p. 406–455.

the hoopoo, the stork, and fishing-hawk; among fishes, the eel and lepidotus were *universally* honored, while the worship of sheep, and the hippopotamus, of serpents and the crocodile, was confined to *particular localities.* Among the ancients the divine Bulls, known as *Apis*, at Memphis, and as *Mnevis*, at Heliopolis, received the highest religious worship—the latter being called the "twice great and ancient god," and the "great god and king of heaven." Buck-goats received divine honors at Mendes and Thmuis, and even women at these religious ceremonies indulged in the grossest licentiousness. This offers an explanation of the repeated and emphatic denunciations against bestiality contained in the Pentateuch.

In the face of this degrading worship of animals so universal among the Egyptians, and so tenaciously adhered to by them, it is somewhat surprising that they should have possessed in their doctrine of *the transmigration of souls* a more minutely and carefully elaborated theory relative to the *state of man after death and his condition in the future world*, which they called "*Amenti*," than that of any other people before the coming of Christ. Their feasts were more numerous than those of any other nation, and had reference to the course of the sun, the Nile (the gift), and the birthdays of the gods. They also celebrated with great pomp the conflict of Osiris and the other gods. The obscene language used at the celebration of the feasts of Osiris, and in the worship of Phallus, are the most disgraceful features of the religion of the Egyptians. The numerous temples had each its own set of *priests*, presided over by a high-priest, on whom devolved the varied and laborious duty of examining and selecting the *animals for sacrifice.* So constituted, they maintained their *traditional theology*, which forms the subject of the first ten of their forty-two books. Being *esoteric*, the people themselves, much less strangers, knew scarcely anything about it. This compact and well-organized hierarchy maintained for a long time the definite and fixed character of the religious system of the Egyptians, but by the successive inroads of the *Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, a new religion and strange gods, after encountering some resistance, were finally introduced throughout the whole country.

§ 26. *Religious, Social, and Moral Condition of the Greeks.*

Rink, Religion of the Hellenes. Zurich, 1854. 2 pts. *Welcker*, Grecian Mythology. Göttingen, 1857, sq. 2 vols. †**Döllinger*, Paganism, etc., p. 54–343, 664–690. †*Lasaulx*, Studies on classic antiquity. Ratisbon, 1854. 4to. †*Gfroerer*, Primeval Hist., Vol. II., p. 358–541. †*Moeller*, Primeval Hist., p. 231–335.

The Greeks having been descended from widely differing races and nations, their religion necessarily partook of the character of the peoples from whom they derived their origin. And though its genius belongs rather to the West than to the East, still, owing to the central position of the country, and the active intercourse kept up between it and Oriental nations, many of the religious teachings and ceremonies of the Phenicians and Egyptians, as we are informed by *Herodotus*, were engrafted upon the religion of Greece.

Most of these owed their origin in pre-historic time to the Leleges and Carians, and to the Thracians and *Pelasgians*. The two last named, whose great central object of worship was at Dodona, originally adored as *nameless* gods, the universal laws and erratic phenomena of nature, the elements and the constellations. The most important and ancient were doubtless *Zeus*, the god of heaven, and *Gaia*, the goddess of earth. To these were very soon added *Helios*, the sun-god; *Hestia*, the goddess of fire; *Aidoneus*, the king of shades, who, together with *Persephone*, the terrible goddess of death and destroyer of living beings, presided over the lower regions, and the *Kabires*, the great and supreme rulers of the powers of nature.

The subsequent internal commotions and the continued immigration of the tribes of the north, which lasted for six hundred years, and of which the *Dorians* and Etolians were the most successful, brought about a thorough change in the territorial possessions and political influence of the *Hellenic* nations, whose religion was the growth and the consequence of those convulsions. Its most prominent features were its gods, demons, and heroes, its mysteries and public worship, its priesthood and oracles. Notwithstanding that much of the religion of the Greeks had been borrowed from foreign nations, their brilliant and sensuous imagination imparted to it simultaneously with their advance in poetry, art, and science, a distinctively national character. Homer and Hesiod were their great authorities on all religious questions. The former interpreted with surpassing simplicity of thought and beauty of expression, the religious sentiment of the Greeks when he described the gods assembled on beautiful Olympus, presided over by Zeus, the father of both gods and men.[1] The Olympic gods were represented as having the form, occupations, desires, patriotic feelings, virtues, and vices of men, and were subject to the *inevitable decrees of Fate.*[2] But as such conceptions of a divine being and the precepts of morality could not satisfy for any considerable length of time the acute and penetrating mind of the Greeks, they soon gave them up as fables, which served no other purpose than to supply a convenient means to keep the populace in check, and professed a belief in a first Being, the God of the Wise. Thus an *esoteric* religion sprung up in direct antagonism to the religion of the populace, speaking of which the historian *Polybius* says:[3] "As historians are pardoned for introducing fables, because they serve to strengthen the religious feelings of the multitude, so should the Roman legislators be excused, who, in order to maintain a salutary influence over the people, invented unseen and avenging gods."

The *mysteries* of this new religion, which differed according to the locality, contained neither a purer nor a more elevating theology than the popular belief. They consisted principally in certain external symbolical signs and ceremonies, allegorical representations of particular legends, and portions of the mythical history of those gods whose popularity had waned, or who had been supplanted by more favorite divinities. Hence these mysteries were contemptuously spoken of by learned philosophers, such as Plato, Isocrates, Cicero, and others, and they are never mentioned by Christian writers as having anything in common with Christianity, or in any way contributing to prepare the public mind for its reception, but, on the contrary, the ceremonies with which their celebration was conducted are very severely censured as indecent and immoral.

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[1] *Naegelsbach*, Homeric Theology. 2 ed. Brought out by Autenrieth. Nürnberg, 1862. Of the *same*, Post-Homeric Theology. Nürnberg, 1857.

[2] Thus, it is said, Pythia answered the Lydians, "God himself can not evade the decree of fate." Herodot. histor. I. 91. Yet the idea of justice and retribution is prominent, especially in *Sophocles*. Conf. *Peters*, theologumena Sophoclea. Monach. 1845.

[3] Hist. VI. 56.

The *Greek philosophers* hastened the downfall of the popular belief, but as philosophy is utterly unable to supply the substance of a religion, it failed to replace it by anything better.[1] Plato himself, perhaps the greatest of them all, surrounded by the magnificent temples and the beautiful statues of the gods, says, in true Pagan style: "It is difficult to find God, and when found impossible to make him known to the multitude." And St. Paul the apostle mentions a temple at Athens in which there was an altar with the inscription, "To the unknown God."[2]

According to the teaching of *Thales*, *water* was the principle of all things; *air*, according to *Anaximenes;* according to Heraclite, *fire*, and *infinity* (*ἄπειρον*), or God, according to *Anaximander.* The teachings of *Pythagoras* and *Plato* were more encouraging. They had imbibed the religious spirit of the East,[3] and by the union of philosophy and religion, infused religious life also into Greek civilization. *Pythagoras* of Samos, founder of the philosophic school at Crotona, in Italy

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[1] The words of Picus of Mirandola are very apposite: "Philosophia quaerit, Theologia possidet religionem. Rohrbacher-Hülskamp, Vol. III., p. 252–380: "The Philosophy of Greece."

[2] Acts xvii. 23.

[3] This is pointed out by *Lactantius*, among others, institutt. IV. 2. Unde equidem soleo mirari, quod cum *Pythagoras* et postea *Plato*, amore veritatis indagandae accensi, Aegyptios et Magos et Persas penetrassent, ut earum gentium vitas et sacra cognoscerent (suspicabantur enim sapientiam in religione versari!), ad Judaeos tamen non secesserint, penes, quos tunc solos erat, et quo facilius ire potuissent. Cf. *Cicero*, de finibus bonor. and malor. V. 19. and *Minut. Felix.* Octavius, c. 34. **Zeller*, Hist. of Philos. in its historical development. 2 ed. Tübingen, 1856–68. 3 vols.

(584–504 or 489 B. C.), and his disciples considered the *numerical system* as the archetype and necessary form of things; they said that the world and all its parts were in perfect harmony; that the sun, or Jupiter's fire, was the center of the universe, and that the world moved around it according to fixed and uniform laws. They deified the powers of nature, and while regarding their manifestations as the immutable law of fate, they attributed to the deity the moral perfections of truthfulness and goodness. The most striking tenet of the Pythagorean system is the doctrine of the *transmigration of souls*, and the conclusions drawn from it, which, however, were not dignified by corresponding moral obligations.

Plato, a philosopher of Athens (429–348 B. C.), taught the existence of *One* supreme spiritual being, essentially free, wise, and just. He also taught that there existed both an *ideal world*, and an *elementary* chaotic and shapeless *mass of matter*, by the union of which the Deity made the *soul of the world*, then formed an *organic world*, exhibiting marks of design, and afterward *created souls*. He had a vague notion of the *fall of man*, a tolerably distinct idea of the *immortality of the soul*, and a hopeful belief in a future life, which opened to him the prospect of *reward* and *punishment after death*, but he declared that *no one could hold these doctrines with any assurance of their truth until they had been proclaimed and authoritatively established by a divine revelation.*[1]

Philosophy, according to the idea of Plato, is a sort of "preparation for death" (*μελέτη θανάτου*,) and Christian philosophers of all ages have professed to find in his writings vague allusions to the truths of Christianity, and have shown themselves particularly pleased with the *confession* of the *insufficiency* of man, which pervades his whole system, and regarded it as a kind of prophecy of the world's redemption.[1] Though Plato rose far above the great minds of Greece, he was nevertheless in every sense a thorough Greek. That graceful and sensuous *beauty* which had so many charms for the Greek mind, but which is not based on the unity and holiness of God, constituted the main scope of his philosophy. In it he put forward what is beautiful rather than what is true, and succeeded in perfectly harmonizing both art and science. Still, after all his efforts to unite in one system the elements of art and science, religion and politics, mythical legends and abstract thought, it must be admitted that we look in vain through his writings for that consistent unity of parts which we have a right to expect in both philosophy and religion, and hence, though his mind was ever ranging in boundless realms of thought, he failed to give consistency, method, and exactness to his ideas. His fanciful theory of an ideal state in which women should be, like everything else, the *common property of all*, and his extreme praises of the god Eros, by which he meant to advocate the degrading vice of *pederasty* are among the worst blemishes of his moral teaching.

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[1] *Platonis* Phaedon: *εἰ μή τις δύναιτο ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ ἀκινδυνότερον ἐπὶ βεβαιοτέρου ὀχήματος ἢ λόγου θείου τινὸς διαπορευθῆναι.* (One who travels on very strong vehicle is not more safe and free from danger than he who puts his trust in the word of God.) ed. *Steph.* p. 85. Similarly, Xenophon. memorabil., lib. IV., c. 3, § 16. *πῶς οὖν ἄν τις κάλλιον καὶ εὐσεβέστερον τιμῴη θεοὺς ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κελεύουσι οὕτω ποιεῖν.* (How could any one honor the gods with more propriety and with greater piety than in doing what they command us to do.) cf. IV. 4, 25, and Lasaulx, l. c. pp. 61, 62.

Aristotle, born at Stagira in Macedonia, and hence called the Stagirite (384–322 B. C.), the founder of the peripatetic school of philosophy, entirely rejected the ideal system of Plato, and taught that all knowledge is the fruit of experience and the conclusions derived from it by legitimate reasoning, and is on this account recognized as *the philosopher of science*.[2] He confined himself entirely to the powers of nature, which he considered eternal and immutable, and never went beyond the rigorous conclusions which they warranted. He assumed that a supreme intelligence had constituted the universe according to fixed and unchangeable laws, and thus limiting the power of God, practically rejecting His personal, wise, and holy providence in human affairs, and, denying the free will of man, struck at the very foundation of all true religion. His ethical teaching was in perfect harmony with his empirical method, and was rarely more than a respectable worldly prudence. Utility and expediency were with him the measure of the means to be employed for the attainment of happiness, and on this principle he advocated the lawfulness of slavery, and so far lost sight of the dignity of man in this condition that he affirmed there was no reasoning faculty in the soul of the *slave.*

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[1] *August.* de civit. Dei VII., c. 4–14. *Ackermann*, Christian elements in Plato. Hambg. 1836. Reduced to just limits by †*Mattes*. Christian elements in Plato. (Tübg. Quarterly, 1845, p. 479–520.) Most positively denying Christian elements in Plato. †*Becker*, The philosophical system of Plato in its relation to Christian dogma (Freibg. 1862), against whom †*Michelis*, Plato's philosophy in its relation to revealed truth. Münster, 1859–60. The relation of both stated: "As question and answer, as humanly sought and divinely given truth." Mr. *v. Stein*, Relation of Platonism to classic antiquity and to Christianity. Göttingen, 1864.

[2] *Brandis*, History of the development of Greek Philos. 2 vols. Berlin, 1862–64. *Trendelenburg*, elementa logices Aristotelicae. Berlin (1833). 6 ed.

The efforts of subsequent *philosophical schools* to give by their teachings any adequate sanction to religion and morality, were still less successful. The errors and contradictions of the great founders of schools grew daily in number till finally they became little more than a war of words and a mass of distinctions, so subtle that even the advocates of the different systems could not well make out their own meaning.

Epicurus of Gargettus, a borough near Athens (337–270), and his disciples, taught that human happiness is the supreme good. That no jarring element might exist to disturb this pleasing delusion, they endeavored to remove the idea of a supreme and overruling being from the minds of men. The world, they said, had assumed its present condition by pure accident, and the gods could take no possible interest in a state of things so fortuitously brought about; that the soul of man was subtle matter of still more delicate structure than the body, and perished with the grosser organs to which it belonged.

Zeno, born at Cittium, on the island of Cyprus, founded at Athens, about 300 B. C., the *Stoa*, and by his enthusiastic advocacy of a high ideal morality, attracted to his school a

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1868. History of the doctrine of categories. Berlin, 1846. *Zell*, the relation of Aristotelian philosophy to religion. Mentz, 1863.

number of generous and noble souls. He taught that virtue is the supreme and only good, perfect of itself, and that the mind by its own independent exertion is sufficiently strong to embrace it and thereby reject what is evil. This arrogant assumption led straight to a *deification of self*, and necessarily destroyed every vestige of religion. The *pantheistic teachings* of the Stoics and their doctrine that the *will* of man is invariably *determined* by certain motives, excluded all belief in a God of love, directing all things for the best, and set up in His stead a *universal principle* in which all things had their origin, and to which they again return according to a definite and fixed law of extension or contraction (*πλατύνεσθαι*, *ἐκτείνεσθαι*, and *συστέλλεσθαι*). It was early objected to them that their doctrine of the free will of man was utterly incompatible with the idea of fate.

The New Academy, under Arkesilaus (318–241), and particularly under Carneades (215–130), first struck at the very foundation of truth by attacking the criteria of certitude laid down by the Stoics; then called in question the certainty of any human knowledge whatever, and ended by sarcastically asking, "*What is truth?*"[1] But the Academy, by fostering a skepticism of this nature, excited the fears of the people, who became alarmed lest religion should totally disappear from among them. This decline of the religious sentiment was accompanied by an utter want of all sense of *responsibility* and a universal corruption of morals. In view of these facts, *Polybius*,[2] himself a Greek, was forced to make a confession most trying to his patriotic feelings. "Let a Greek," he says, "prove in the most solemn manner that he has performed as many as ten deeds of whose merit there can be no possible doubt, and authenticate the fact by an equal number of seals and twice as many witnesses, nevertheless you can not safely intrust him with a single talent of gold; whilst Roman officials *regard* their *oaths* as *sacred* and manage the largest sums with the greatest honesty."

Again, the illicit *love of boys*, expressed in the deification of Ganymede, the extreme partiality with which the vice of *pederasty* was not uncommonly treated by the Greek poets, and the indecent productions of art which grew out of this degrading sensuality, together with the immoral worship of Aphrodite and other goddesses, present a striking picture of the corruption which prevailed almost everywhere.

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[1] John xviii. 38.

[2] *Polybii* histor. vi. 54.

There were those, however, who, gifted with more refined feelings, were shocked and grieved at this state of things; and, impelled by an unsatisfied and restless yearning after truth, longed to be again united with God. The most remarkable of these was, perhaps, the later *Plutarch*, born at Cheronea, about 50 A. D.[1]

It became daily more apparent and universally recognized, that to bring order out of this mass of conflicting human opinion, and give confidence and security to men's minds, nothing short of a divine revelation would suffice. *The time when this ardent desire was to be satisfied, was rapidly approaching.*

§ 27. *Religious, Social, and Moral Condition of the Romans.*

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.—*Ambrosch*, the Religious Books of the Romans. Bonn, 1843. †**Döllinger*, the Jew and the Gentile, pp. 457–558, 567–663, and 694–734.

While art or the æsthetical element was characteristic of the religion of Greece, *morals* and *politics* were the most prominent features of that of Rome, which, conformably with its Etruscan origin, was gloomy and almost severe.

The Etruscans worshiped, besides the so-called *veiled gods*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Janus*, the all-seeing god; *Mantus*, the ruler of the lower regions; *Vedius*, the judge of the departed, and *Charun*, the guide of the dead. Like the Romans, they had their *genii*, and the very name of *Lares* points to their Etruscan origin. So assiduous and diligent were the Etruscans in paying religious homage to the gods that they were considered of old the most religious people of the West.

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[1] *Döllinger*, Jew and Gentile, p. 580–583. Even *Erasmus* declared: "Nullus existit inter Graecos scriptores Plutarcho, praesertim quod ad mores attinet, sanctior aut lectu dignior. Nihil legi secundum literas divinas hoc auctore sanctius."

The *religion of Rome* after the Latins (*Ramnes*), Sabines (*Tities*), Luceres, and Etruscans had been included in its population, was the outgrowth of the distinct, yet analogous modes of worship peculiar to each nationality. The Romans, being above everything else a practical people, accepted the world as a perfect work, and rejected the mythical legends of Greece relating both to the origin of the world and the genealogy of the gods.

The Romans, possessing no *religious* poetry and having neither a Homer nor a Hesiod to give tangible form to their gods and breathe into them the breath of life; and, moreover, being destitute of the happy faculty of impersonating their religious belief under the rich imagery of Hellenic mythology, worshiped, before the influence of Greece had made itself felt among them, the vague abstractions of human attributes and the *universal powers of nature.* Their *sacerdotal books* contained only uninteresting lists of gods, together with an account of their sphere of office, and a description of the ceremonies proper to the worship of each.

The religion of Rome at first sight seems to have admitted tenets the most contradictory of each other. On the one hand, *monotheism* appeared to be its most predominant feature, and *St. Augustine* went so far as to say that "the various gods and goddesses of Rome all centered in the one god, Jupiter;" while, on the other hand, they, perhaps more than any other people of *antiquity, split up the idea of the unity of God,* by impersonating physical phenomena and the powers of nature, till in the end the most varied functions and the most trivial avocations of man had each its tutelary deity. It is then scarcely to be wondered at that amid so vast an array of gods, with forms of worship so varied, and ceremonies and sacrifices so numerous, the priests should have stood in need of registers (*indigitamenta*) containing a list of the gods and giving special directions for the worship of each.

Even in the time of the Tarquins, the Hellenic colonies which had settled in Italy, exercised a notable influence upon the religious ceremonial of the Romans. Before, without images of any sort, they then adopted *idols of wood and earthenware.* After the triumphs of the Romans in Greece and the East, and particularly after the taking of Syracuse and Corinth, Greek gods and modes of worship became, by the authority of the Sibylline books, very common at Rome. Simultaneously with this introduction of Greek worship, the salutary influence exercised from the earliest time by the religion of Rome upon public and social morality, insensibly died away. Lucretia, after she had been outraged, perished by her own hand; and the early history of Rome affords, besides many examples of patriotism and love of liberty, the amplest proofs of the virtue and justice[1] of her citizens, and to these was she indebted for her greatness.

While great immorality came in simultaneously with foreign modes of worship, reverence for the gods and the bravery and civic virtues so characteristic of the Romans decreased as the nation grew in wealth and power. The *Greek pedagogues* after the time of *Livius Andronicus* (240 B. C.) exercised a very injurious influence by endeavoring to popularize Greek mythology and art, while *Greek literature*, already sufficiently corrupt, became still more so after it had been introduced into Rome, which at this period (155 B. C.) received the Greek embassadors *Carneades*, *Diogenes*, and *Critolaus*, whose doctrines were universally praised; and the *Academicians*, Stoics, and Epicureans met with every mark of respect and approbation. But the influence of Asiatic luxury and licentiousness had a still more detrimental effect upon Roman morality.

As the appreciation of the beautiful was a natural instinct with the Greek, so was the sense of *justice* with the Romans. But while they endeavored apparently to introduce a sense justice and right everywhere, they themselves acted in direct opposition to this theory, and strove to be the only rulers and to subject the whole world entirely to their own power.

Man as such had no value. The state claimed a supreme right over him, and his citizenship was his only title to consideration. The highest ambition of the Romans was to establish a *universal monarchy*. The *abstract state* was their supreme divinity, and religion became subservient to this all-ruling idea.

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[1] *Augustin.* de civitate Dei I. 19 sq. c. 24, and especially V. 18.

Rome must subjugate the world, not indeed for the purpose of carrying the doctrine of the One True God, of truth and morality, to the ends of the earth, but that she might impose upon all nations the yoke of her tyranny. With this object constantly before her, she tolerated every conceivable form of religion,[1] for which she has been excessively praised, as if she had not adopted this line of conduct as one of *expediency*, and as if the policy itself were not a convincing proof of her utter indifference to any religion whatever.

When Rome had become mistress of the world, drunk with the blood of nations and infected with their vices, she began to turn her power against herself. In the time of the *Gracchi* (133 B. C.), and of *Marius*, *Sulla*, and *Cinna*, bloody civil wars were waged, accompanied with every species of atrocity; and poisoning became a matter of ordinary occurrence. Such continued to be the general character of Roman history down to the time of the Emperor *Augustus*, who, from the year 30 B. C. to 14 A. D., remained absolute master of the whole Roman empire.

The skepticism introduced by the philosophy of Greece stifled every religious feeling among the educated and upper classes, and spread among the lower orders a universal contempt for the gods of their country. According to Cicero, "one soothsayer could not look another in the face without laughing," and "even old women would no longer believe either in the fables of Tartarus or the joys of Elysium."

It was, however, under the emperors that the religious confusion and moral depravity of the Romans became most conspicuous. The enslaved and degraded people deified their tyrants even during the lifetime of the latter, and could appreciate nothing higher than the theater and those brutal gladiatorial combats (*panem et circenses!*), which often ended in real battles.[1] The *Apotheosis* of such *tyrants*[2] necessarily eradicated and destroyed every vestige of faith in their national gods, and in many places the very temples were the privileged haunts of lust. The *Lupercalia* and *Florealia* were celebrated with a shameless disregard of decency, and the most obscene plays were presented in the theaters. The excesses of sensuality were carried to such a length that the natural means of satisfying lust were no longer sufficient, and recourse was had to the most degrading and unnatural of vices. The civic virtues also disappeared, to be replaced by every species of crime, and *disregard of life* and *suicide* ceased to be matters of surprise. Such at this time was the terrible state of the Pagan world, so graphically sketched by the apostle of the Gentiles in his epistle to the Romans,[3] and of which *Seneca*, perhaps the best specimen of the *last representative of Roman character*, furnishes a remarkable commentary.[4]

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[1] *Leo the Great* very justly remarks: "Quum Roma universis dominaretur gentibus, omnium gentium servivit erroribus." (Sermo I. de SS. App. Petro et Paulo.) Cf. *Walch*, de Romanorum in tolerandis diversis religionibus disciplina publica. (Nov. commentar. Soc. Goetting. t. III. 1773.)

Unbelief and immorality, vices always inseparable from each other, at length produced fear and timidity of mind, and *superstition*, the necessary result of a guilty and cowardly conscience, was the consequence; for specters will be conjured up where there are no gods. It was not more than natural, therefore, that they should grope in the dark after strange gods, who would be able to bring peace and rest to their troubled consciences, and in spite of an imperial prohibition the most diversified modes of worship were introduced into Italy from the East. Strange priests, astrologers, sorcerers, and soothsayers came to Rome in swarms, and usually with no other purpose than that of deriving advantage from the prevailing superstition. Every one sought by means of sorcery, talismans, amulets, and the inspection of the entrails of animals, to learn their fate or to arrest some future calamity; while a more voluptuous and sensual worship was never so prevalent in the Roman empire as at this period. The *Jews*, who had been up to this time very generally detested, were now enabled to make many proselytes. While the religious confusion afforded *Juvenal* and *Persius* rich materials for satire, the philosophers who regretted this state of affairs were obliged to contemplate it without being able to offer a remedy. The *Cynics* were exposed to well-merited and contemptuous ridicule; the *Peripatetics* were but few in number, while the *Stoics*, probably the most distinguished of all the sects, were represented by such men as *Seneca*, *Dio* of Prusa, and *Epictetus*. Still their moral teachings, though having many admirers, had few followers, and the contrast between the profession and practice of many of the sect afforded a fine subject for the wit and sarcasm of their enemies.

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[1] *Tacit.* Annal. XII. 56. Cf. *Sueton.* vita Claud., c. 21, and *Dio Cass.* LX. 33. A gladiatorial combat under the later Emperor Trajan lasted 120 days, and cost the lives of 10,000 combatants. Cf. *Spath*, commentatio de gladiatoribus. Monach. 1863. (College Program.)

[2] *Domitian* thus commenced his rescripts: "Dominus et Deus noster hoc fieri jubet." (Sueton. vita Domit., c. 18.) Cf. *Döllinger*, The Jew and the Gentile, p. 613–617 and 627.

[3] Romans i. 21–32.

[4] Omnia sceleribus ac vitiis plena sunt; plus committitur quam quod possit coërcitione sanari. Certatur ingenti quodam nequitiae certamine; major quotidie peccandi cupiditas, minor verecundia est. Expulso melioris aequiorisque respectu, quocunque visum est, libido se impingit. Nec furtiva jam scelera sunt, praeter oculos eunt; adeoque in publicum missa nequitia est, et in omnium pectoribus evaluit, ut innocentia non rara, sed nulla eit. Numquid enim singuli aut pauci rapere legem? undique, velut signo dato, ad fas nefasque miscendum coorti sunt. Seneca, de ira, II. 8. And even *Sallust.* (bell. Catilin., c. 12, 13), although living in incomparably better times, draws the following picture of Roman morals: "Ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere, rapere, consumere, sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere, pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nil pensi neque moderati habere—sed lubido stupri, ganeae, caeterique cultus non minor incesserat. Vira pati muliebria, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere," etc. *Cicero*, de republica, lib. I., at the beginning.

Even *Seneca*, the best of them all (3–65 A. D.), whose teachings savor so much of Christianity, that to explain the fact it has been deemed necessary to assume that he was in correspondence with St. Paul, practically denied his own precepts and teachings by his constant residence at the court of Nero.[1] Perhaps the most striking phenomenon of this period of religious disorder and moral depravity is the favorable reception with which the teachings of Pythagoras met when they were introduced first by *Anaxilaus*, and afterward by the fanatic *Apollonius of Tyana*[1] (3 B. C.–96 A. D.) And this was during the most civilized period of Roman history, during the golden age of art and literature, and while Augustus reigned. Apollonius, instead of appreciating the need of supernatural aid for which Plato had yearned, like a true mountebank, deluded men's minds and led them astray by haughtily and pompously calling upon the gods to give him his due: "Ye gods, treat me as I deserve."

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[1] *Seneca* ep. 29. †*Holzherr*, Luc. Annaeus Seneca. Rastatt, 1858 sq. Conf. †*Kraus*, Tübg. Quarterly, 1867, p. 603–624.

This attempt to satisfy the cravings of the human heart was altogether inefficient with the masses of the people, and without advocates among the better classes. The idea of abandonment and loss grew daily stronger, and finally found its fullest Pagan expression in the *myth of Psyche*,[2] the invention of this great historical age. Pysche, represented as having forfeited the favor and company of God, which she once enjoyed, wanders through the world without comfort and without hope. She finally takes heart, and with the hope of being again reconciled to her God seeks Him, amid countless trials and dangers, in temples and in the lower regions, and even amid the realms of death. God, pleased with so earnest a desire of a return, again *receives her into favor* and unites her to Himself by a new and holy alliance (ἱερὸς γάμος.) Is not this a distinct and emphatic expression of *the history of the human mind?*

Amid the prevailing and universal confusion men sought comfort and hope from the oracles which were preserved in the Sibylline Books, and which announced that the human race would one day rise to a higher and holier state, and again return to the early age of happy innocence. The Platonic and Stoic philosophers considered the *great centenary*[3] of the building of the city the beginning of this auspicious event. Virgil also announced the approach of the new and happy age sung by the Cumean Sibyl.[1] The prophetic utterance of *Cicero* is perhaps the most remarkable instance of this period: "There shall no longer be one law at Rome and another at Athens, nor shall it prescribe one thing to-day and another to-morrow, but one and the same law, eternal and immutable, shall be prescribed for all nations and all times, and the God who shall prescribe, introduce, and promulgate this law shall be the one common Lord and Supreme Ruler of all, and whosoever will refuse obedience to Him shall be filled with confusion, as this very act will be a virtual denial of his human nature; and, should he escape present punishment, he shall have to endure heavy chastisement hereafter."[2] The rays of hope shining out from amid the general gloom so inspired confidence in the minds of men, that, according to *Suetonius* and *Tacitus*,[3] they, like the Chinese who looked for a Savior from the West, cheerfully and eagerly embraced the prophecy of the Jews, which predicted that this Ruler and Savior was shortly to come from the East."[1]

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[1] His Life by Philostratus, Senior. (Philostratoris, opp. Gr. et Lat. ed. G. *Olearius*, Lps. 1705, in fol. ed. *Kayser*, Turici, 1844; Lps. 1870.) Conf. *Hug*, Introd. into the N. T. 3 ed., pt. 1, p. 14. Apollonius lived three years before, and ninety-six years after Christ.

[2] *Apulej.* metamorph. IV. 83. *Fulgentius*, mythologicor. III. 6.

[3] Conf. *Heyne*, annotatt. in Virgil. T. I., p. 96.

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[1] *Virgil*, ecloga. IV. 4–10 and 13, 14.

> Ultima Cumaei venit jam carminis aetas.
> *Magnus ab integro* saeclorum nascitur *ordo*,
> Jam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,
> Jam *nova progenies coelo demittitur alto*. .
> Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum
> Desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,
> Casta fave Lucina, tuus jam regnet Apollo.
> 13. *Te duce*, si qua manent, *sceleris vestigia nostri*
> 14. *Irrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.*

Conf. *August.* de civit. Dei X. 27 and ep. 155. *Euseb.* vita Constant. V., i. e. Constant. orat., c. 19, 20. *Dante*, purgatorio, XXII. 70 sq. *Lasaulx*, in l. c. p. 63. *Freymüller*, the Messianic prophecies in Virgil's Ecloga IV. Ratisbon, 1852.

[2] *Cicero*, de republica III. 6. *Lactant.* instit. div. VI. 8. Equally significant in another respect are the words of *Cicero*: Deos venerari et colere debemus. Cultus autem Deorum est optimus idemque castissimus atque sanctissimus plenusque pietatis, ut eos semper pura, integra, incorrupta et mente et voce veneremur. (de natura Deor. II. 28.)

[3] Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judaea profecti rerum potirentur. *Suetonii*, vita Vespas., c. 4.—Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judaea rerum potirentur. *Tacit.* histor. V. 13. (Who has also this remarkable passage: Evenerunt prodigia. . . . Visae per coelum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum. Expansae repentae delubri fores, et audita major humana vox: "*Excedere deos, simul ingens motus excedentium.*") *Bötticher*, prophetic voices from Rome, etc. Hamb. 1840. 2 pts.

§ 28. *The Israelites. Their Independence and Subjugation.*

"The law was our pedagogue in (unto) Christ. He hath received Israel his servant." Galat. iii. 24; Luke i. 54.

The writings of the *O.*, and, in part, of the *N. T.* Add thereto *Jos. Flavii* (born 37, died 93, A. C.), opp. ed. **Havercamp*, Amstelod. 1726. 2 T. in fol. Pocket edition of the same work, by *Oberthür*, Wirceb. 1782–85, 3 T.; by *Richter*, Lps. 1826 sq., 6 vols. Paris, 1647 sq., 2 vols. (The Jewish antiquities, ll. xx., are particularly important; by *Imm. Bekker*, Lps. 1856, 6 vols. Germ. transl. by *Martin*, Cologne, 1852 sq., 2 vols.) English transl. by *Wm. Whiston*, London, 1841; New York, 1855.

Conf. †*Reusch*, Abridgment of an Introd. into the O. T. 4 ed. Freib. 1870. †**Haneberg*, Essay of a history of biblical revelation as an introduction into the O. and N. T. 3 ed. Ratisb. 1863. *August.* de civit. Dei XIV. 25—XVIII. 48. †**Bossuet*, Introd. into Univ. Hist. (transl. into German by *Cramer*, p. 1–82 290). †**Stolberg*, Hist. of the Rel. of Jesus Christ, pts. I–IV. †**Rohrbacher-Hülskamp*, Vol. I–III. †**Döllinger*, The Jew and the Gentile, p. 735–859. †*Kraft*, Sacred Hist., first div. Schaffhausen, 1853–58. 3 vols. *Thos. Inman*, Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names. 2 vols. 2 ed. New York, 1874. (Tr.)

The condition of the *people of Israel* forms a remarkable exception to the religious ignorance which prevailed among other ancient nations. The early traditions and the holy name of God had, by a special privilege, been preserved among them through *direct revelation*. God gave them *His law*, sent them *prophets* whose office was to keep Him constantly before their eyes, to teach amid error and sin the doctrine of the *One True God*, to prepare their minds for the *coming of a Redeemer*, and to announce His advent. "Nothing," says *Bossuet*, "was more worthy of God than to choose for Himself a people who should be a visible exemplification of His providence, whose successes and reverses should depend upon their fidelity to Him, and whose condition should be an irrefragable proof of the wisdom and justice of their Ruler. And when He had, by His providential care of the Israelites, fully demonstrated this, and clearly showed that He disposes human affairs *according to His own good pleasure*, it being then *time* that man should be led on to higher truths, He sent His Son, *Jesus Christ*, to lay open the mysteries of a future life to a new people made up of *all the nations* of the earth.

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[1] Conf. *Rohrbacher-Hülskamp* (transl. into Germ.) Vol.. III, p. 203.

The distinctive character of the people of Israel, as shown by their checkered and interesting history, consists preëminently in their diversity of talent, and energy of character, in which they had no equal among all the nations of antiquity.

"What the poet of the Iliad accomplished within the narrow province of the heroic, and in a work entirely fictitious, the same has been done by the writers of the Bible in narrating the history of the Jewish people, which stands out, not as a fiction, but as a reality—not as affording examples to one class of persons only, but as furnishing *patterns to every state in life.* Every faculty of the mind and every feeling of the heart are there portrayed in language the most delicate and exalted."[1]

While other writers relate but fables and obscure and uncertain events, the sacred writings of the Israelites afford the most ancient monuments of history, ethnography, and geography; are always precise, circumstantial, and consecutive; furnish a clear exposition of the early history of the human race, and never omit to trace man to his true origin and source—the *One, personal, holy, omnipotent, omniscient,* and *just God,* the creator of all things—and thus give a simple and intelligible solution of the most profound problems of philosophy. They also furnish the most reliable and convincing accounts of other sublime truths, concerning which Pagan history contains little more than a tissue of errors, forcing us to seek elsewhere for their history. Such is the Scriptural narrative of the *creation of the world and of man; his primitive happiness,* union with God, and perfect accord with nature; his fall, its cause and consequences; the spread of the human race, and the origin of nations; the partition of the earth, and the rise of the arts and sciences, as well as many other subjects of interest.[2]

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[1] Haneberg.

[2] †*Marcel de Serres,* the Cosmogony of Moses compared with the facts of Geology. Transl. from the French into German, by *Fr. v. Steck.* Tübingen, 1841. †*Reush,* The Bible and Nature. Freiburg, 1862. 3 ed. 1870. †*Bosizio,* Hexaëmeron and Geology. Mentz, 1865. *Molloy,* Geology and Revelation. London and New York.

See also *Fichte,* who confesses, in his "Law of Nature," pt. I., p. 32: "A

While these Sacred Writings give the sad history of the fall of man and his estrangement from God, they also contain the promise of a *Redeemer* and *Deliverer* made to the first man,[1] and furnish abundant evidence that in the lapse of ages the One True and Living God did not cease to manifest Himself to men, but, on the contrary, spoke to them on many occasions and in various ways, that as time went on He might prepare their minds for a final and definite reconciliation with Himself.

They show us also how men abandoned to themselves and given over to the wicked inclinations of the heart, grew corrupt, and disfigured by their crimes the fair face of the earth, and how God took so signal a vengeance upon them that its memory will never be effaced, and will ever serve as a standing refutation of the patent error that the world exists of itself, and that what so exists can not cease to be.

After the terrible disaster of the *universal deluge*, the memory of which is still fresh among *all* nations, the world was born anew from the bosom of the waters. *Noah*, the only just man found upon the earth, was saved by Divine Providence from the general ruin, and became the second father of the human race,[2] all the nations of the world having sprung from his three sons, Sem, Cham, and Japhet.[3]

History, under the providential guidance of God, who from time to time revealed Himself to the human race, which had become young again, preserved an unbroken continuity. God, before He would give to men a Redeemer, wished first to teach them by long experience how essential to their well-being was this promised Messiah. When they attempted to build the *tower of Babel*, which they intended should reach up to Heaven, God, by *confounding their language* and splitting it

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spirit interested himself with them (the first men) precisely as an ancient, venerable document (Genesis) represents, which, upon the whole, contains the most profound and sublime wisdom, and offers results to which Philosophy, after many wanderings, is bound finally to return."

[1] Gen. iii. 15.

[2] Gen. vi.–viii.

[3] Gen. x.

up into many others, each of which was unintelligible to all,[1] except those who spoke it, signally punished their arrogant presumption, and they then dispersed over the whole earth.[2]

The human race, though pardoned, was not without traces of the original curse, and it speedily relapsed into unbelief, idolatry, and immorality. At this time, about 350 years after the Deluge, God *called Abraham*, a nomadic prince of Chaldea, to become the father of the people of Israel; and leading him into the strange and far-off land of *Canaan*, He renewed the promise "of making him in his son *Isaac* the father of a great and powerful people,[3] in whom *all the nations of the earth* should be blessed,[4] for He knew that Abraham would command his children and his household after him to keep the way of the Lord, and to do judgment and justice."[5] A *covenant* which God struck with Abraham, and of which the *circumcision* of his posterity was to be the perpetual token, defined the duties and privileges of the latter. Abraham, during his life, gave abundant proofs of his implicit faith in God and His promises, walked reverently in His sight, and scrupulously kept His commandments.[6] *Jacob*, his grandson and heir to the promise, went into Egypt,[7] where the covenant made with Abraham and the warning threats against those who forgot God, began to be fulfilled. The seed of Abraham became numerous, but they entirely lost his singleness of mind and purity of heart. God, that He might again center in Himself the hopes and aspirations of this ungrateful people, and withal faithful to his warnings,[9] caused them to feel the bitterness and ignominy of the degrading bondage of the Egyptians,[10] but at the same time raised up *Moses* to be the representative among them of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

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[1] Cf. †*Kaulen*, The confounding of languages at Babel. A linguist. and theolog. essay. Mentz, 1861.

[2] Gen. xii. 2; xiii. 16; xv. 5; xvii. 4, 6–8; xxii. 16, 17.

[3] Gen. xii. 3; xviii. 18; xxii. 18.

[4] Gen. xviii. 19.

[5] Gen. xv. 18; xvii. 4 sq.

[6] Gen. xii. 4; xv. 6; xxii. 2 sq.

[7] Gen. xlvi.–l.

[8] Exod. i. 7.

[9] Gen. xv. 13–16.

[10] Exod. i. 14–22.

Having proved by many miracles that he was really the accredited representative of God, his authority was readily acknowledged, and he set himself to the work of comforting his brethren, effecting their deliverance,[1] and founding a distinctive *nationality*. During the *forty years*' sojourn of the Israelites in the desert of Arabia, Moses, by his teaching, revived among them the knowledge of the God of their fathers, and reawakened in their bosoms those *national aspirations* which had so long lain dormant. He collected the materials, and wrote the past history of his people, of Adam and Noah, Abraham and Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, or rather the History of God Himself, as it existed in the living traditions of the family of Abraham, who had been a contemporary with Sem, the eldest son of Noah. He gave an account of the remarkable intercourse which existed between God and His people, and of the miracles of the Law; that by this means their memory might be handed down through all coming ages. God, during a solemn and awe-inspiring manifestation of His glory, delivered to Moses the *fundamental laws of His religion* inscribed on two tables[2] of stone, which He also proclaimed to the trembling and *astonished* Israelites. Moses committed to writing, as the fullest expression of *the divine will*, all the ordinances, prohibitions, and promises which God had hitherto given to his people. He also reminded them that their future happiness or misery would entirely depend upon their willingness or refusal to give full obedience to the law of God. The grand and noble character of Moses has, during all ages, commanded and won the admiration of the thinking world.[3]

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[1] Exod. ii.–xii.

[2] Exod. xx. 1–8.

[3] *Herder* calls him the most wonderful of men and the greatest of law-givers, and writes to one of his friends: "Learn to know Moses first from this standpoint; read and view his history before that of all others, and as illustrating their lives, and the range and nobleness of his mind, his almost superhuman patience, fortitude, and dignity, will at once become apparent." Theol. letters, I. 3. And *Lord Byron* says: "The first great man who presents himself to my mind is always Moses; Moses, who again raises up a frightfully degraded

These laws, which were the written constitution of the kingdom of God on earth, served also as fundamental principles according to which the Israelites framed their political nationality, which was therefore a *Theocracy*, and, in this, differed essentially in character from every other state. All laws were finally referred back to the one fundamental idea that their nation was the *kingdom of God*, of a *One* living, omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent God, who is gracious and bountiful, and who chose Israel before all the Gentiles to be *a holy people and a priestly race*,[1] but a God who, though holy and just, is also jealous of His law, and visits remote generations with the sins of their fathers.

These precepts and promises were not merely assertions; they were being continually fulfilled before the eyes of the people, visibly led on by God, whose presence among them was indicated by a *pillar* of *cloud* by day and *fire* by night hovering over the Holy Tabernacle.[2] Therefore it was said that Israel should adore and fear the Lord, have no strange gods, love Him with their whole soul, keep His commandments, rejoice in Him, and find their greatness and glory in Him alone.

Moses, in order to bring home to their minds with greater distinctness, and to imprint more indelibly upon them the idea of the essential *unity* of God, frequently reminded them that this *One God* would set apart *one place* in the promised land, and that here alone would it be lawful to celebrate feasts, offer sacrifices, and go through all the functions relating to divine worship. During their sojourn in the desert, the *Ark of the Covenant*, the portable temple in which the

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people, who delivers them from the ignominy of idolatry and bondage, who prescribes to them a law replete with wisdom, and thus admirably unites the religion of the patriarchs with that of the civilized nations, to wit, the Gospel. The virtues and institutions of Moses are the means whereby Providence produced able statesmen, valiant warriors, excellent citizens, and holy champions for right and justice, who were to announce beforehand the destruction of the proud and hypocritical and the future civilization of all nations." *Silvio Pellico*, discorso dei doveri degli uomini, ch. 7, opp. ed. Lps. 1834. Conf. *Rohrbacher-Hülskamp*, Univ. Hist. of the Christian Church, Vol. I., p. 483.

[1] Exod. xix. 5, 6. Conf. Deut. vii. 6–14.

[2] Exod. xiii. 21 sq.; xiv. 24; Numb. xiv. 14; Nehem. ix. 12, 19.

children of Israel offered their vows to the God of Heaven and earth, was the token and symbol of this promise.

The continual commemoration of these great historical events served to remind the Israelites at all times that God was the Creator and Lord of heaven and earth, as well as the God and King of Israel, and that He would be faithful to His Covenant and His promises. The celebration of the *Sabbath* was intended to serve as a constant memorial of the creation;[1] the *Pasch*[2] reminded them of their miraculous deliverance from the bondage of Egypt and the sparing of the first born; the Feast of the *Tabernacle*[3] kept before their eyes during their forty years' pilgrimage in the desert the actual proof of the guidance and blessings of God, and was a warning against the chastisements of Heaven. All these institutions, together with the annual feast of the *first fruits*, the feast of *thanksgiving* or Pentecost, and the various forms of sacrifice, such as thanksgiving, impetration and praise, but particularly that of *daily burnt offerings*,[4] were intended to remind the people of Israel of their relations to God, and the obligations under which they were placed to Him. The whole body of laws which God had prescribed for the Israelites was but a strong and faithful expression of their manner of life and national character. Two hundred and eighty-four precepts and three hundred and sixty-five prohibitions told the nature and extent of their transgressions and the punishments attached to the violation of each. The study of the law, of which they had ample opportunity, it being constantly kept before them in their religious ceremonies, afforded the Israelites a full *knowledge of* the nature of *sin*;[5] but though it made them clearly conscious of the heinousness of guilt, it supplied no direct agency by which they might avoid sin itself, or purify their souls from its stain after they had fallen into it, for the law, though exacting and severe, taught nothing concerning grace.[6]

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[1] Exod. xx. 8–11.

[2] Levitic. xxiii. 5 sq.; Exod. xxiii. 15.

[3] Levitic. xxiii. 34 sq.; Conf. Deut. viii. 15 sq.

[4] Exod. xxix. 38 sq.; Numb. xxviii. 3.

[5] Rom. iii. 20; vii. 7.

[6] John i. 17; Gal. iii. 13. *St. Augustine* pointedly states the character and

The state of mind produced among the Israelites by the fact that they possessed the full knowledge of the law of God, and the consciousness that their lives were at variance with its requirements, naturally led straight to the institution of the *priesthood*, which demanded perpetual sacrifices as an element of religion.

The High Priest entered the Holy of Holies[1] once a year to expiate by sacrifice the sins of the people, and to announce in the name of God pardon, reconciliation, and blessing. Still the desired reconciliation of the creature with the Creator could not be effected either by the Law or the Priesthood. The law could not justify man, for he failed to yield obedience to its many precepts,[2] and the numerous prohibitions it contained served to make more manifest the depth of his guilt.[3] Neither could the sacrificial offerings of animals avail for man's complete justification, perfection, and holiness. One alone in whom there is no guile, who has completely fulfilled the law, and who is raised above the highest heavens, could release man from the guilt of sin and exempt him from its consequences. The fact that Moses, himself a man of God, was excluded from the Land of Promise, is sufficient evidence that the law was not adequate to man's justification.

The law was nothing more than a *sublime prophecy*, which announced from afar the coming of *a prophet* like Moses, whom God would raise up among the Jewish people, and whom they would be obliged to hear.[4] It prefigured Him under the name *Joshuah*, and as One who should lead the people of God into the Promised Land.

The institution of the *prophetical office*, which essentially consisted in announcing the coming of the *Messiah*, was the second great element in the Jewish Theocracy. A *head* and

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relation of the O. to the N. T., saying: Multum et solidum significatur, ad vetus Testamentum timorem potius pertinere sicut ad novum dilectionem: quamquam et in vetere novum lateat, et in novo vetus pateat. In Exod. cf. Stolberg, Vienna ed. Vol. II., p. 41–51.

[1] Levitic. xvi.; Hebr. ix. 7, 25.

[2] Rom. vii. 16.

[3] Rom. vii. 7.

[4] Deut. xv. 18.

leader of the Jewish people, though long since spoken of,[1] was still wanted, one whom God should choose from among them, who should possess neither many horses, a great number of wives, nor abundant treasures of gold and silver.

After the conquest of the Promised Land by Joshuah, the heroic age of the JUDGES, from Othoniel to Heli and Samuel, formed a period of transition to the age of *Kings*. God, bearing with the pride and hard-heartedness of His people,[2] appointed SAUL (1095), who had been anointed by Samuel, king over them.

The offices and *dignities* of *High Priest*, *Prophet*, and *King*, the three distinctive institutions of theocracy, were the *prophetic types of the triple office and dignity of Him who was to come as the Savior of the world.*

DAVID, the second king (1050), having, by the building of the citadel of Sion, made Jerusalem a fortified city and constituted it the capital of his kingdom, brought thither the Ark of the Covenant. When he had overcome all his enemies, pushed his conquests as far as the Euphrates, and caused peace to reign everywhere, he turned his attention to the establishment of divine worship. It was his wish[3] to erect a temple worthy of God, but owing to a direct command from Heaven, this pious undertaking was for the time being omitted, and was finally undertaken during the pacific reign of SOLOMON (1000), who built, after the model of the Tabernacle,[4] a temple of great splendor and magnificence. Solomon was happy and his reign prosperous as long as he remained a wise ruler; but growing foolish and entirely abandoning himself to female pleasures, he forsook the service of the living God for the worship of idols, and involved in his own fall that of his entire empire. As early as 975, this flourishing state was rent asunder by internal dissensions, and divided into the two hostile kingdoms of JUDAH and ISRAEL.[5] This event contributed greatly toward weakening the strength of the Israelites in their struggle for independence against the Syrians, Egyptians, and Chaldeans.

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[1] Deut. xvii. 14 sq.

[2] 1 Sam. viii.

[3] 2 Sam. vii.

[4] 2 Chron. ii.–vii.

[5] 1 Kings xii.

At the very time that the royal dignity was humbled, and when religion, morality, and political power had become corrupt, the voice of the prophet was heard among them. Moses reappeared in the person of the prophet ELIAS during the reigns of Achab and Achasjah.[1] Elias, a man great in work, burning with zeal for God's glory, and bold and fearless in speech, upbraided the people of Israel for their apostacy from the true God,[2] and insisted that their laws, as they existed under David and Solomon, should be completely restored. After his efforts had proved unavailing, the spirit of the prophecies became more determined, angry, and threatening. and the voices of the prophets who appeared at intervals from this time forward were in complete accord with the wonderful decrees of Jehovah. Of these, ISAIAS, JEREMIAS, EZECHIEL, and DANIEL are called the GREATER, and the other twelve, the MINOR prophets. JONAS, JOEL, OSEAS, AMOS, ISAIAS, MICHEAS, and NAHUM were either contemporary or followed each other in immediate succession. Nevertheless, so great was the perversity and stubbornness of the people that Salmanassar, King of Assyria, effected in the year 722 the total destruction of the kingdom of Israel. Great numbers of the inhabitants were led away into exile, and the country peopled by colonists from Assyria. These latter, intermarrying with the Israelites, who had been suffered to remain at home, formed the SAMARITAN PEOPLE, who, being considered by the Jews a foreign nation, were despised accordingly.

The kingdom of Judah failed to recognize in this disaster a warning from which it might learn a useful lesson. They forsook the covenant which their king Josias, after having found the Law of Moses in the temple and in the presence of the elders of the whole people, had entered into with the Lord. They ceased to walk in the footsteps of Jehovah, refused to observe His commandments, testimonies, and justifications, and no longer loved Him with their whole heart and their whole soul.[1] They refused to listen to the prophets, HABACUC, JEREMIAH, and SOPHONIAS, and in 588 their kingdom was also overthrown by Nebucadnezar, King of Babylon. Their capital, with its magnificent temple, was utterly destroyed, and the greater part of the people led away into the enemy's country. JEREMIAH comforted those who were allowed to remain at home, and EZECHIEL accompanied and consoled those who were driven into exile.

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[1] 918–896 B. C.

[2] 1 Kings xvii.; 2 Kings ii.

The captivity of Babylon was the severest chastisement that had ever fallen upon the Jewish people, the last great trial of the nation's faith, and was for a long time a memory of the keenest grief. "By the waters of Babylon, there we sat and wept, when we remembered Sion; on the willows in the midst thereof we hung up our harps. How shall we sing the song of the Lord in a strange land?"[2]

They now longed to live a life more in keeping with the coming of the promised Redeemer. This hope and yearning for a Redeemer to come, received its most eloquent and earnest expression in the language of the prophets who appeared among them at this period.

Throughout their prophecies, and in a number of contemporary and earlier psalms, the wail of sorrow and whisper of comfort are wonderfully distinct; while again, in other psalms, the joy of being united to God, His power and justice, are sung with a tender pathos and a simple and strong majesty such as was never equaled by any other nation of the world in the golden age of its literature.

It is true, these songs were inspired by God Himself, and there is no other people, except His own, among whom poetry breathes a divine enthusiasm. This is very evident in the Messianic prophecies. They open a vista into the far distant future, detail the minutest circumstances of the time, place, precursor, advent, life, and office of the Messiah, which led St. Jerome to remark of Isaias that he should be called an Evangelist rather than a prophet (*non tam propheta dicendus est quam evangelista. Prefat. in Jes.*)

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[1] 2 Kings xxii. 8, and xxiii. 1 sq.

[2] Ps. cxxxvi.

Babylon, the proud Queen of the East, who fancied in her pride that she was invincible, but whose downfall had been frequently foretold by the prophets, was in her turn, under the providence of God, overcome by Cyrus, and given over to the rapacity and cruelty of the besiegers. She, the haughty mistress of the world, as Daniel had foretold to her arrogant and sacrilegious king, Balthazar, immediately before the divine visitation came upon her, was broken and crushed to pieces.[1] The seventy years of captivity foretold by Jeremias[2] were drawing to a close, and Cyrus permitted the captives of Babylon to return from exile.[3] Only the most zealous of the Jews made use of the permission, many going in groups to settle in other lands, but principally in Judea; and while penitent for their sins, all acknowledged the justice of the judgments of God, in that chastisement had come upon them as foretold by Moses,[4] and rejoiced that the prophecy of Jeremias had been literally fulfilled.

Encouraged by the example of their ancestors, rejoicing to be able to live according to the law, after having been so long estranged from it, and filled with ardor and renewed hope by the prophecies of Daniel, which foretold that after seventy weeks of years[5] the Son of Man[6] would come to establish His kingdom, destroy sin, and justify mankind, the Israelites made another effort to restore the Law and Ceremonial of Moses. This tendency was very manifest in the office of Zoróbabel, the leader of the first column; still more so in that of Esdras and Nehemias, but fully and emphatically expressed in the building of the second temple at Jerusalem.[7] Esdras was another Moses, and Nehemias became the restorer of the law and worship of the Lord in the second temple. About the year 520, the prophets Haggeus and Zacharias, by calling attention to the visible workings of divine Providence, inspired the people with fresh zeal for the rebuilding of the temple. They also foretold that it should be infinitely grander than that of Solomon, because THE DESIRED OF ALL NATIONS and the hope and comfort of all the Gentiles[1] would there first be made manifest to the world.

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[1] Dan. v.

[2] Jerem. xxv. 12; xxx. 10.

[3] 536; Conf. Esdr. i. 1 sq.

[4] Nehem. i. 8, 9.

[5] Dan. ix.

[6] Dan. ii. 44 sq.; vii. 13, 14, 27.

[7] 515; Conf. Esdr. i. 1–4; vi. 1 sq.

The HIGH-PRIEST, under the protection of Persia, which exercised a sort of suzerainty over the Jews, and by the advice of the seventy members[2] of the SANHEDRIN, decided with perfect freedom all purely spiritual questions. But the sacrifices offered in the new temple being imperfect, the prophet MALACHIAS in terms of reproach foretold that at a day not far distant a pure and spotless sacrifice would be offered to God, not only by the Jews at the temple of Jerusalem, but by both Jew and Gentile throughout the whole earth, from the rising to the going down of the sun.[3] He, like a second Elias, beheld in spirit the Messiah and him who was sent to prepare the way before His face,[4] and said that from this time forward to the coming of the Redeemer, they should have no more prophets, and that the Law of Moses must suffice, and closed his prophecy with these memorable words: "REMEMBER THE LAW OF MOSES, MY SERVANT; BEHOLD I WILL SEND YOU ELIAS THE PROPHET, AND HE SHALL TURN THE HEART OF THE FATHERS TO THE CHILDREN AND THE HEART OF THE CHILDREN TO THEIR FATHERS." That is, he will show the children what their fathers had hoped for in vain. The law and the prophets contained whatever was now necessary for the instruction and direction of the people of God, and henceforward the voice of prophecy was to be silent among them.

The new religious and political constitution of the Jews had been introduced by those sincerely desirous of serving God and keeping His law; but the influence of Greek culture upon their descendants became very noticeable. After the conquest of Alexander the Great (323), the Jews of Palestine were subject either to the Ptolemies of Egypt or the Seleucidae of Syria. *Antiochus Epiphanes* (175–164 B. C.), a prince of violent temper and impious character, went so far in his attempt to hellenize the Jews that, contrary to all legal form, he claimed the right to appoint the high-priest, treated those who opposed his wishes as traitors, took possession of the city of Jerusalem, ordered all the sacred books to be burnt, profaned the sanctuary, attempted to force the Jews to adore the gods of Greece, and, blinded with rage, seemed bent upon destroying the nation and profaning all that it held most holy. This profanation of the religion and outrage upon the nationality of the Jews kindled their old martial spirit, and drove them into a desperate struggle, in which, by their heroic resistance, they proved that they were still inspired by the most patriotic feelings. *Mattathias*, a descendant of the sacerdotal race of Asmoneans, was the leader of the insurrection. He swore that "though all nations should obey King Antiochus, and go so far as to depart from the law of their fathers, he and his sons and his kinsmen would obey the law of their fathers."[1] His five sons were leaders and officers in the protracted war which ensued with the Syrians.

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[1] Haggeus ii. 8.

[2] According to Numb. xi. 16.

[3] Malach. i. 11.

[4] Malach. iii. 1.

After his death in 166, the gallantry of *Judas Maccabeus* and *Jonathan* revived for a time the ancient glory of the people of God, and by their bravery won the admiration of Rome and Sparta.[2] Jerusalem was retaken by Judas Maccabeus, and the temple purified of all traces of idolatry.[3] So great was the gratitude of the Jews that they declared "that he should be their high-priest till there should arise a faithful prophet among them."[4]

Demetrius, the successor of Antiochus Epiphanes, recognized *Simon* as an independent prince. "And all the land of Juda was at rest during all the days of Simon, and he sought the good of his nation; and his power and his glory pleased them well all his days. And he enlarged the bounds of his nation, and every man tilled his land in peace; he made peace in the land, and every man sat under his vine and under his fig-tree, and there was none to make him afraid; he sought the law and took away every unjust and wicked man; he glorified the sanctuary and multiplied the vessels of the holy places."[1] In this way did royalty and the pontificate become hereditary in the family of the Asmoneans.

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[1] 1 Maccab. ii. 19, 20.

[2] 1 Maccab. xiv. 16 sq.

[3] 1 Maccab. iv.

[4] 1 Maccab. xiv. 41.

John Hyrcan, who succeeded Simon, so greatly increased the power of the Jews, that their kingdom under the Asmoneans was of greater extent than it had been at any past period of their history, with the exception of the reigns of David and Solomon. "Thus," says Bossuet, "the people of God, whether borne down by misfortunes or buoyed up by hope, were faithful amid all changes of fortune; and God so guided their movements as to give in their case the most striking and splendid proof that a Divine Providence governs the world." The house of the Asmoneans, like preceding dynasties, at first so zealous for God's honor and so blessed in its undertakings, prospered only while it remained faithful to the law of God.

The situation of John Hyrcan († 106) became critical when, during the conflict between the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, he manifested an inclination to embrace the dangerous doctrines of the latter. The elevation of his son and successor to the throne, under the title of Aristobulus I., and his pretensions to the prerogatives of royalty, were the signals for the breaking out of family feuds. Having caused his mother to be imprisoned and starved to death, and effected the murder of his brother, he was succeeded by Jannaeus (105–78) under whom, owing to the preëxisting state of affairs and the hatred excited against him for the murder of his brother, an obstinate and bloody civil war broke out. After his death, the empty title of regent was held by his widow, Alexandra Salome (78–70), until Aristobulus II., her son, went to war with his brother Hyrcanus, for the possession of the throne. The opposing interests of the Pharisees and Sadducees rendered the conflict between the contending parties still more bitter and obstinate.

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[1] 1 Maccab. xiv. 4–15.

Pompey, who was at that time engaged in Asia, was invited by the Judeo-Grecian party to act as arbiter in the quarrel, and, as was usual in cases where Rome interfered, her arbitration ended in subjugation. Pompey stormed the city of Jerusalem in the year 63, entered the temple, and carried away Aristobulus and his son Antigonus prisoners to Rome. Hyrcanus was allowed to retain the office of high-priest, while all political power was seized by the Romans. *Antipater*, the powerful Idumean at Jerusalem, obtained from Cæsar for himself and his sons *Herod* and *Phasaël*, the entire administration of the whole country. The Sanhedrin, perfectly alive to the ambitious aims of this Idumean family, and suspicious of the friendship existing between the Romans and Antipater, took alarm, and declared his position at variance with their national customs.

The arbitrary infliction of the death penalty by Herod, without the sanction of the Sanhedrin, together with other causes of disaffection, so far excited the discontent of the multitude that it finally broke out into open rebellion. At its close, Phasaël having laid violent hands upon himself, and Antipater having been poisoned, *Herod* the Great, who had won by his conduct the good will of the Romans, was appointed by Octavian and Anthony *King of Judea* (40 B. C.) This was the fulfillment of the prophecy of the patriarch Jacob: "The scepter shall not be taken away from Juda, nor a ruler from his thigh till He come, who is to be sent, and He shall be the Expected of Nations."[1]

Herod, who was an adept in the art of duplicity, destitute of the fear of God, and deaf to the voice of conscience, made every effort to strengthen his power by flagrant acts of violence, and indulged his vindictive inclinations by relentlessly pursuing, not only every member of the Asmonean family, but also every one whom he suspected of being his enemy. He also persecuted the priests and destroyed the distinctive nationality of the Jews by introducing the manners and customs of Rome. He simulated a certain reverence for the

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[1] Gen. xlix. 10. Conf. *Jos.* Antiq. xv. 3, 1; xx. 2, 4; xx. 3, 1. *Idem*, de bello Jud. ii. 36; vii. 3. *Tacit.* annal. ii. 85; hist. v. 5.

Jewish religion, from political motives, and out of a spirit of vanity again rebuilt the temple (23 B. C.) The foundations were all that was suffered to remain of the old temple. Everything else was new, and the whole design was executed on a scale of grandeur and magnificence never before equaled. He also showed his obsequiousness to the pagan authority of Rome by building a magnificent city on the seashore, to which, in honor of Cæsar Augustus, he gave the name of Cesarea. With such insidious intrigues were Herod and all Jerusalem busied, when the startling announcement of the birth of Christ filled the city with alarm.[1]

Augustus, after the death of Herod, parceled out Palestine among his sons, giving to Archelaus the ethnarchy of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea, and making Philip tetrarch of Batanea, Iturea, and Trachonitis, and Herod Antipas tetrarch of Galilee and Perea. Archelaus, in consequence of a revolt in his tetrarchy, was banished to Gaul (6 A. D.), and his territories became a Roman province, which, under the authority of the proconsuls of Syria, was administered by procurators, of whom *Pontius Pilate* was the fifth.

The High-priest and the Sanhedrin had supreme direction of religious affairs, but in political matters their influence was of little importance. In the year 39 A. D., *Herod Agrippa*, grandson of Herod the Great, through favor of Claudius, was made king over all Palestine, but after his death, which occurred A. D. 44, his kingdom became again a Roman province, administered by procurators.[2]

§ 29. *The Jews outside of Palestine.*

As has been remarked above, but a small number of the Jews availed themselves of the permission given by *Cyrus* to return to Palestine, the greater part of them having remained in Babylon, and spread thence farther East. The kings of the Homerites, in southern Arabia, had embraced Judaism about the year 100 B. C., and *Alexander* the Great had authorized the Jews to establish a colony at Alexandria, where their numbers rapidly increasing they spread thence over the adjacent countries of Africa, and were attracted by commercial advantages and a spirit of enterprise into Asia Minor and Syria, till, in the time of Augustus, they were found in every corner of the Roman empire.

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[1] Matt. ii. 3.

[2] †*Langen*, The Jewish Sanhedrin and the Roman Procurator of Judea. (Tübg. Quarterly, 1862, n. 3.)

They were called the Wandering or *Dispersed Jews* (*οἱ ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ*), to distinguish them from those of Palestine. With all this, they kept up an unceasing intercourse with Jerusalem, acknowledged the spiritual authority of that city as supreme, paid an annual tribute to the temple (*διδράχμα*), whither they sent their offerings and frequently went themselves on pilgrimages. Thus, in the face of the most adverse circumstances, they showed through a long period a marvelous and unswerving attachment to the nationality and religion of their fathers. In time, however, they followed the example of those who remained at home, and manifested a disposition to accommodate themselves to the customs of those among whom they resided, which accounts for the *Parseeism* and *Hellenism* of the dispersed Jews. At a distance from the center of nationality, they invariably lost the most marked and distinguishing traits of Jewish character and became less individual and exclusive. Those of Persia grafted some of the distorted religious tenets of that country upon their own divine deposit of faith, while the manners, language, and science of the Greeks, whose refined civilization was enthusiastically embraced by some of the more distinguished among them, contributed still more toward disintegrating the religion of the Jews; and even in *Egypt* the Hebrew and Chaldaic tongues had become so unfamiliar that a *Greek* translation of the Old Testament became necessary for those residing in that country.

This translation, known as the *Septuagint version*,[1] due entirely to the energy of King Ptolemeus Philadelphus (284–247 B. C.), who had it executed in parts, is so perfect that it was said to have been divinely inspired. The familiarity of the Alexandrian Jews with the philosophy of Pythagoras and Plato gave rise to the peculiar school known as the *Alexandrian Philosophy of Religion*, which *Aristobulus*, a peripatetic Jew of Alexandria,[1] and afterward the preceptor of Ptolemy Philometor (150 B. C.), first advanced, and which was fully developed by *Philo*, also a Jew of wealth and ability, who was born 25 B. C., and died 39 A. D.[2] He, fully convinced that the religion of the Jews was the divinely revealed and the only true one, but yet influenced by the beautiful theories of the Greek, Platonic, and Stoic philosophers, endeavored to harmonize the two and bring them into such accord that they would be acceptable to both Jew and Gentile. For this purpose he brought out in allegorical form, and under a mystical interpretation, the hidden sense of the Pentateuch, which he endeavored to reconcile with the theories of Plato. He held that there "was an inexhaustible treasure of divine wisdom concealed under the letter of Holy Writ." Like Plato, he also took for granted, besides the *One God* (*τὸ ὄν*), the pre-existence of matter (*τὸ μὴ ὄν*), and affirmed that God could not come in contact with it; but that in the formation of the world he used incorporeal forces as agents to give shape and form to his ideas. Following more closely the divine teaching contained in the deutero-canonical books, and without at all departing from the *philosophy* of *Plato*, Philo supposed *λόγος*, or "divine wisdom," to be the first emanation from the Supreme Being. Besides this, he affirmed there were secondary emanations, which he called *δυνάμεις* or *λόγοι*, that these were the types after which the world was formed, and through which it was brought within the compass of human reason (*κόσμος νοητός*). These divine ideas were by the operation "ad extra" of immanent divine reason (*λόγος ἐνδιάθετος*) realized in matter, gave it a definite form, and were made intelligible in the finite order (*λόγος προφορικός*). This visible world is, however, but an imperfect copy of the *κόσμος νοητός*. Platonism is still more apparent in Philo's doctrine concerning *spirits*, for he held that the souls of men, angels, and demons are only different conditions of the same being. In his *ethics*, however, he inclines to the school of the Stoics, and advocates the most thorough control over the sensual appetite of man, and restraint upon the perverse inclinations and wicked desires of the heart. He also held Scriptural doctrine with regard to the frailty of human nature, and asserts that a supernatural influence is necessary to the support of man.

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[1] This version (LXX.), Rome, 1587, and rep. ed. *Tischendorf*, Lps. 1856, ed. *Ang. Mai*, Rome, 1857. Cf. *Herbst*, Introd. into the A. T., publ. by von *Welte*, Freibg. 1840, pt. I. †*Reusch*, Introd. to the O. T. 4 ed. Freib. 1870, p. 187 sq.

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[1] Ἐξηγήσεις τῆς Μωυσέως γραφῆς (*Valckenaer*, de Aristobulo Judaeo, Leyden, 1806).

[2] *Philonis* opera, Francf. 1691, fol. ed. *Mangey*. London, 1742. 2 T. f. Pocket edition by *Pfeifer*, Erlangen (1785 sq.) 1820, 5 T., and in the Bibliothec. sacra Patr. lat. ed. *Richter*. Lps. 1828–30. 8 vols. *Staudenmaier*, Philos. of Christianity, or Metaphys. of the S. Scriptures. Giessen, 1840. 1 vol., p. 360–462. Freibg. Eccl. Cycl., Vol. VI., p. 577–580. *Döllinger*, the Jew and the Gentile, p. 837–848. *Lutterbeck*, the N. T. doctrinal systems. Mentz, 1852. Vol. I., p. 392–446. **Herzog's* Encyclopedia, pt. XI., p. 578–603.

The followers of this philosophy of religion, who, however, took a practical rather than a theoretical view of it, spread all over Egypt, but were most numerous about the lake of Moeris, not far from Alexandria, where they formed themselves into a society of ascetics, called the *Therapeutai*.[1] These, like the later Anchorites, lived separately in cells (*σεμνείοις, μοναστηρίοις*), and observed a most rigorous fast on bread and water, which led Eusebius to believe that they were Christians. Their name (*θεραπευταί*) is declared by Philo to mean *θεραπεία θεοῦ*, by others *θεραπεία ψυχῆς*. The union of both derivations might, perhaps, fully designate the tendency of the Therapeutai.

Josephus, a learned Jew, who came of sacerdotal caste, and belonged to the sect of Pharisees, and who afterward assumed the surname of *Flavius*, as a mark of respect to Vespasian and Titus, also inaugurated *at Rome* a system of religion resembling Judaism.[2] In his efforts to gain favor at court, by the most abject flattery, he fell into utter disrepute with his fellow-countrymen. He died 93 A. D.

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[1] Principal source *Philo*, de vita contemplativa. Cf. also *Euseb.* hist. eccl. II. 17. *Bellermann*, hist. accounts of antiquity on the Esseans and Therapeutae. Berl. 1821. †*Sauer*, de Essenis and Therapeutis. Uratisl. 1829. *Dähne*, hist. exposition of Jewish-Alexandrine philos. of relig. Halle, 1834. Divis. I., p. 439. *Döllinger*, The Jew and the Gentile, pp. 759, 760.

[2] As to his works see above § 28, Conf. Tübg. Quart. 1865, n. 1.

It was precisely those Jews who had remained in exile and who were scattered throughout every nation, and inhabited every large city in such numbers as to excite the astonishment of *Strabo*, who had a divine mission to perform in imparting the knowledge they possessed to all mankind. The line of separation which had once cut off this much detested people from intercourse with other nations imperceptibly grew less distinct, till it finally entirely faded away, and the Jews became chiefly instrumental in the education of foreign nations. The active intercourse carried on by them with the principal states of antiquity gave them an opportunity, which, with their characteristic zeal, they were not slow to use to the best advantage, of spreading the knowledge of the true God among the Gentiles, and in this way inspiring respect for their religion, and exciting throughout the world a firm belief in the coming of the kingdom of God upon earth. Their efforts met with marked success as the time for the coming of the Son of God approached, and many Pagans, wearied of the barren teachings of polytheism, professed the monotheism of the Jews, adopted their moral code, abstained from flesh meat offered to idols, and abandoned other Pagan practices. These were styled the *proselytes of the gate* (גרי השער), Gherei Hashshaar, and were quite numerous, but those who submitted to circumcision, fully observed the law of Moses, and were known as *proselytes of justice* (גרי הצדק), Gherei Hatzedec, were comparatively few in number. There was still another and very numerous class, who, without the preliminary preparation of becoming proselytes of the gate, sought, amid the general desolation of Paganism, to quiet the voice of conscience by practicing the ceremonial of Judaism, and observing its festivals, and these, Juvenal, Persius, and Horace hold up to ridicule and contempt.

§ 30. *The Three Principal Sects, Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenians—The Samaritans.*

The civil commotions prevalent during the period of Asmoneans and Maccabeans gave birth to religious parties which exercised no little influence upon the current of political events. The relations of Church and State became a prolific subject of dispute between the Pharisees and Sadducees, while questions of a purely moral character engaged the attention of Essenians. Still other questions of an entirely political nature divided all these parties, the Pharisees protesting with all their energy against the extinction of their nationality by Greek and Roman domination, and the Sadducees and Essenians submitting to it without protest. The Pharisees were most zealous defenders of tradition and ancient usage, and rigorously insisted on the letter of the law, while they wholly lost sight of its spirit and meaning.

The *Sadducees*, on the contrary, perceiving the necessity of an advance toward a better state of things, and appreciating the fact that the age required a change to something new, endeavored to supply this want by adopting customs which had recently come into vogue, and affecting a *liberalism* in marked contrast with the pretentious orthodoxy of the Pharisees. Midway between these two parties representing the extremes of religious opinion, there was a third, composed of those who, while relaxing somewhat the rigorous traditions of their forefathers, sought rest and peace of soul by leading a spiritual and contemplative life, and were known as *Essenians*.[1]

The *Pharisees*, who, from the time of *Esdras*, had steadily been giving definite shape to their teaching, became a distinct class about 144 B. C. They admitted, besides the Scriptures, a living *tradition*, which, having its beginnings in the elementary principles of all sciences, and bearing on its surface the characteristic features of every age, furnished a permanent commentary upon the Scriptures, and afforded an infallible means for the solution of the difficulties they might contain. Hence the Pharisees arrogated to themselves the title of Doctors of the Law, supposed by some to be derived from

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[1] On these three sects, Cf. *Stolberg*, pt. IV., p. 499–524. Trium scriptor. illustr. (Drusii, Scaligeri et Serrarii) de tribus Judaeor. sectis syntagma. Ed. *Triglandius*, Delphis, 1703. 2 vols. 4to. *Döllinger*, the Jew and the Gentile, p. 745–760. *Lutterbeck*, l. c. vol. I., p. 166–222. *Himpel*, in the Tübg. Quarterly, 1858, p. 63 sq.

פורש—Phoresh—meaning *ἐξηγητὴς τοῦ νόμου*, or expounders of the law.

In seeking by allegorical interpretation to harmonize their own teachings (which, at first delivered orally (Cabbalah), gradually grew into a definite system of speculative theology), with the books of the Old Testament, they so distorted these that their recognition became impossible.

Still they confidently appealed to tradition, to prove the authenticity of their extravagant ritual and endless ceremonial. It seemed to be their endeavor, after having crushed all life and spirit out the ritualistic forms,[1] to put forward as the essence of religion these empty ceremonies. On this account, they offered in the beginning an unmistakable and persistent opposition to Christ,[2] which was but natural, since He enjoined a worship *in spirit and in truth.* While they performed, with the utmost exactness and assiduity, external works of devotion, the wickedness of their private conduct belied their public acts of piety, and they were justly likened to whited sepulchers. Stoics by education, they sought by a severe and sanctimonious exterior to be distinguished from ordinary mortals; and this may account for the more approved derivation of their name from פרוש—Pharush—meaning *chosen* and *set apart* from the people, pious.[3] Christ severely rebuked them for their pride and hypocritical pretense to sanctity.[4]

The very position of the Pharisees made them the natural leaders of the people in both religion and politics, and they themselves were ambitious to be thought the great defenders of the constitution and the prerogatives of the nation, that by this means they might the more successfully advance their influence and power. This character is, however, not equally applicable to all the Pharisees. They all asserted the doctrine of free will, the immortality of the soul, and, by "*closely adhering to the Word of God*," became incomparably superior to the Sadducees. That many of them, such as *Nicodemus*, *Gamaliel*, and others,[1] were well disposed and open to conviction, is abundantly proved from the history of Christ, and by the remarkable contrast which existed between *the schools of Hillel and Shammai.*

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[1] Matt. xv. 6.

[2] Matt. xii. 14.

[3] Conf. *Josephus*, antiq. xvii. 2–4. *Epiphanius*, haer. 16, c. 1, ad finem.

[4] Matt. xxiii. 5–7; xiii. sq. 28–32; Luke xi. 37–54; Mark vii. 2 sq.; Matt. xv. 2, 3; John ix. 16.

To the strict orthodoxy and unhesitating belief of the Pharisees in the merit and efficacy of exterior works of devotion, the Sadducees opposed a critical and ultra-liberal spirit. Their name is derived from the Hebrew צדק Zedec. According to the legend of the Talmud, however, they date their origin from a certain *Zadoc*, who lived about 240 B. C. Their aim seems to have been to restore the Mosaic law to its original purity. They acknowledged all the books of the Old Testament, because they were in harmony with the Pentateuch, but rejected tradition, and attributed no value to ceremonies. Ostensibly indifferent in their religious belief, loving a life of ease and *Epicurean* luxury, they disregarded the higher aspirations of their nature, and considered God as a Being who quietly observes the course of human affairs without much caring what particular direction events may take. They also *denied the immortality of the soul*, and, as a consequence, rejected the doctrine of future reward and punishment and the resurrection of the body.[2] It is also quite certain that they denied the existence of *angels* and *all other spirits*, but particularly Satan.[3] The Sadducees, as might be anticipated from the nature of their teachings, exerted little or no influence upon a people so wedded to their traditions, nor did the bigoted spirit with which they, professing the widest liberty of thought, pursued all those who dared to differ from them, contribute to their popularity. The dangerous tendency of their religious opinions would have precluded the possibility of any good coming of their influence had it been more powerful than it really was.

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[1] The *Talmud* legend thus relates the origin of the sects: Zadoc, one of the disciples of Antigonus Socho, interpreted the tenet of his master: that virtue must be practiced without reference to reward: as denying a future state of retribution, and, consequently, future life itself. Cf. *Grossman*, de philosophia Sadducaeorum, Lps. 1836; and *Winer* in his bibl. Cyclopedia, s. v. "Sadduceans." *Döllinger*, Paganism, p. 745–748.

[2] Matt. xxii. 23; Mark xii. 18; Luke xx. 27; Jos. Ant. xviii, 1, 4.

[3] Acts xxiii. 8.

About the middle of the second century before Christ, a number of Jews, equally dissatisfied with the teachings of each of these sects, and their influence upon public opinion, formed themselves into a third party, known as the *Essenians*,[1] who, embracing an ascetical life, and combining the Mosaic law with the philosophy of the Orphic-pythagorean school, gave rise to a religion resembling in many respects that of the Jews of Alexandria. According to Josephus Flavius, about four thousand of these withdrew to the western shore of the Dead Sea, where they settled and led a retired and mortified life. They sought to be liberated from the prison of the body, and by practicing all manner of good works, by fasting and a rigorous and inflexible discipline, to so bring the senses under control that they might free themselves from the bondage of the body, "*that prison-house of the soul*," and lead an entirely spiritual and supernatural life. They also renounced marriage, and *Pliny* calls them an "eternal people," because there was no new generation to take the place of that which was passing away. They had a great regard for truth, and never permitted an *oath* to be taken among themselves, except upon the entrance of a member into the community, when it was surrounded with every circumstance calculated to inspire dread.

Their chief employment was to till the fields, breed cattle, practice trades, and study *medicine;* to the last of which their name, derived from the Chaldean word אסא (he cured), signifying a *healer*, may with great probability be etymologically traced. It would seem that their acquaintance with medicine and the secrets of nature led them to claim a supernatural knowledge, and as a matter of fact they did pretend that the *gift of prophecy* was their special prerogative.

Their spiritual life and religious tenets have many points

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[3] *Philo* calls them Εσσαῖοι; *Josephus Flavius*, Εσσῆνοι. Conf. above § 29, note, and *Lutterbeck*, l. c. vol. I., p. 270–314. Freibg. Eccl. Cyclopedia, vol. III., p. 715 sq.

in common with those of the *Therapeutai*, of Egypt. *Philo*, however, calls the Essenians πρακτικοί, and the Therapeutai θεωρητικοί, because the latter led only a contemplative life, while the former united both the contemplative and the active.

According to the same author, who is very partial to both sects, and believes them to have been true models of practical wisdom, they rejected all sacrifice and professed to adore in spirit and in truth; but Josephus contradicts this assertion and says that they regarded sacrifice as holy, provided only it were offered after their own fashion. They religiously observed the Sabbath, possessed all things in common, and, in direct contradiction to the most prominent doctrine of their sect, were scrupulously attentive to a great number of empty formalities and outward practices, among which may be mentioned the distinction of the *four degrees*, abstinence from everything impure, *lustrations*, etc. Their devotions were at once mystical and Mosaic, contemplative and slavish, and savored of the most intense Phariseeism. Everything was regulated by the rigorous exactions of law; to render *aid* and show *mercy*, were, according to Josephus Flavius, the only two acts left entirely to their own discretion. Their reverence for the *sun* was so great that they would not speak on profane subjects before sunrise. The attempt, therefore, to identify the Essenians with Christianity, of which they did not possess a single essential element, was a most decided mistake. The most that can be asserted is that the kindred sect of the Therapeutai may have had a certain influence upon the mode of life adopted in Christian monasteries. It seems quite clear that none of these sects could have exerted a lasting influence upon the religious bias of the people. The Pharisees, besides being hypocritical, crushed out all genuine piety of soul, by incumbering their religious belief with an extravagant ceremonial, and relying implicitly upon the efficacy of trivial works of external devotion. The Sadducees, on the other hand, harassed by perpetual doubt and yielding to indifferentism, were utterly inadequate to the task of imparting to the people the doctrines of efficacious faith; while the Essenians, shut up in their monasteries, could not make their influence felt upon the outer world.

We shall close this sketch of the religious dissensions among the Jews by briefly referring to the hatred and animosity which existed between them and the *Samaritans*.[1] These latter derive their name from Samaria, the former capital of Israel. The origin of their religious schism dates from the time of Salmanassar, when the Jews who had been suffered to remain at home intermarried[2] with the Babylonians, Cutheans, and other colonists sent by the conqueror to replace those who had been led away captives. The descendants of these two races were always thoroughly despised by their more orthodox brethren. Although professing to be Israelites by descent, they were Pagans at heart. Conscious of their apostasy, they desired to return to strict monotheism and to aid in the building of the temple, from which, by reason of their idolatry, they had been excluded.[3]

This much desired religious reform took place about the year 332 B. C., when *Manasseh*, an excommunicated priest, adopting the Samaritan interpretation of Deuteronomy xxvi. 4, built, with the consent of Alexander the Great, a temple on Mount *Garizim*, and established a Levitical priesthood, after the form presented in the Pentateuch. His liturgy, however, must have differed essentially from that followed in the temple of Jerusalem, since, contrary to the practice of the Jews, the Samaritans rejected all the books of Scripture, except the *Pentateuch*, and maintained that God should be adored only on Mount Garizim.[4] They accepted, but in a wider sense, the theocratic belief in a Providence, a future state, and the coming of the Messiah. (השׁהב—Hashshaheb—i. e. *Conversor*.[5])

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[1] *Sylv. de Sacy*, mémoires sur l'état actuel des Samaritains. Paris, 1812. *Gesenius*, de Pentateuchi Samar. origine, indole et auctore. Hallae, 1822. Ejusd. carm. Samar. e codd. Lond. et Goth. Lps. 1824. (*Sieffert*) Progr. de temp. schismatis eccl. Judaeos inter et Samar. oborti. Regiomont. 1828. 4to. *Herzog's* Encyclopedia, pt. XIII., p. 359–391. †*Grimm*, the Samaritans and their position in the world's history. Munich, 1854.

[2] 2 Kings xvii. 24 sq. Conf. 2 Chron. xxxi. 1 sq.

[3] 2 Kings xvii. 29 sq.

[4] John iv. 19 sq.

[5] *Friederich*, dissensionum de Christologia Samaritanorum liber. Lps. 1821, p. 11–87. Conf. *Reusch*, Introd. into the Old Testament. Freiburg, 1870, p. 208: "The names of the Deity are paraphrased in the Samaritan version of the

The Jews and Samaritans, in speaking of each other, were unsparing in words of reproach and opprobium.[1] They mutually charged each other with idolatry and like crimes, denied to each other the rights of hospitality,[2] and refused all intercourse, and, when traveling, each kept at a distance from the territory of his neighbor. The teaching[3] and example[4] of Christ were a pointed condemnation of such conduct.

§ 31. *Direct and Indirect Preparation for the Coming of Christ in the Fullness of Time.*

The influence of the Pharisees, notwithstanding their outward forms of law, had destroyed all true religion among the Jews and begotten an intense spirit of *fanaticism*. Religion had come to be regarded as consisting entirely in *external forms*. The skepticism of the Sadducees, whose influence, however, was not great, had caused considerable *discontent* among the people. These religious troubles, which were greatly aggravated by the excessive severity of Roman rule, created a desire among them for some amelioration of both their religious and political condition. But, in proportion as the religious difficulties of the Jews increased, the more were they disposed to interpret in a worldly and carnal sense the prophecies *concerning the Messiah*, the most glorious that had ever been delivered to them. They looked forward to His coming as to that of a great and mighty ruler and conquering hero.[5] Only a few among them, of whom the noble characters of the New Testament, Zachary, Elizabeth, Simeon, Anne, Mary, and the rest,[6] are representatives, hoped in a Messiah who would *deliver them from error and sin.*

At the close of the period at which we have just arrived,

Pentateuch, anthropomorphisms and other offensive expressions avoided; in other respects, the translation is literal."

[1] Sir. l. 28; John viii. 48.

[2] Luke ix. 53.

[3] Luke x. 25–37.

[4] John iv. 4 sq.; Luke ix. 52.

[5] † *Langen*, Judaism in Palestine at the time of Christ. Frëiburg, 1866, p. 391–461.

[6] Luke i. and ii.

the Jews, relying upon the prophecy of Daniel ix. 24, concerning the seventy weeks of years (490), and perceiving the fulfillment of the prophecy of the Patriarch Jacob relative to the scepter of Juda,[1] impatiently awaited the coming of the Messiah.

The Roman empire was consequently not alone in the deplorable state of morality and religion which existed within her confines. Even Palestine, the Holy Land, the abode of the people of God, was not free from the prevailing moral corruption. But mankind, though *without God*, and estranged from Him,[2] everywhere looked anxiously forward to the coming of the *Desired of Nations*, foretold by the prophets, a season annually commemorated by the Catholic Church in her service during Advent, when she sings again the anthem of the prophet, "Drop down dew, ye heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain the Just; let the earth be opened and bud forth a Savior."[3] Then the Son of God quitted the eternal mansions of His Father, and "appeared," as *St. Augustine* says, "to men, to a world in the decline of old age and in the throes of death, that, while everything about them was rapidly going to decay, He might by His presence infuse into them new life and fresh vigor." "The fullness of time," according to the Apostle of the Gentiles, "was come, when God had decreed to send His Son, that we might be redeemed and again adopted as children." The time was most propitious for beginning the work of Christianity, whose action and "influence were to reach the farthest corners of the earth." *Everything had been brought about that Paganism* could possibly contribute, either *directly* or *indirectly*, toward introducing the new era and *preparing the way for the kingdom of Christ*, which, according to the design of God, was destined to embrace all mankind. "Judaism was the channel through which salvation was to come to man, and by which Paganism had been prepared to receive it."

"As a negative preparation for Christianity, the ancient world was obliged to pass through all the various stages of human progress and development, that it might learn by a long and painful experience that these of themselves give neither quiet of mind nor peace of heart, and are utterly unable to save either the individual or the family, the state or society.

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[1] Gen. xlix. 10.

[2] Ephes. ii. 1. 5. 12.

[3] Isaias xlv. 8.

The helplessness of Paganism became most apparent in the sphere of *religious truth.* The lingering tradition of a primitive revelation had gradually died away; the belief in the One Personal God had yielded to a belief in a plurality of gods, thus bringing the Deity within the range of the natural and the sensuous, and, as a consequence, monotheism gave way to polytheism, and this led straight to pantheism and the most degrading materialism. Only a few very favored minds had any notion of an All-wise Providence, and the others were alternately swayed by despair and stolid resignation. Their religious practices and forms of worship contributed much to undermine the very foundation of morality and religion, while the uncertainty of a future life was not calculated to produce a favorable influence on morals. The whole system of belief and worship was neither supernatural nor moral in its aim, and, deteriorating from day to day, gradually caused man to forget the great end of his life, and ended by making him the victim of unspeakable misery.

Philosophy was altogether unequal to the task of staying the prevailing corruption; and its doctrines, however sublime, were but imperfectly understood, and did not permeate the masses of the people. It ended in vague speculation and skepticism, thereby confessing its inability to ameliorate the condition of mankind, and, as if weary of the thankless labor, gave up the attempt and settled into a listless Epicureanism. The question addressed by Pilate to Jesus, "What is truth?" is the most emphatic acknowledgment of the utter insufficiency of the best efforts of men who, baffled in philosophy, turned their attention to literature and art, and having brought to the study of these the choicest gifts of human genius, were still unable to satisfy the ceaseless cravings of the soul. As a last resource, they turned with enthusiastic devotion to the all-absorbing *idea of the State*, hoping to find there a panacea for all the ills to which flesh is heir. As they said, no man is born to live for himself alone; his country should be the one great and all-sufficient aim of his life. But though the theory was very fine, the reality was far from corresponding to it. Freedom was the privilege of a favored few; one-half the people were wasting away their lives in servitude, and even woman had sunk to the deepest depth of degradation.

The dream of the Greek republics, though beautiful and fascinating, had long since vanished, and the colossal Roman empire, which came after them, was equally unable to offer a remedy for the terrible evils and sufferings by which society was menaced. The Roman world would, like Cato, have plunged the dagger into its very heart, had no prospect of future happiness been offered to it. "The Romans," says *Döllinger*, "who, like Tacitus, kept abreast of their age, were overwhelmed with a profound feeling of discouragement and dismay. They, perceiving that the struggle against the prevailing corruption was utterly hopeless, and that legislation was powerless for good, saw nowhere any sign of a great political regeneration which would change things for the better."

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that, in the relations of Paganism to Christianity, the "genius of antiquity" had exhausted every possible effort of which it was capable. As *Sepp* correctly observes, "It was not the only purpose of its institutions, forms, and mental productions to prove that these, while exhausting its best energies, were ineffectual for good. They were not merely negative in their relations to Christianity, since they in fact contained elements of the good, the true, and the beautiful. Paganism may appropriately be likened to a winter's shroud, under which a world of vegetation is slumbering, ready to come forth at the first approach of spring, and to burst out into leaf and blossom, and flower and fruit, under the warming rays of the genial sun."

The *methods* of thought and forms of expression that grew up under the influence of classic antiquity, have greatly facilitated the operations of the mind, and for the purposes of investigation, throwing ideas into definite shape and conveying them to the mind, have ever remained unsurpassed for precision and thoroughness, variety, and harmony. These have been found so convenient and efficient for accurately defining and logically defending the doctrines of revelation, that it is difficult not to recognize in their growth the providential hand of God.

Pagan *art*, which has claimed the admiration of all ages, as perfectly expressing the mental conceptions of things visible, had so fostered a love of the beautiful among men of education and refinement, that Christianity had at hand ample means for conveying to men's minds the fullest idea of its interior harmony and beauty. The stern *sense of justice* among the Romans afforded a basis on which to build the perfect system of Christian morality, and the *practical genius of* Rome, the mistress of the world, served as a model for the government of the infant Church. But apart from these methods for *mental* training, by which a host of the Church's most able and successful champions and defenders were formed, there was in the very essence of Pagan culture a *positive* and *substantial* preparation for Christianity. The *popular mythological belief*, though very various and replete with superstition and immorality, contained, nevertheless, elements of a real religion and relative truth, which found expression in mysterious rites, sacrifices, and lustrations, and might be turned to account in opening the way for the introduction of the great mysteries of the true religion. This assertion is true in a still higher sense of Hellenic *philosophy*, and particularly that of *Plato*, who, by his teachings, refuted a multitude of Pagan errors concerning psychology, cosmology, dialectics, and ethics, proved them to be absurdly unreasonable, and put forward in their stead a great number of natural truths concerning God, man, and the world. If Plato could not conceive these verities without tinge of error, or grasp them in all their bearings, he had, at least, a kind of presentiment of many of the supernatural truths of Christianity, which, as would seem from the spontaneous aspirations of the soul and its hope of aid from on high and salvation from God, were indirectly revealed to man. It is true he molded these ideas after his own fashion, as, for instance, when he limits and accommodates to the natural wants of man[1] the belief, which seemed instinctive with him, of a universal Church, into which all the nations of the earth should be gathered.

Michelis[2] goes even so far as to affirm that all the essential doctrines of Christianity were implicitly contained in the teachings of Platonism, which he considers the key by which man is enabled to fully and thoroughly understand the wealth of blessings in the deposit of the Church.

This much, at any rate, seems quite certain, that Plato was, in the words of Clement of Alexandria, a *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν*, a teacher or instructor who prepared the way for Christ, having, among the Pagans, the same office that the law of Moses performed among the Jews.

These teachings of Socrates, fully developed by Plato and Aristotle, gave rise among the educated classes of Romans, about the time of Christ, to very diverse views, clearly set forth by such writers as Seneca and Marcus Aurelius, concerning the relations between man and man, his need of a Savior, his essential dependence on a Supreme Being, and his life in the world to come.

Neo-Platonism, the last stage in the progress of Greek philosophy, took for granted at starting these natural aspirations and yearnings after a knowledge of divine truth and communion with God, so that Christianity entered upon the work of a general development of the human race at the very time when men's minds were fully conscious of its momentous significance, and when the philosophers of Greece and Rome had taught the practical and important lesson that man is a a moral being, and as such has definite ethical obligations in this life. This idea of moral responsibility grew daily stronger and more emphatic, till, under the influence of Christianity, it became the essential element in forming the public conscience of the time.[3]

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[1] Conf. *Becker*, The Philos. System of Plato in its Relation to Christian Dogma. Freiburg, 1862.

[2] The Philosophy of Plato in its Intrinsic Relation to Revealed Truth. Münster, 1859–61.

[3] This graphic exposition, from p. 129–132, incl., of the relations of Paganism

Never had there been a more intense desire among men to adore in spirit and in truth, and never had the world been better prepared to receive so sublime a religion: even the most determined opposition was borne down and lost sight of amid the universal cry of sorrow from within and oppression from without. As many Pagans were led to Christianity by the monotheistic doctrines of Platonic philosophy, and reconciled to a belief in the Son of God by their own mythical legends concerning the *descendants* of their gods, so also were the Greeks and Romans drawn to the faith of Christ and inspired with confidence in His promises by the teaching of the learned Jew, *Philo*, and, still later, *Josephus Flavius.*

The *political condition* of nearly all civilized nations contributed in a most marvelous way to the favorable reception and salutary influence of Christianity. The Roman empire during the first year of the Christian era embraced not only every civilized nation, but extended over nearly all the known world. The language and customs of Rome were very generally accepted by the peoples composing the western portions of their vast empire, but in the eastern, owing to the conquests of Alexander the Great, the civilization of Greece found more favor, and was subsequently, during the time of the emperors, introduced into Rome itself. The union of so many nations under one government offered every facility to the spread and progress of Christianity. It was so disposed by Providence, says *St. Augustine*, "that Rome should conquer and by equitable laws unite in one vast empire all the nations of the earth." And *Origen* and *Eusebius* assert that this providential condition of things was brought about that every facility might be afforded the Apostles for carrying out the divine commission, "Go ye forth into the whole world and teach all nations;" for otherwise they would have experienced almost insuperable difficulties in carrying the faith to the ends of the earth.[1]

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to Christianity has been transferred by the translator to his pages from Dr. Kraus' Text-Book of C. H., Treves, 1872, Vol. I., p. 27–29.

[1] *August.* de civit. Dei XVIII. 22. *Origenes*, ctr. Cels. II. 40. *Euseb.* demonstrat. evang. III. 6.

It should not be forgotten that the confines of the Roman empire almost bordered on those of China, that friendly relations existed between the two nations, and that as the Romans, according to Suetonius and Tacitus, expected the Holy One from the East, so did the Chinese await His coming from the West.

A very general knowledge of the Greek language afforded another efficient means of propagating Christianity. St. Paul wrote in this tongue not only to the Corinthians and Philippians, but also to the Asiatics of Ephesus in the East, and to the Europeans of Rome in the West.[1]

The thirst for conquest among the Romans had caused them to relent somewhat their early exclusiveness in religious matters and become more tolerant of foreign modes of worship.

It was a generally recognized fact that the gods had each his own peculiar mode of worship, which was tolerated by all the others as long as it was confined either to the people or within the limits of the country to which each god belonged. The natural and necessary result of a doctrine like this was a religious syncretism and an elimination of all dogmatic differences. Foreign gods worshiped with immoral rites became so numerous, in spite of the fact that it required the authorization of the State to introduce them,[2] from the year 327 after the building of Rome, that the laws *circa sacra peregrina* became continually more severe, till finally the truth and beauty of Christianity which was subduing the world broke upon the minds of the Romans and led them captive. During the whole history of the Roman empire it never enjoyed a more *profound peace* than when the Son of God came to establish *His kingdom* of peace among men. After seven hundred years of war, interrupted only by two very short intervals, Augustus closed the temple of Janus.[3]

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[1] *Cicero*, pro Archia poëta c. 10: Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latini suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur. Conf. †*Hug*, Intr. into the N. T. 3 ed., pt. II., p. 30 sq.

[2] *Cicero* de legg. II. 8. Separatim nemo habessit Deos, neve novos, sed ne advenas, nisi publice adscitos privatim colunto.

[3] *Mamachii* orig. et antiq. chr., lib. II., c. 2, § 3.

Who can fail to recognize in these events the hand of Divine Providence preparing the world for the reception and propagation of Christianity? And who, reflecting on the happy consummation of the purposes of God, will not cry out in wonder and admiration with the apostle of the Gentiles: "God hath concluded all in unbelief, that He may have mercy on all. O the depth of the riches, of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are His judgments, and how unsearchable His ways!" Rom. xi. 32, 33.

FIRST PERIOD.

CHURCH HISTORY AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE DURING THE FIRST SEVEN CENTURIES.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THIS PERIOD.

1. The *theatre* in which the Church put forth her greatest energy during this period embraces that cluster of countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea—in Western Asia, Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor; Greece, Italy, Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Brittany, in Southern and Western Europe; in Northern Africa, Egypt, Numidia, and Mauritania; and in the East, all those nations under the influence of Greco-Roman civilization, and which the power of Rome had succeeded in uniting in one vast empire.

2. The Church found among the nations that constituted the great Roman empire a high degree of culture, both in the *arts* and *sciences*, and considerable perfection in their various *systems of government;* and these undoubted evidences of superiority, notwithstanding the many proofs they had had of their own insufficiency and utter inability to satisfy the cravings of the human soul, inspired both Jew and Gentile, Greek and Roman, with the proud consciousness that in these respects at least they were far in advance of every other nation.

3. Hence the Church was under the necessity in these countries of sustaining an apparently *doubtless conflict against Judaism and Paganism*, the Roman sword and Pagan science.

4. But the Church of Christ having, by the divine principle of strength residing within her, by the novel interpretations which her teaching put upon the life of man and his relations to the world, and by adopting the language and civilization of classic nations, obtained not only the tolerance, but also the good will of the Roman empire, so deepened and widened

her influence, that the writings of the Fathers during this period, illustrating her *doctrinal development*, her *constitution* and *worship*, and her influence upon the *morals* of the people, have become models for succeeding ages. And though a *majestic unity* is the great central idea of the Church, scarcely less prominent throughout the whole course of her rapid growth are her wide spirit of *freedom* and wonderful *adaptability* to all the circumstances of every age and country.

FIRST EPOCH.

FROM THE BIRTH OF CHRIST TO CONSTANTINE THE GREAT (1–313).

§ 32. *Sources. Works on the Ecclesiastical History of this Epoch.*

I. Sources of Information.—The Holy Scriptures of the N. T.; all the Fathers of the Church and the ecclesiastical writers of this epoch (the works of *Lumper*, see further on) in the Max. Bibl., vett. Patr. Lugd. T. II. and III. (the Greeks only in Latin); in *Galland.* Bibl. vett. Patr. T. I., II., III., and in part T. IV.; in *Migne's* cursus patrol. complet., and in the spicileg. SS. Patr. ut et haereticor. saeculi post Christum natum I., II., edited by *Grabe*, mostly giving fragments only, published Oxon. 1700, and Oxon. 1714. 2 T. *Routh*, reliquiae sacrae seu auctorum fere jam perditorum secundi tertiique saeculi fragmenta, quae supersunt. Oxon. 1814 sq. 2 ed. 1840. 5 T. 8vo. Canones et constitutiones Apostolor., and acta Conciliorum in Mansi's T. I., II., and in Harduin's T. I., edit. de *Lagarde*, Berol. 1865. The Church Historians Hegesippus, Eusebius, conf. § 14. †*Ruinart*, acta primorum martyrum sincera et selecta. 2 ed. Amstelodami, 1713, in fol. ed. *Galura*, August. Vindelic. 1802. 3 T. Ratisbon, 1858. *Lardner*, Collection of the Jewish and Heathen Testimonies on the Christ. Relig. London, 1764, seqq. 4 T. in 4to, with passages referring to this epoch, taken from Jewish and Pagan writers, signally Josephus Flavius, Suetonius, Tacitus, Plinius Secundus, Scriptores historiae Augustae, Dio Cassius, and others, compiled and expounded by the author.

II. Works.—†*Lumper*, historia theologico-critica de vita, scriptis et doctrina SS. Patr. aliorumque scriptor. eccles. August. Vindel. 1783 sq. 13 T. 8vo. (first three centuries.) †*Baronii* annales T. I. et II. †*Natal. Alex.* h. e. I., II., et III., saec. ed. Venet. 1771 sq. 4to. T. IV.–VI. †**Tillemont* T. I.–V. †*Palma*, praelectiones h. e. T. I. *Moshemii* de rebus Christianor. ante Const. M. Helmst. 1753. 4to. †*Stolberg*, pt. V.–IX. †*Rauscher*, Vols. I. and II. †*Rohrbacher*, histoire universelle de l'église cath. T. III.–VI. History of the foundation of Christianity, by *Abbé Bullet* (transl. from the French into German by *Weckers*, Mentz, 1830). Against the false conclusions drawn from those accounts (and collected), by *Richard v. der Alm*, see the opinions expressed by Pagan and Jewish writers concerning Jesus and the primitive Christians during the first four Christian centuries. Lps. 1864. Conf. †*Kellner*, Hellenism and Christianity. Cologne, 1865, p. 427–431. *Schaff*, Hist. of the Ancient Church to the end of the sixth century. Lps. 1867.

PART FIRST—FIRST CENTURY.

CHRIST AND THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

†**Döllinger*, Christianity and the Church during her foundation. Ratisbon (2 ed.), 1869. The first book of this work contains a brief account of the Life of Christ and His Apostles; the second states the doctrine of Christ and His Apostles; the third treats the constitution, divine worship, and religious life. *Schaff*, Hist. of the Apostolic Church. Lps. 1854.

CHAPTER I.

THE LIFE AND LABORS OF JESUS CHRIST.[1]

*** "God Himself will come and will save you." Jes. xxxv. 4. "That believing in Jesus the Christ, the Son of God, you may *have life* in his name." John xx. 31, cf. v. 13.**

Euseb. h. e., lib. I. **Tillemont*, T. I., p. 1–108. (Hist. of Jesus Christ, of the B. V. M., St. Joseph, Joseph of Arimathea, and John the B.) To which are added notes et éclaircissements, etc. *Hess*, Biography of Jesus. Zurich (1747), 1823 sq. 3 pts. *Neander*, the Life of Jesus Christ (1837). 6 ed. 1862. †**Stolberg*, Vol. V. †*Bucher*, the Life of Jesus Christ. Stuttg. 1858. †*Sepp*, the Life of Christ. 2 ed. Ratisbon, 1853 sq. 5 pts.

§ 33. *Chronological Researches on the year of the Birth of Christ, and the Length of His Life.*

Tillemont, Note IV. to the Life of Christ. *Natal. Alex.* h. e. I. saec. diss. II. *Sepp*, in l. c., pt. I. *Wieseler*, Chronological Survey of the Four Gospels. Hambg. 1843. *Seyffarth*, Chronol. sacra. Lps. 1846. †*Friedlieb*, Hist. of the Life of Jesus. Breslau, 1855.

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[1] Against the attempt of *v. Strauss*, in his "Life of Jesus," to change the Gospel narrative into a myth, confer †*Mack*, Account of the Life of Jesus, by *v. Strauss*, in the Tübing. Quarterly, 1837. †*Hug*, Criticism of the Life of Jesus, by *Strauss*, in the Freiburg Periodical for Theology, 1839 sq., and sep. ed. *Ullman*, Historical or Mythical? Hambg. 1838. *Tholuck*, Credibility of the Gospel History. Hambg. 1838. *Krabbe*, Lectures on the Life of Jesus. Hambg. 1839. *Elster*, John Christian Edelmann compared with Strauss. A hist. reminiscence. Clausthal, 1839. *Tischendorf*, When were our Gospels composed? Lps. 1865. For numerous works against Strauss' second attempt in his popularized Life of Jesus, as well as against *Renan's* Life of Jesus, and *Schenkel's* Historical Portrait of Jesus, conf. *Literary Guide*, by Hülskamp and Rump, years 1864 and 1865.

There have existed from the earliest times differences of opinion relative to the dates of the birth and death of Christ. Irenaeus and Tertullian held that His birth occurred in the 41st year of the reign of Augustus, or the 751st of the building of the city. Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Orosius placed it in the 42d year of the same emperor; and at a still later date the Roman abbot *Denys the Little*, by an entirely independent computation, made about 530 A. D., arrived at the year 754 of the building of the city;[1] but the latest researches seem to give the weight of authority to the year 747.[2]

The reason for the departure from the date given by Denys is based upon the undoubted truth of the assertion of Josephus Flavius, who says that *Herod died* in the spring of 750 or 751. Now, the account given by St. Matthew[3] of the massacre of the Innocents renders it absolutely certain that Christ was born before the death of Herod occurred, and hence the date given by Denys is necessarily at least four years too late.

The only valuable hints bearing on this point to be found in the Gospels are those contained in two passages of St. Luke,[4] in the first of which he tells us that St. John the Baptist began his public life in the fifteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius; and in the second[5] he states that the imperial census was taken in Palestine while Quirinus was governor of Syria.

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[1] For the different opinions, see *Fabricii* bibliograph. antiquar, 2 ed., Hambg. 1716; and *Münter*, the Star of the Wise Men, concerning the year of the birth of Christ, Copenhagen, 1827.

[2] *Kepler*, de nova stella in pede serpentarii, etc. Pragae, 1606. De Jesu Christi servatoris nostri anno natalitio. Francft. 1606. 4to. De vero anno, quo aeternus Dei filius humanam naturam in utero benedictae virginis Mariae assumpsit. Francft. 1614. 4to. He votes for 748 A. U. C. *Sanclementii*, de vulgar. aerae emendat. libb. IV., Rom. 1793, fol.; and *Ideler*, Chronol., Vol. II., p. 394 sq.; also **Sepp*, on rather ingenious than convincing combinations, decides himself for 747 A. U. C. So, likewise, † *Weigl*, theol. chronol. essays on the true year of the birth and death of Jesus Christ. Sulzbach, 1849. 2 pts. 4to. *Palma*, l. c., T. I., p. 1–16. *Delsignore*, h. e., T. I., p. 107–120. The other copious works on this topic, see in *Gams*, Ch. H. by *Moehler*, Vol. I., p. 85–89; and in *Zumpt*, The year of the Birth of Christ. Lps. 1869.

[3] Matt. ii. 16.

[4] Luke iii. 1, 2.

[5] Luke ii. 1, 2.

It would be easy to ascertain the year of the birth of Christ from the first of the statements, were it certain that the two years of the joint reign of Tiberius and Augustus, who died 767 A. U. C., are included in the fifteen, and this *Wieseler*[1] seems to have now conclusively established. Hence, subtracting these two years, and adding the fifteen above mentioned, we arrive at the year 780 A. U. C. Now, Christ began his public life a little later than St. John the Baptist, and, according to St. Luke,[2] when He was about thirty years of age. Subtracting this number from 780, we get 750, which was probably the year of the birth of Christ.

This opinion is strengthened by calculations made relative to the appearance of the *star* mentioned in St. Matthew,[3] and particularly by the fact that, with the exception of the year 783 A. U. C., for a long time both before and after the coming of Christ, the *Pasch* did not fall on a *Thursday*.

Now, according to the commonly received opinion, Christ celebrated His Last Supper when He had exactly completed the thirty-third year of His life, which brings us back again to the year 750.[4]

Still it must be evident to all that there is a great deal of uncertainty in the various dates that form the basis of the last calculation, and should we attempt to determine the month and the day of the birth of Christ, this would be immeasurably increased and the task surrounded with insuperable difficulties.[5] We may, however, infer with tolerable certainty, from what is said in the Holy Gospels, that the public life of our Lord lasted through a period of three years.

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[1] *Wieseler*, Contributions toward a just appreciation of the Gospels. Gotha, 1869.

[2] Luke iii. 23.

[3] Matt. ii. 2, 7, 9, 10.

[4] This is likewise the conclusion of *Wieseler*, Chronological Synopsis. etc., pp. 131, 132. The singular opinion of St. Irenaeus that Christ reached the age of forty, stands quite isolated. Conf. *Iren.* ctr. haeres. II. 22., ed. *Massuet.* Par. 1710 f., p. 148.

[5] Whilst even *Hieronymus*, sermo de nativitate, said, "Sive hodie Christus natus est, sive baptizatus est, diversa quidem fertur opinio in mundo, et pro traditionum varietate sententia est diversa;" yet *Sepp.*, in l. c. pt. I., unhesitatingly affirms, on the strength of doubtful arguments, that the birth of Christ occurred the 25th day of December, 747, A. U. C.

§ 34. *Object of the Incarnation of Christ.*

According to a very ancient and ever memorable prophecy, which grew more precise as time went on, the Messiah was to come among the Jews for the purpose of destroying sin and regenerating mankind.

He was therefore exempt in His conception from the ordinary course of nature, and took upon Himself our manhood in a manner altogether supernatural. He was to be conceived in the womb of a virgin[1] of the house of David, and to be born at Bethlehem, in the land of Judah.[2] When the appointed time had come,[3] the Virgin Mary of the line of David, and residing at Nazareth, was thus saluted by the angel Gabriel: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee, and therefore also the Holy which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God."[4]

A Pagan government, though unconscious of the fact, contributed to execute the eternal decrees of God. When the time for the nativity of the Messiah had come, the Emperor Augustus ordered a census of the inhabitants of the empire.

The Blessed Virgin, in compliance with the decree, repaired to *Bethlehem*,[5] whither she was accompanied by Joseph, her spouse, who, though only a poor carpenter, was of the royal house of David. Here, in a stable, she brought forth that marvelous child, whom the prophets had saluted from afar as the *powerful God, the Father of the world to come, and the Prince of peace.*

His birth was the beginning of a new era.

The Blessed Virgin never again conceived in her sacred womb.[1] The occurrences accompanying the birth of Christ were no less extraordinary than those which preceded His coming. Angels appeared in the heavens, who gave expression to the joy of man at being no longer estranged from God and sunk in sin, but the object of divine love; and, in the name of the world, sitting in darkness and unconscious of the fact, thanked God that through His gracious kindness a Savior had come among men.[2] They also announced that amid the general confusion, *peace with God* was once more established in the world, and the happy converse between Heaven and earth renewed.[3]

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[1] Jesai. vii. 14.

[2] Mich. v. 1.

[3] Gen. xlix. 10; Dan. ix. 24.

[4] Luke i. 26 sq.; John i. 18.

[5] Luke ii. 1–5.

The song of the angels proclaiming these tidings of joy drew some Jewish shepherds to the side of the new-born Savior,[4] while wise men from the East, inspired by love for the Father, came to pay divine honors to the Son,[5] and thus both the Jew and the Gentile, the *whole redeemable world*, were represented at the cradle of the Son of God.

As it was fitting that the Son of God made man should in all things become like His brethren,[6] He was circumcised on the eighth day, as prescribed by the law,[7] and, by command of God, called Jesus.[8]

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[1] The brethren of Jesus mentioned in the N. T. (Matt. xii. 46, xiii. 55; Mark iii. 31, vi. 3; Luke viii. 19–21; John ii. 12; Acts i. 14), are, like the Hebrew אָח—ach—to be taken as meaning ἀνέψιοι, i. e., relatives. Cf. Matt. xiii. 55, with Matt. xxvii. 56. The circumstance that Jesus, when about to die, recommended Mary to his beloved disciple John, with these words, also favors this interpretation, "Behold thy *mother*." John xix. 25–27. The word πρωτότοκος, used with reference to Christ (Matt. i. 15), does not militate against this construction, but, like the word ἕως Matt. i. 25, non cognovit eam donec peperit primogenitum), is fully and satisfactorily explained by comparing 2 Kings vi. 23, with Genesis viii. 7. Conf. also *Schleyer in the Freiburg Periodical* for Theol., Vol. IV., p. 1–116. *Köster*, Illustration of the S. Scriptures by the Classics. Kiel, 1833. Conf. further on, § 143. *Blom*, dissertatio de τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοῦ κυρίου. Lugd. Batav. 1839.

[2] Luke ii. 9–12; Conf. Heb. i. 6.

[3] John i. 52.

[4] Luke ii. 16 sq.

[5] Matt. ii. 10, 11.

[6] Heb. ii. 17, 18.

[7] Matt. i. 21.

[8] ישׁוּע—Joshuah, later form for יְהוֹשֻׁעַ—Jehoshuah, God's help. Conf. p. 88, n. 1.

The just and holy Simeon, by an impulse of the Holy Ghost, saluted the child, when presented in the temple, as *the light for the illumination of the Gentiles and the glory of the people Israel;* as One who was set up for the fall and resurrection of many in Israel.

Anne, who was also present on this occasion and moved by a similar impulse, gave praise to the Lord, and proclaimed His coming to all those who were waiting the redemption of Israel.[1]

The voice of the prophet had not been heard since the days of Malachy,[2] but the coming of the spring was ample reward for this dreary 400 years. He appeared on earth whose name is "*Wonderful*," and songs of gladness broke forth on every side. The Angel Gabriel, the Blessed Virgin, Zachary and Elizabeth, the angels in the heavens, and Simeon and Anne in the temple, all with one accord proclaimed to the world the blessings in store for it—all participated in the graces of salvation that descend from Heaven to earth. Heaven itself came down with the Savior, and the hearts of the sons of earth were gladdened.

§ 35. *On the So-called Development of Jesus.*

Very little has reached us concerning the early life of Jesus. We know, indeed, that in order to escape from the power and suspicions of the cruel Herod, who considered Him a rival and sought to compass His death, Mary and Joseph bore Him away to Egypt. Here they remained with him for some time, till, having received warning from Heaven, they brought Him back to Nazareth,[3] thus verifying in its fullest sense the prophecy of Oseas,[4] "Out of Egypt I have called My Son."

When Jesus was in His *twelfth* year, He graciously permitted a faint gleam of the light of His divine wisdom to be seen by the astonished Doctors.[5] In His desire to sanctify every duty and station of life by His own example, He, the *Son of God*, gave the most *perfect obedience* to His parents,[1] and, according to a very ancient tradition, aided His foster-father by working with him in the carpenter-shop.[2]

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[1] Luke ii. 25–38.

[2] Conf. Stolberg, pt. V., pp. 46, 47.

[3] Matt. ii. 19, 20.

[4] Oseas xi. 1, 3.

[5] Luke ii. 46, 47.

History tells us nothing of the years which intervened between this period and the opening of His public life.

Some have endeavored to account for the divine wisdom, the elevation of character, and holiness of life that distinguished Him at a later date by attributing the last to the influence of His mother, and the others to the learning of Pharisees, Sadducees,[3] and Essenians, or to the culture introduced among the Jews from Alexandria.

The *historical* account representing Christ as the *Son of God* was in this way entirely misconceived, and all attempts to explain away the miracles of His life only contributed to make any satisfactory solution of it more difficult. For what Jew or Pagan has ever given evidence of such wisdom, purity of soul, and majesty of character as belonged to the life of Jesus?[4] Christian painters, whose minds were more in harmony with facts, correctly represented the child Jesus surrounded by a halo of light, whose rays shed their glory upon all surrounding objects; and the Fathers of the Church,[5] with equal truthfulness, affirmed that the accounts which tell us that Jesus grew in age and wisdom and grace,[6] are but evidences that these attributes became more and more manifest as He increased in years and bodily strength.[7]

§ 36. *St. John the Baptist—His Mission.*[8]

When the time for the coming of the Messiah had drawn near, an angel announced to the blameless and holy priest,

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[1] Luke ii. 51.

[2] Mark vi. 3.

[3] Against this, John vii. 15.

[4] Conf. *Hug*, Introd. into the N. T., Vol. I., p. 102–105. 3 ed.

[5] *Lieber* on the growth of Jesus in wisdom. Ratisbon, 1850. Compare, on the other hand, *Mattes* in the *Hildesheim* Theolog. Monthly, July and August numbers of 1850.

[6] Luke ii. 40, 52.

[7] Conf. Luke ii. 46 and 47.

[8] †*Mack*, John the Baptist's latter fate. (Tübg. Quarterly, 1838, p. 256 sq.)

Zachary, that his wife Elizabeth, a cousin of Mary's, though barren, should, by the power of God, bring forth a son, who should be great before the Lord, and whose name should be John (יוחנן —Johanan—grace of God); that he should be filled with the Holy Ghost even from his mother's womb, and convert many of the children of Israel to the Lord their God, and that he should *go before* Him (the Savior of the world) in the spirit and power of Elias, to prepare for the Lord a perfect people.[1]

Inspired by a holy enthusiasm, Elizabeth saluted Mary as *Mother of God*, and the latter replied in the sublime words of the Magnificat, in which she exultingly foretells the glories of the Kingdom of the Son of God, "*From henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.*"[2]

There was an almost universal belief among the Jews, founded upon an ancient prophecy,[3] that before the coming of the Messiah, Elias would return to prepare the way before Him.[4] This prophecy was fulfilled in John, who, as the Precursor of the Messiah, went before Him in the *spirit* and *power* of Elias.[5] When John was thirty years of age, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, he appeared, according to a Jewish custom, as a teacher of the people.

As had been predicted, the austere prophet came clad in a garment of camel's hair, and feeding upon locusts and wild honey, and going into the desert of Judea, near the Jordan, he preached the baptism of penance, saying: "Do penance, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand.[6] There is One in the midst of you whom you know not. He comes after me, but

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Science, poetry, and art vied with each other in celebrating the glories of the stern preacher of penance. See Rousseau's "Purple Violets of the Saints," Vol. V., p. 88–123.

[1] Luke i. 5–17.

[2] Luke i. 39–56.

[3] Malachy iv. 5, 6.

[4] Matt. xvii. 10; Mark ix. 10; Luke i. 17; John i. 21.

[5] Luke i. 17.

[6] Matt. iii. 2.

He was before me, and is greater than I am." And again: "Now the ax is laid to the root of the trees. Every tree that yieldeth not good fruit shall be cut down and cast into the fire."

John, in order to introduce the Jews by easy steps into the kingdom of the Lord, *baptized* them *with water*, thus giving to the rite of lustration, with which they were perfectly acquainted, a symbolical significance. This baptism,[1] as John explained to them, was typical of that *interior purity* of heart and soul necessary to the whole people before they could fully appreciate the meaning of the kingdom of God. The baptism was of a piece with his preaching. It was *βαπτισμὸς μετανοίας.*

The kingdom of God announced by John was not, as the great bulk of the people had expected, one whose object would be temporal power and greatness, but, on the contrary, one whose aim was distinctly *moral* and *religious.*

He announced that a change of heart, and not descent from Abraham, would avail to participate in the blessings of this kingdom. "Think not," he said, "to say within yourselves that we have Abraham for our father, for I tell you that God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham."[2]

Although such speech may have greatly astonished the Jews of that age, still the divine mission with which he was charged, and which he proved by the power and truth of his words, gained him great influence among the people and insured a full recognition of his authority.

His humility, however, prevented him from putting too high an estimate upon the dignity of his office, and served to point out more definitely Him who had been before him, the

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[1] At an earlier period, Buxtorf, in his lexicon Talmud. p. 408; Lightfoot, Schoettgen, Wetstein, and others, in their comment. on St. Matthew, 3, 6, pretended that this baptism of St. John had been an imitation of the baptism of the Jewish proselytes. More recently, doubts have arisen relative to the great antiquity of the baptism of the proselytes. Conf. *Döllinger*, the Jew and the Gentile, p. 807.

[2] Matt. iii. 9, 10.

Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world,[1] who would baptize with the *Holy Ghost* and with fire,[2] the latchet of whose shoes he was not worthy to loose.[3]

Even Jesus came to receive baptism at his hands, and the miraculous circumstance which accompanied the event gave John the *fullest assurance that This was the Messiah* whom he had announced. The Eternal Father, too, by a voice from Heaven, recognized Him as His Well-beloved Son, and the Holy Spirit peacefully descended upon Him in the form of a dove; and thus the *Holy Trinity* was proclaimed to man.[4] John also unhesitatingly declared that henceforth he must decrease as the morning star fades and disappears before the rising sun.[5]

John, in his character of representative of God, dealt out even-handed justice, and was an entire stranger to all human respect. He severely reproached the hypocritical Pharisees and Sadducees: "Ye brood of vipers, who hath showed you to flee from the wrath to come?"[6] and also the tetrarch Herod: "It is not lawful for thee to have the wife of thy brother."[7]

He was a burning and a shining lamp, in whose light many desired to walk without being willing to make the necessary change of mind;[8] he was not a reed shaken by the wind, and could not, therefore, sanction the fickle humors of certain classes, or those who represented them. Christ Himself declared that he was *the greatest of those born of women*,[9] the *last of the prophets*;[10] he, however, unlike them, did not put off to an indefinite future the amelioration which he promised, but proclaimed that the Kingdom of God was already among men,[1] and that the least in the Kingdom of Heaven was greater than he.[2]

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[1] John ii. 29.

[2] Matt. iii. 11; Luke iii. 16.

[3] John i. 27.

[4] Matt. iii. 13–17.

[5] John iii. 30.

[6] Matt. iii. 7.

[7] Matt. xiv. 4.

[8] John v. 35.

[9] Matt. xi. 11.

[10] Matt. xi. 9.

His public career, however, did not last long. Herod put an end to it by confining him in the stronghold of *Machaerus*,[3] and afterward condemning him to death. The Gospels tell us that this was done to satisfy the crafty vengeance of the offended Herodias; but Josephus affirms that the true cause of his death was the apprehension Herod felt of his influence with the people.[4] His last moment on earth was assuredly the dawn of a bright eternity in the Kingdom of Heaven, for his mind dwelt steadily and *continuously* upon *Him whose precursor he himself was*. He was buried by his faithful disciples, who brought the news of his death to Jesus.

Although John, when instructing these, had insisted with great distinctness that Jesus was the Messiah and the Lamb of God,[5] still many among them failed to fully seize the truth conveyed by his words[6]—were slow to acknowledge Jesus, and continued *disciples of John*. Their conduct was analogous to what takes place in nature. The signs of a lower existence do not at once disappear when a higher degree is reached, and there remain indications of an intermediate state after other formations which have grown out of it have attained their most perfect development.

§ 37. *Temptation of Jesus—Sermon on the Mount—His Fixed Purpose.*

Jesus, after He had been baptized by John, which was, so to speak, the *inaugural act* of His mission as Messiah, was *led*

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[1] The same idea is expressed in the hymn of the Church for the feast of St. John the Baptist:

Caeteri tantum cecinere vatum
Corde praesago jubar affuturum:
Tu quidem mundi scelus auferentem
Indice prodis.

[2] Matt. xi. 11.

[3] *Joseph.* antiqq. XVIII. 5, 2. †*Gams*, John the Baptist in Prison. Tübg. 1853. *Bax*, de Joanne Bapt. Lugd. Batav. *Winer*, Biblical Cyclopedia, Vol. I., p. 690 sq.

[4] Matt. xiv. 2–12; xxi. 23–27.

[5] John i. 29, 36.

[6] John iii. 26; Luke v. 33; Matt. ix. 14, xi. 2; Acts xviii. 25, xix. 2, 7.

by the Holy Spirit into the desert to be tempted by the devil. He, like Moses on Mount Sinai, spent forty days in perpetual conflict with the prince of darkness, but was ever victorious. He, the *Second Adam*, was exposed to the temptations common to all His brethren of the human family,[1] but, unlike the First Adam, He overcame instead of being overcome.[2]

This temptation was, in the ordinary course of things, indispensably necessary to prove that He was essentially a being endowed with reason and free will, who, because the first created man had yielded to the tempter, should submit to the same trial. This parallel is the more striking when we consider that the temptation of both the First and Second Adam was threefold, viz., the concupiscence of the flesh, the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life, and that these are the sources of all the sins of the world.[3]

He commenced His work of public teaching after the manner of a Jewish rabbi, passing in the eyes of the public for a son of Joseph.[4] His first precept, like that of St. John the Baptist, was "do penance,"[5] but he shortly afterward, in a more lengthy discourse, the *Sermon on the Mount*, fully declared His divine mission, and laid down the fundamental principles of His doctrine.[6] "Think not," said He, "that I am come to destroy the Law and the Prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill;"[7] and, like John, He caused His disciples to be baptized unto penance.[8] He enjoined the people to sanctify themselves by becoming clean of heart and single-minded, and assured them that they should be rewarded by seeing God. A reward in its nature so spiritual was in striking contrast with the ambitious and worldly hopes they had fancied would be realized in the Messiah. Nevertheless, at the close of the Sermon, the astonished multitude declared

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[1] Heb. ii. 18, iv. 15.
[2] Matt. iv. 1–12.
[3] 1 John ii. 16.
[4] Luke iii. 23.
[5] Matt. iv. 17.
[6] Matt. v.–vii.
[7] Matt. v. 17.
[8] John iv. 2.

that He taught as One having authority, and not as their Scribes and Pharisees.[1]

Every word and act of Christ gave evidence of a marvelous and sustained earnestness, whose high aim, if we may judge from the manifestations which it prompted, was, *from the very beginning*, perfectly clear and distinct before His mind. He proclaimed that His unalterable purpose was to unite in one religious and moral society all mankind of every age and clime, and afford the facilities for every member of the human family, who would follow His directions and comply with His commands, *to free himself from sin and be reconciled to God*, to grow in purity and increase in holiness, and by this means enter into eternal life.

Never were the expressions of which He made use in His public teaching, to give to His hearers a clear idea of His heavenly kingdom, at variance with this great and all-embracing aim.[2] He spoke always and everywhere in language the most clear and explicit of this note of *universality*, as one peculiar to His kingdom.[3]

His religion, being *purely spiritual*, was of a character no less universal; and the same may be said of all the prophecies relating to the Messiah, which spoke of the *whole human race* as the true flock of Christ, whose Kingdom founded among the Jews was to extend its bounds "*till it embraced all Pagan nations*."[4]

§ 38. *The Divine Doctrine of Jesus—Its Scope and Character.*

The doctrine of Jesus was in every sense in keeping with the sketch just drawn. He insisted, above everything else, on the worship of the *One* true and only God, whom He represented as personally distinct in the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, and these as absolutely one in essence and dignity. He said that He Himself, the Messiah promised to the Jews, was also the *Son of God*, that the Father and He would send the *Holy Ghost*, who would teach them all truth and sanctify their souls;[1] that the earth and all things upon it were created out of nothing, and are continually governed by the power and wisdom of God; that man had no Creator but God, who *created the first man*, and that his descendants peopled the whole face of the earth;[2] that man consists of a body of clay, which is perishable, and *a soul* made in the image and likeness of God, which is *immortal;* that sin, which came into the world by the disobedience of man and his apostasy from God, is the *cause of all evil;* that man still bears within himself the consciousness of this disobedience; and that He Himself, in obedience to the will of His Eternal Father, came down from Heaven, and graciously took upon Himself human nature, for the purpose of *reconciling man with God*, raising him from death to life, and working his redemption.

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[1] Matt. vii. 28.

[2] Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30; Mark vii. 27.

[3] John x. 16; Matt. xxviii. 19.

[4] Matt. xv. 24; Conf. Matt. xxviii. 19, and Ps. cix. 2.

The *moral code* of Christ aimed at *true holiness* and *genuine morality*. He declared that Christian perfection in its highest sense consists in *becoming like to God;* that its motive is a wish to comply with the will of God and obey His laws; that man should love God above all things with his whole heart and with his whole soul, and his neighbor, nay *even his enemy*, as himself; and that the highest reward man can receive as the price of victory in this spiritual conflict is to be taken up into Heaven and enjoy there forever the *intuitive vision of God*.[3]

The doctrine of Jesus was as truly popular in character as the *Gnomes and Parables*,[4] equally intelligible to the learned and the unlearned, rich in suggestion, and destined to endure. It was, moreover, by reason of its inherent divine power,[5] admirably adapted, both as regards its nature and form, to the varying wants and vicissitudes of human life. It was a doctrine that had the sanction of both *prophecies* and *miracles*, came as a divine revelation to the *soul naturally disposed toward*

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[1] John xiv. 26.

[2] *Ex uno fecit omne genus humanum.* Acts xvii. 26.

[3] When the defective and imperfect knowledge of *God*, of *man* and his destiny, possessed by man in *pre-Christian* times, is compared with the great body of Christian doctrine, the superiority of the latter and the *sublimity of its meaning* become instantly and fully apparent.

[4] Matt. xiii. 34.

[5] Rom. i. 16.

Christianity, and was everywhere accompanied by *works of love* and mercy,[1] verifying the words of St. John, "*The divine Word appeared full of grace and truth*," [2] and proving the teaching of Christ to have been *that of the Father* who sent Him.[3] Hence the people cried out with joy that Jesus taught them as One having authority, and not as the Scribes and Pharisees.[4]

Jesus preferred, while on earth, to call Himself the "*Son of Man*," a name made use of long before by the prophet Daniel,[5] when foretelling His coming in the clouds of Heaven. He certainly intended by this to convey the idea that He was by excellence "*The Man*," the archetype of the human race, or the *Second Adam*, in whom were realized all the attributes of the most perfect ideal of humanity.

§ 39. *Jesus Establishes a Visible Church.*

As Jesus had affirmed that the doctrine which He taught should be *absolutely the one religion* of all mankind, and declared that He was the *Savior of the world*, whose office it was to lift from man the curse of sin and restore the living intercourse which once existed between him and his God, it became necessary to establish one religious society, which should be a bond of union among men for all time and in every country.[6] The nature of the work to be done, embracing all ages and nations, required such a society. For Christ, in His character of Savior of the World, was obliged to afford to man everywhere and at all times the same facilities of participating in divine grace and of approaching nearer and nearer to its Source that those enjoyed who gathered around Him during His stay on earth.

The very life of Christianity and its complete realization depend

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[1] Full of meaning is the *repeated* remark of St. Matthew, "Jesus went about teaching in the synagogues, and *healing all diseases and infirmities among the people*,"—iv. 23; ix. 25. So, likewise, Luke, Acts x. 38.

[2] John i. 17.

[3] John vii. 16.

[4] Matt. vii. 28, 29.

[5] Dan. vii. 13, 14.

[6] Luke xiv. 28.

on the enduring presence and the continuous working of the Spirit of God among men.

Christ, after He had fulfilled His mission upon earth, again entered into the glory of His Father, and His work, if we may judge from the experience of ages,[1] could not become either permanent or available to future generations, through the mere agency of *the Bible or Holy Writ.*

Such an office required within its own limits *the same prerogatives as those enjoyed by Christ*, and these he guaranteed in all their plenitude *to his Vicar*, when He promised to send the *Holy Ghost* to teach all truth.

God became man to save the world, and His divine nature is represented by the continual presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church; but Christ became the Savior of the world only as *God-man*, and hence there must be in the Church some representative of His *human* as well as of His divine nature. Now, the office of representing him was by another promise conferred upon the *Apostles.*

Then was *established the Church*, whose preservation is an absolute condition to the perfect carrying out of the work of Christianity. *These two are essentially dependent upon each other.* There can be no Christianity without a Church, and no Church without Christianity, because nothing short of a Church is adequate to the task of preserving this deposit of faith in its integrity and purity. Christ, therefore, recognizing the necessity of such an institution, founded a *visible* Church, which he calls indifferently the *kingdom of God*, the *kingdom of Heaven*, and the *kingdom of Christ.*

At the very outset, He guarded against any misconception in men's minds concerning the nature of His Kingdom. He assured them that it was not of this world;[2] that the precedents and modes of governments usual in kingdoms of this earth did not obtain in it;[3] that it had reference entirely to a future life;[1] that in it the exercise of piety did not belong to any particular place or temple;[2] that it aimed at breaking down all national prejudices, and bringing together all the nations of the earth; and that *baptism in the name of the Triune God*, and not circumcision, was to be a condition of membership.[3]

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[1] The lines of *Werenfels*, a theologian of the Reformation, concerning the interpretation of the *Bible*, are very well known.

Hic liber est in quo quaerit sua dogmata quisque.
Invenit et pariter dogmata quisque sua.

[2] John xviii. 36.

[3] Matt. xx. 25, 26.

Christ called this religious society, which he had already designated as the Kingdom of God, a *Church* (ἐκκλησία).[4] He, however, not only promised a Church, but actually established one.

As, in the Old Testament, the people were divided into twelve tribes, descended from twelve Patriarchs, so also did Jesus select *twelve* untutored men, partly fishers of Galilee, to become *fishers of men*,[5] and named them *Apostles*,[6] because He *sent* them forth into the world as the Father had sent *Him*.

They were *Simon*, also called Cephas or Peter, and *Andrew*, the sons of Jona; *James the Elder* and *John*, the sons of Zebedee; *Thomas* and *Philip; Bartholomew* and *Matthew* (Levi); *James the Lesser* and *Thaddeus*, called also Lebbeus or Jude, the son of Jacob; *Simon Zelotes*, and finally *Judas Iscarioth*. The college of Seventy-two was also framed after the model of the council of Moses, of which an account is given in the Old Testament,[7] and which still existed at Jerusalem in the time of our Lord, as the Sanhedrin or High Council.[8]

The *special characteristic* of each apostle represents in a manner the *different spiritual wants of the human soul*, thus producing amid diversity a unity at once harmonious and beautiful. The apostles, who had been constituted the pillars of the Church and the continuators of Christ's work, were commissioned to announce to the world, after His ascension, all they had seen and heard while with Him, and what He had suffered for mankind. Christ Himself formed them for the great mission they were to undertake, and to this end employed every manner of teaching. He sent them trials, gave them evidences of His love, reproved them, honored them, spoke words of comfort to them, wrought miracles in their presence and for their sakes,[1] and endowed them with the same power, that He might prove beyond all manner of doubt that He was really the Messiah, and had a mission as such, and that their faith in Him as the Son of God might be strengthened.[2] Jesus frequently sent His apostles and *disciples* before His face into every city and place He Himself was about to visit, to announce the coming of the kingdom of God. They went poor and unprovided on their mission, trusting to Providence and charity for their support. He inspired them with love and reverence for their calling, and filled their minds with joy and confidence. This was the more necessary, since He did not hide from them the great responsibility of their future life, which was destined to be fraught with strife and derision, with bitter animosity and bloody persecution, but yet a life glorious for its unbounded devotion to Jesus Christ, and its perfect self-sacrifice in His cause.[3] They were also to be separated from each other, dispersed over the whole earth, but still forming one great religious community, bound together by ties holy and indissoluble. The unity existing among the members of this religious community is symbolical of the *unity of the Father and His only begotten Son*, and the sole *condition in any religious body* adequate to the task of bringing the world to believe in Christ.[4]

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[1] Matt. iii. 2, iv. 17, xiii. 31; Mark i. 15; Luke viii. 11.

[2] John iv. 21 sq.

[3] Matt. xxviii, 19; Mark xvi. 15, 16.

[4] Matt. xvi. 18, xviii. 17.

[5] Luke v. 1–14.

[6] Luke vi. 13; John xiii. 18, xv. 16.

[7] According to Numbers xli. 16 sq.

[8] *Eusebius* h. e. I. 12, attests that in his time there no longer existed a list of those Seventy (or Seventy-two, according to the Vulgate reading of Luke x. 1) disciples; and only incidentally mentions that Barnabas, Sosthenes, Matthias, and Thaddeus were numbered amongst them. The list, added to the libb. III. de vita et morte Mosis (ed. *J. A. Fabricius*), is of later origin, and not genuine.

That this religious society might also be bound together by an external bond, Jesus chose from among the Apostles one who should be its recognized *Head.*[1] This was *Simon*, significantly named, by Christ, *Peter*, or the Rock,[2] because upon him, as upon a rock, He was to build His Church; and to him, also, He was about to give the *keys* of the Kingdom of Heaven.[3] Christ also appointed Simon the *universal Shepherd*, by giving into his charge the whole flock, both sheep and lambs,[4] in the same sense as when, upon a former occasion, He called himself the "Shepherd" of all nations;[5] and, finally, He charged him to strengthen the faith of his brethren.[6]

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[1] Conf. Luke iv. 38 sq., v. 1–18; Matt. viii. 23–27, xiv. 22 sq.

[2] Matt. x. 1; Luke ix. 1.

[3] Conf. Matt. x. 17, xviii. 34–38, xvi. 24; Luke xii. 49, 50.

[4] John xvii. 21.

The Apostles themselves always regarded him as their Head, and in each of the four lists given in the Gospels,[7] notwithstanding the apparent indifference with regard to the position occupied by the names of the other Apostles, Peter is *uniformly* placed first, nay, emphatically "*the First*" (ὁ πρῶτος), and this though he had not been called first by Jesus. As the branch, to bear fruit, must abide in the vine,[8] so this infant community remained united with *Jesus*, that it might bring forth fruit unto eternal life.[9]

The figurative language employed by our Lord received its practical illustration and complete demonstration when He gave the Apostles the double commission to teach His holy *Word* and administer the *Sacraments*, which He had appointed as supernatural channels of divine grace, and of which He was Himself the never-failing Source.[10]

Hence whoever seeks salvation in communion with Him must yield obedience to his representatives, the Apostles, and their successors, for He Himself says: "He that heareth you heareth Me, and he that despiseth you despiseth Me and Him that sent Me."[1] And again: "As the Father has sent me, I also send you:" that is, as prophets or teachers, priests, and pastors.[2] Again: "I will ask the Father and He shall give you another Paraclete, that He may abide with you forever, the Spirit of Truth, who shall teach you all truth;" and He added, "Behold, I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world," to shield you against all error in the great affair of your salvation.[3]

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[1] Conf. *Natal. Alex.*, hist. eccl. saec. I. dissert. IV. de S. Petri et Romanor. Pontificum primatu.. †*F. Weninger.* The Apostolic Supremacy of the Pope in matters of Faith. Innsbruck, 1841. 2 ed. 1842. *Kenrick*, Archbishop of Baltimore, The Primacy of the Apostolic See. In German, by *Steinbacher.* New York, 1853.

[2] John i. 42.

[3] Matt. xvi. 18.

[4] John xxi. 15–17.

[5] John x. 1 sq.

[6] Luke xxii. 32.

[7] Matt. x. 2–4; Mark iii. 16–19; Luke vi. 14–16; Acts i. 13.

[8] John xv. 1–6.

[9] Matt. xiii. 31 sq.

[10] Matt. xviii. 18; John xx. 21–23; Luke xxii. 14; Matt. xxviii. 19.

§ 40. *Jesus and the Jews.* (Cf. § 30.)

The doctrine of Jesus, so powerful in its influence over men's minds, and confirmed by so many miracles and evidences of divine power, instantly asserted its claims and brought over to His side the great mass of the people. They went so far as to attempt to make Him King,[4] and were forced to admit that, should the Messiah Himself come upon earth, *He could work miracles neither greater nor more numerous than those of Jesus.*[5]

Only a few days before His death, He entered Jerusalem in triumph, amid the plaudits of the multitude.[6] There was, however, no evidence that this devotion would endure, and on the first occasion the people fell from His side.

The fickleness and faithlessness of the Jews seem inexplicable when we call to mind how well they had been prepared for the coming of the Messiah into the world, but the following considerations will tend to modify our astonishment:

1. The destiny and privilege of Israel were, by the mass of the people, understood in a sense altogether carnal; they failed to comprehend the mysterious influence God was to

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[1] Luke x. 16.

[2] John xx. 21.

[3] John xiv. and xvi.; Matt. xxviii. 20.

[4] John vi. 15.

[5] John vii. 31.

[6] Matt. xxi. 8.

exercise over the souls of men, for the purpose of sanctifying them, and had no idea of the part man himself was to take in the work of regeneration. The sacrifices which they offered to the Lord with ostentatious pomp and ceremony were of no avail, because they were not prompted by motives of love and obedience; and so presumptuous were they that they fancied God would shower His blessings on *none but themselves.*

2. Filled with such ideas, they looked forward to the promised Messiah as to the coming of some great hero and conqueror, who would appear surrounded with every circumstance of pomp and magnificence, and the object of whose mission would be to raise the Jewish people above all the nations of the earth. There was scarcely a reference made to the prophecies which foretold the *Messiah* as one who *should suffer and die for the sins of the world.*[1] These were entirely lost sight of, and this utter want of a proper appreciation of His mission was so general that it became painfully apparent to the mind of Jesus, even when in the company of His twelve Apostles and seventy-two disciples.

3. It was against *the Pharisees,* who were sensitively *jealous of their influence with the people,* and whose religion consisted exclusively in the practice of external works, that our Savior hurled His most threatening denunciations. They were excessively irritated because Jesus would not say plainly whether He was or was not the *Messiah in the carnal sense in which they understood the term,*[2] and on this account sought to weaken the faith of the people in both Him and His mission.

4. In this they had an easy task, as the life and teachings of Jesus were entirely opposed to the spirit and maxims of the world, and in no way favored the worldly aspirations and ambitious hopes of men generally, and of the Jews in particular.

Jesus, after three years of active life, during which He was on all occasions misrepresented and His motives wrongly interpreted, felt that the supreme hour appointed by divine decree was rapidly approaching. He neither sought death nor shrank from it, and, impelled by a sense of religious duty, went with His Apostles up to Jerusalem to celebrate the last Pasch.[1] He spoke more explicitly at this time than ever before of His death; foretold that after three days He would rise triumphant from the grave, and wept over the fate of Jerusalem while recounting to His Apostles in prophetic words the disasters that were to come upon that city.[2]

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[1] Cf. †*Reinke,* exegesis critica in Jesaiam, c. 52, 13–53, seu de Messia expiatore, passuro et morituro comment. Monast. 1836. *Mack,* the Messianic expectations and views of the contemporaries of Jesus. (Tübg. Quart. 1836, p. 1–56.)

[2] John x. 24.

§ 41. *The Last Supper. Death of Jesus.*

As God had graciously deigned to manifest Himself to our first parents in Paradise, and to His chosen people of the Old Testament, by the presence of a cloud hovering over the Ark of the Covenant,[3] and over the Holy of Holies in the Temple, so also did Jesus, after having given the most touching proofs of His love and humility, and confident that His death was approaching, and that the work which He had begun would endure,[4] institute the Last Supper, which with desire He had desired to eat with His Apostles, as a perpetual *memorial* of Himself and token of His abiding presence in the Church to the end of time. This was the feast which was to bring together all His true disciples throughout all ages, and at which He was to give Himself to them both *spiritually* and *corporally*, in His divinity and in His humanity. Here, too, the prophetic words that He had spoken to the people were to be fulfilled: "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed;"[5] and the enthusiastic boast of the children of Israel to be realized: "*There is not any other nation so great, that hath gods so nigh them, as our God is present to all our petitions.*"[6]

As *in the beginning* of His public life, so also at this time did Jesus sustain a terrible conflict against the infirmities of human nature,[1] in the course of which the Pharisees and the High Council of Jerusalem persuaded the people that He was a blasphemer, and, having brought Him before the Roman Procurator, Pontius Pilate, accused Him of high treason.[2] Jesus, having been asked by Pilate if He were the Christ and a king, openly and explicitly declared, "*I am the Christ and a King.*"[3]

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[1] Luke xviii. 31. Conf. Luke ix. 51; John x. 18.

[2] Luke xix. 41. (Tr. corr.)

[3] Luke xxii. 14 sq. Conf. John xiii. 1 sq.

[4] Exod. xl. 32–36.

[5] John vi. 56.

[6] Deuter. iv. 7.

After having been jeered and scoffed at, and pursued with every species of insult and ignominy, He suffered, during the reign of *Tiberius*, the most painful and disgraceful *death upon the Cross*,[4] praying in the meantime that the sins of His enemies might be forgiven them,[5] and they reconciled to their God.[6]

The sun was darkened at midday; the rocks trembled to their very bases;[7] the grave gave up its dead; the curtain that veiled the Holy of Holies in the Temple was rent from the top even to the bottom, and the very Pagan confessed His God: "Truly, this Man was a just one; He was the Son of God."[8] A mysterious voice, sweeping over the face of the ocean, announced to the Pagan world that the "*Great Pan was dead*," and groans were heard mingled with shouts of joy.

When it is remembered that the work of Christ and the redemption purchased through His death were the common heritage of all mankind, of Jew and Gentile, it will not seem wonderful that His death should have been thus announced to the Pagans. As the birth of the Savior of the world was a matter of notoriety in the days of Augustus, it was equally impossible to conceal His death from the Pagan world and its oracles.[1]

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[1] Matt. xxvi. 37 sq.

[2] John xix. 12.

[3] Matt. xxvi. 63, 64; John xviii. 37.

[4] *Tacit.* annal. XV. 44: Auctor nominis ejus (sectae Christianorum) *Christus*, qui Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum *supplicio affectus* erat. The Romans called the death of the cross teterrimum supplicium and extrema culpa.

[5] Luke xxiii. 34.

[6] Luke xxii. 19; 2 Cor. v. 18; Rom. iv. 25.

[7] Besides the Evangelists, the Pagan *Phlegon*, the freedman of Emperor Hadrian, also bears testimony to this fact, in *Eusebius*' chronicon: anno IV. Olympiadis 202. Sol hora VI. tantopere defecerit, ut stellae in meridie cernerentur. Idem quoque terrae motum adeo vehementem fuisse scribit, ut *Nicaeae* in Bithynia aedes multae collaberentur. *Justin* the Martyr and *Tertullian*, for this appeal to the acta Pilati. See p. 163, note 4.

[8] Matt. xxvii. 51 sq. Conf. Luke xxiv. 47 sq.

Joseph of Arimathea, a distinguished member of the High Council, putting aside all feelings of human respect, went boldly to Pilate, and asked him for the body of Jesus. And thus were fulfilled the words of Isaias:[2] "And He shall give the ungodly for His burial, and the rich for His grave." (33 A. D. or 783 A. U. C.)

The death of Jesus Christ is the great central point on which the apostles hinged the preaching of the Gospel,[3] and which has inspired the *greatest feast* in the Christian Church; and all this, not only because of its objective importance considered as a vicarious reconciliation of man with God, but also because of the *lessons* it conveyed to the mind and the obligations that rise out of them. For Christ, the God-man, the highest type and perfection of our nature, though pure and spotless, was punished with death, and the recognition of this fact necessarily implies the admission of the heinousness of man's guilt and of the punishment it merits at God's hands. In this way does man arrive at a knowledge of himself the most clear and precise, which naturally fills him with feelings of humility, a spirit of obedience, and a filial love of God.

§ 42. *Christ's Resurrection and Ascension into Heaven.*

The narrative of the Four Gospels proves indubitably that Christ rose from the dead. The slight discrepancies and seeming contradictions in circumstances of minor importance serve to confirm the truth of the Gospel story, for they preclude the possibility of collusion among the Evangelists in its composition. His resurrection is the fulfillment of another prophecy: "*His sepulcher shall be glorious*, and the nations shall pray to Him."[1] Pope *Leo* the Great remarks that Thomas, one of the Twelve, persisted in refusing to believe that Jesus had risen, only that his disbelief might be to future generations a convincing proof of the resurrection. The Apostle of the Gentiles says that Christ, having been delivered up for our sins, rose again *for our justification*,[2] and hence His resurrection was the completion and last act of the work of redemption.[3] And the same Apostle makes the fearless declaration: "If Christ be not risen again, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain."[4] A firm belief in the resurrection gave the Apostles an unfaltering courage in preaching the Gospel.

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[1] According to *Plutarch* († about 120 A. D., at a very old age), de oraculorum defectu (opp. ed. *Reiske*, T. VII., p. 651). This remarkable and frequently discussed passage is essentially the same in Tacitus. See above, p. 99, n. 3. Plutarch furthermore states that this event became at once known in Rome, and that the Emperor Tiberius immediately caused a strict inquiry into its truth to be made. Conf. *Natal. Alex.*, hist. eccl. saec. I., cap. I., art. V. *Sepp*, Paganism, Vol. III., p. 268.

[2] Isaias xliii. 9.

[3] 1 Cor. xv. 3.

Christ, after His resurrection, tarried forty days on earth *in the fullness of His glory*, during which He gave to His Apostles many signs and evidences[5] of His actual presence among them, and on one occasion appeared to more than five hundred disciples,[6] spoke to the Apostles of the Kingdom of God, and imparted His last instructions relative to the continuance and completion of His work.[7] At the end of this period, assembling them about Him, He went up to Bethania, and while on the way frequently impressed upon them the importance and reality of their mission, as when he said: "All power is given to Me in Heaven and on earth; go ye, therefore, and teach all nations; go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature, baptizing them in the name of the *Father*, and of the *Son*, and of the *Holy Ghost*."[1] And when He had blessed them, He departed from them and ascended up into Heaven, going out of this world as mysteriously as He had come into it.[2]

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[1] Isaias xi. 10.

[2] Rom. iv. 25; 1 Cor. xv. 4.

[3] That saying of the apostle, "Qui traditus est propter delicta nostra, et *resurrexit propter justificationem nostram*," is in a most simple manner declared by that Easter preface, "Qui (Christus) mortem nostram *moriendo destruxit* et vitam *resurgendo reparavit*." St. Paul, indeed, makes the whole economy of salvation turn round two cardinal points: *the expiation of sin on the one hand* and the *purification* and *sanctification* of man on the other. He always attributed the former to the expiating and vicarious death of Christ, and the latter to His resurrection. Conf. 1 Cor. vi. 11; Tit. iii. 5–7.

[4] 1 Cor. xv. 14.

[5] John xx. 30.

[6] 1 Cor. xv. 5–18.

[7] Acts i. 3.

Christ had said to his Apostles, "But stay ye in the city till you have been endued with power from on High,"[3] and they, filled with wonder and reverence, returned to Jerusalem to await the promise.

He finally foretold that the Son of Man would not again return to the earth till the end of the world, when he would come in the clouds of Heaven, with great power and majesty, to judge all nations.[4]

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[1] Matt. xxviii. 20; Mark xvi. 15.

[2] Luke xxiv. 51; Acts i. 9.

[3] Luke xxiv. 49.

[4] Matt. xxiv. 30 et seq. There are, besides the Four Gospels, other works that throw light upon the life of Jesus, some of which are of doubtful authenticity and others unquestionably apocryphal, among which may be mentioned:

1. The supposed *correspondence between Christ and Abgar*, King of Edessa, which, Eusebius informs us, was found in the archives of the Church of Edessa, and translated from the Syriac. Conf. his. Hist. Eccl. I. 13; also *Assemani*, bibl. Oriental. T. I., p. 554, T. III. pt. 2, p. 8. *Natal. Alex.*, Hist Eccl. I. saec, diss. III. T. IV.; vide *Welte* in Tübing. Quarterly for 1842, p. 335–365, in which he makes an unsuccessful attempt to prove the authenticity of this correspondence. Also a Syriac letter written by *Mara* to his son Serapion, about the year 72, in which he praises Christ, calls Him a wise King, says He is worthy of being placed beside Socrates and Pythagoras, and deplores His murder by the Jews. It was first published in Cureton's Spicilegium Syriacum, London, 1855.

2. The apocryphal stories relative to the birth, youth, and life of Jesus are undoubtedly not authentic. They are to be found in *Fabricii* codex apocr. N. T., ed. II., Hamburg, 1719 sq., T. III., and in *Thilo's* codex apocr. N. T., Lps. 1832, T. I. *Ejusd.* Acta Thomae Apost., Lps. 1823. Evang. apocr. ed. *Tischendorf*, Lps. 1853. In German, N. T. Apocryphal Library, transl. and accompanied with introd. and annotations by *Borberg*, one pt. in 2 nos. Apocryphal Gospels and Histories of the Apostles, Stuttg. 1840 and 1841; and Life of Jesus after the Apocryphal Books, Lps. 1851.

3. The Acta Pilati, of which *Justin* the Martyr makes mention in his Apolog. I., c. 35, 48. *Tertullian* also speaks of them (Apolog., c. 5, 21), and they were known to both Pagans, *Euseb.* Hist. Eccl. IX. 5, and Christians, *Epiphanius* Haeres. L. c. I.; but these authors do not agree as to their contents. The Evangelium Nicodemi, a later work, is also based on these Acta. Cf. *Thilo's* Acta Thomae, p. xxx. et seq., and *Braun*, de Tiberii Christum in deorum numerum referendi consilio comment. Bonn, 1834. *St. Chrysostom*, Hom. 26, in 2 Cor., says that *this decree was rejected by the interposition of God*, "*who would not allow His Son to have any fellowship with false gods.*" These acts must undoubtedly rest on some *historical basis*, since the emperors required of the procurators, in virtue of their office, such or similar reports. Moreover, if these acts had not been found in the imperial archives, the frequent appeals which the apologists make to them would have been without purpose or meaning.

4. We regard the testimony of the Jew, *Josephus Flavius*, relative to Christ, as authentic and entirely free from interpolation (Antiquities XVIII. 3, 3), for, apart from all *extrinsic* and *intrinsic* evidence, it is in perfect harmony both with the *religious bias* of his mind and his position at Rome. He affirms that the Messianic prophecies of the Jews were fulfilled in the Emperor *Vespasian.* He says: "Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἀνήρ, (εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή. ἦν γὰρ) παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, (διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν σὺν ἡδονῇ τἀληθῆ δεχομένων). καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ επηγάγετο. (Ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν.) Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου οὐκ ἐξεπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες. (Ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια εἰρηκότων.) Εἰσέτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον."—There was at this time a wise man whose name was Jesus, if, indeed, he may be properly called a man, for he wrought wonderful works, taught the truth to those willing to hear Him, and had among His followers a great number of Jews and Gentiles. This was the Christ. When, at the suggestion of our leading men, Pilate condemned Him to death on the cross, those who had loved Him from the beginning did not forsake Him, and He appeared alive to them on the third day. All this and much more the prophets foretold concerning Him; and the Christians, who are named after Him, exist at this day.

Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. I. 11; Demonstratio Evang. III. 5) is, as far *as known*, the first Christian writer who makes mention of this passage. We can not admit with Gieseler and Routh, that the words of the above Greek quotation inclosed within brackets are interpolated, or that the reading of ἀληθῆ should be ἀηθῆ. The fact of Origen saying that Josephus had been ἀπιστῶν τῷ Ιησοῦ ὡς Χριστῷ, does not militate against the truth of his testimony, but rather strengthens it. Josephus, when he says that Vespasian was the Messiah, wishes simply to state the opinion of some of his contemporaries and countrymen, *and not his own*, concerning Jesus.

Cf. Matt. xvi. 14–16: Cf. *Daubuz*, libb. duo de testim. *Jos. Flav.* in opp. ejusd. ed. *Havercamp*, T. II. in the Appendix; *Böhmert*, on the testimony of Jos.

Flav. concerning Christ, Lps. 1823; *Schoedel*, Flavius Josephus de Jesu Christo testatus, vindiciae Flavianae, Lps. 1840; *Langen* in the Tübing. Quarterl., 1864, p. 152 sq.; and *Otto* in the "Catholic," 1864, p. 152 sq. Against its genuineness, consult especially *Eichstaedt*, Flaviani de Jesu Christi testimonii *αὐθεντία*, quo jure nuper defensa sit: quaestiones VI., Jenae, 1815–1841. Cf. *Ruttenstock*, institutiones hist. eccl., T. I., p. 146–154.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF THE APOSTLES—THEIR LABORS IN PROPAGATING CHRISTIANITY AND ESTABLISHING A CHURCH AMONG THE JEWS AND PAGANS.

"And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all things to Myself." John xii. 32.
"And greater than these shall he do, because I go to the Father." John xiv. 12.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.—Acts of the Apostles and their Epistles. The Apostolic Fathers and the contemporary Jewish and Pagan writers. Conf. works, § 32.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE SAME.—†* *Tillemont*, T. I., p. 108–415, and T. II., p. 1–148. †*Stolberg*, pt. VI. and VII. *Doellinger*, Christianity and the Church. †*Hacke*, Pragmatic and Systematic View of the Acts, Paderb. 1867. *Sepp*, History of the Apostles, Shaffh. 1866. *Neander*, The Propagation and Direction of the Christian Church by the Apostles, Hamb. 1832–33; 4 ed., 1847, 2 vols. *Thiersch*, The Church in the Apostolical Times, Frkf. 1852. *Schaff*, History of the Apostolical Church, Lps. 1854. *Wieseler*, Chronology of the Apostolical Age, Goett. 1848.

§ 43. *Pentecost—Complete Organization of the Church of Christ.*[1]

The Apostles remained at Jerusalem, as Christ had commanded,[2] where, persevering in prayer, they awaited the coming of the *Holy Ghost.*

After the deplorable defection of Judas,[3] the college of the *Apostles* was incomplete, and *St. Peter*, knowing that it was the wish of our Lord to have their number correspond to that of the *twelve* tribes of Israel, counseled his brethren to select another, "who, beginning from the baptism of John until the day wherein the Lord Jesus was taken up, might be a witness of His resurrection."

They named two—Joseph, called Barnabas and surnamed the Just, and Matthias. And praying that the *Lord* might make known to them which was His choice, as they had not yet received the fullness of the Holy Ghost, they cast lots,[1] and the choice fell upon Matthias, who was added to the other eleven Apostles.[2] So also, after the death of James the Elder and James the Younger, *Paul* and *Barnabas* were chosen in their stead, that the collegiate number might be preserved.

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[1] †*Mack*, Reflection on the events of the first Pentecost. Tüb. Quarterly, 1835. *Dieringer*, System of the divine operations (2 ed.), p. 588 sqq.

[2] Acts i. 4.

[3] Ps. cviii. 8.

Ten days after the ascension of our Lord, and when the Jews were opening the solemn feast of the Pentecost, a *new era* was ushered in amid the noise and conflict of the elements, on the same day that the Law had been promulgated of old, among the lightnings and thunders of Sinai. The *Holy Ghost* came down upon the Apostles and disciples[3] in the form of fiery tongues, indicative of the gift of languages which they then received,[4] as well of the divine fire which chastened them and strengthened them for their work.

The Apostles lost no time in announcing the Gospel of Heaven to the men of every nation whom the great festival had brought together at Jerusalem from all parts of the Roman empire. And then was wrought the miracle whereby each understood the Apostles in the language of his own country—a miracle prophetic of the scope of the Christian religion, which was to bring all peoples within the one fold of Christ. Three thousand, astounded at the miracle and subdued by the inspired language of *St. Peter*, declared themselves converts to the religion of Jesus Christ, made open profession of *faith* in His doctrine, did works of penance, and were baptized in the name of the Blessed Trinity.[5]

Numbers of them returned to their homes in the distant provinces, preached the Gospel to their countrymen, and hence nearly every primitive church traces its faith back to the miracle of the first *Christian* Pentecost.

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[1] *Nat. Alexander*, hist. eccl. saec. I., dissert. VI. de usu sortium in sacris electionibus. *Stronk*, de Matthia in Apostolorum ordinem sorte cooptato. Dordrecht, 1852.

[2] Acts i. 15–26.

[3] ἅπαντες Acts ii. 4.

[4] *Hugo Grotius*, following *St. Chrysost.* hom. II. in Pentecost, and hom. 35 in 1 Corinth., very happily says: "*Poena* linguarum dispersit homines (Gen. c. xi.), *donum* linguarum dispersos in unum populum redegit." (Annotatt. ad acta Apostolor. 2, 8.) Also *St. Aug.* sermo 268, n. 1 and 2: "Ideo Spiritus St. in omnium linguis gentium se demonstrare dignatus est, ut et ille se intelligat habere Spiritum St. qui in unitate (eccl.) continetur, quae linguis omnibus loquitur."

[5] Matt. xxviii. 20.

And thus was the Church of Christ established, confirmed, and sanctioned—that Church which is to endure for all ages.

"Pentecost," says St. Chrysostom, "is the great day of the new and perfect law of grace in the Holy Ghost;" and, according to other Fathers of the Church, "*it is the birthday of the Church of Christ.*" And thus was fulfilled the promise given to the Apostles that the Spirit of Truth would come and teach them all truth. They now appreciated the mission of Christ as one not of earth, but spiritual and exalted, and fearlessly proclaimed that He had come to set the world free from the bondage of error and sin and reconcile it with God. Weakness was replaced by strength, timidity by courage, and they went forth, regardless of every obstacle, to accomplish among the nations of the earth the work that had been committed to them. The Holy Ghost spoke by their mouths, touched the hearts of their hearers, rent the veil that shut out the truth from their minds, and made them of the community of saints.

As faith begets love, so the *new Christians* became *brethren in the highest sense of the word*. They had a *common fund*, and seven *deacons*—Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicholas—were appointed to distribute the charities impartially among the Hellenistic and Hebraizing Jews. The life of the Christians was that of children set free from bondage and born again in the Holy Ghost. They gave rise to a new order of things and constituted a distinct organization. The Kingdom of God was established and began to take definite shape, harmonizing the relations between the Church teaching and the Church taught; while the college of Apostles, conscious of the greatness of its heavenly mission, and strengthened by the fullness of power it conferred, were in perfect accord with the faithful, who believed in simplicity, acknowledged their subjection to the law of God, and humbly begged His grace.

Jerusalem, which soon contained five thousand believers, who had been converted[1] by the preaching and miracles of the Apostles,[2] greater than those wrought by Christ Himself,[3] became the center of the new community. They all persevered in the *doctrines of the Apostles*, in the *communion of the breaking of bread*, and in *prayer.*[4]

Although they frequented private houses for prayer, they did not cease either to hold open communion with the Jews or to attend at the temple until after the fatal day when the predictions of our Lord were fulfilled, Jerusalem destroyed, and the temple demolished. Then the Church freed herself forever from the shackles of Jewish rites, and became a distinct, definite, and visible society.

§ 44. *The Jews Persecute the Christians.*

The events which accompanied the death of Christ and the descent of the Holy Ghost, had from the very first greatly perplexed and annoyed the Sanhedrin, and both Pharisees and Sadducees. They at first made a pretense of ignoring the growth of the Church of Christ; or, it may be, owing to the *consideration and influence of some of the Christian converts*,[5] thought it the wiser course to tolerate the new society, as they had the followers of John. When, however, Peter wrought miracles,[6] and John preached in the temple, and both announced the doctrine of the resurrection of the body,[7] they were summoned before the high council, and asked by what *right* they did these things.[8] "We preach," they said, with becoming firmness, "*in the name of Jesus*, whom you have crucified." And when the council had forbidden them to teach in His name, they answered with Christian frankness and simplicity, "*We must obey God rather than men;* we can not but speak of the things we have seen and heard."[1] They were severely rebuked for this language, but set at liberty from fear of a riot among the people.

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[1] Acts ii. 47, iv. 4.

[2] Acts ii. 43, iii. 7–9, v. 15.

[3] John xiv. 12.

[4] Acts ii. 42, 46.

[5] Acts ii. 47.

[6] Acts iii. 7, 8.

[7] Acts iv. 2, v. 17, xxiii. 6.

[8] Acts iv. 2.

No dangers could check the zeal of the Apostles,[2] and, after having been cast into prison and liberated by an angel, they again appeared teaching in the temple.[3] From this time forward, the council, fearful of interfering with them, adopted the temporizing policy recommended by *Gamaliel.* "Let them take their course," said he, "if this work be of men, it will come to naught; if of God, you can not destroy it."[4] The fanatical Pharisees and Sadducees were for the time satisfied with this judgment, and the apostles, having been *scourged*, were dismissed with warnings as to their future conduct.

The doctrines of Christianity gained disciples everywhere, and the greater their number the more bitter and determined became the opposition of the Jews. This was increased when many of the most respected doctors of the synagogue embraced the new religion, and became its most zealous defenders. One of the consequences of this conflict between truth and error was the martyrdom of *St. Stephen*, who was stoned to death (A. D. 36), and thus became the *protomartyr* of the Church.

The discourse which he delivered before his death breathes a heavenly inspiration and the burning zeal of an apostle, and is *replete with facts which the Jews could not controvert.*

He told them that the old covenant had passed away and was succeeded by the new one introduced by Christ; that the Most High dwells not in temples made by the hands of men; and that the Jews were a stiff-necked race, who then, as of old, resisted the Holy Ghost.[5]

The Christians had, up to this time, been looked upon by the *Pagans* as a sect of the Jews; but the latter, urged on by a spirit of bitter hatred, were not slow to point out the difference to the Romans, who, seeing many persons of rank and distinction going over to the new religion, treated it as a *religio illicita*, and strictly enforced the laws *contra peregrina sacra.*[1] Then the Pharisees and Sadducees, putting aside their own quarrels, united in one common effort against the infant Church.[2] The only effect of the persecution which followed was to spread Christianity throughout *Judea* and *Samaria*, countries which the preaching and miracles of Christ had already prepared[3] for its reception, and among the Jews of Syria, Phenicia, and the isle of Cyprus.[4] The Apostles, notwithstanding the persecution, remained at Jerusalem. Peter and John went to Samaria to impose hands on those whom the deacon Philip had converted and baptized,[5] and found there many determined enemies among the leaders of the various sects, each of whom claimed to be the founder of a new religion. Such were *Dositheus*, *Simon the Magician*, and *Menander.* We shall have occasion to speak of their doctrines in paragraph fifty-nine.

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[1] Acts iv. 19, 20, v. 29.

[2] Acts iv. 31.

[3] Acts v. 18–21.

[4] St. Chrysostom has a beautiful passage relating to this in his hom. 14, in Acta Apost.

[5] Acts vii.

§ 45. *Saul the Persecutor—Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles.*

†*Hug*, Introduction to the New Test., pt. II. *Tholuck*, Circumstances of St. Paul's life, his character and language (Miscellanea, pt. II., p. 272 sq.) † On the vocation, sufferings, and persecution of Paul the Apostle. (*Bonn Periodical* of the year 1843.) *Bossuet* in Chateaubriand's Genius of Christianity, ed. by † Prof. *Koenig*, Freib. 1857, Vol. I., p. 580–583.

There was a young Pharisee, who, during the first persecution, exhibited great energy in pursuing the Christians, and became notoriously conspicuous for his fanatical zeal at the death of Stephen. This was *Saul*,[6] of the tribe of Benjamin, a native and a *Roman citizen* of Tarsus, in Cilicia.

Greek letters and science were then ardently cultivated at Tarsus, and Saul, after he had completed his studies in that city,[1] went up to Jerusalem, where he became a *Pharisee*, and, with *Gamaliel* for his master, eagerly applied himself to the study of Jewish theology.

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[1] See page 134, note 2.
[2] Acts viii. 1 et sqq.
[3] John iv.
[4] Acts xi. 19.
[5] Acts viii. 14 et sqq.
[6] Acts vii. 57. 59, xxii. 20.

He was by trade a tent-maker, but this in no way either interfered with his love of study or checked his enthusiasm in the pursuit of knowledge. Impelled by the natural ardor of his character and the fanatical spirit of his sect, he took a leading part in the persecutions against the Christians.[2] He was going up[3] to Damascus on a mission of this kind, when our Lord, whom he had known in the flesh,[4] appeared to him. The persecutor of the Church was converted, and *became the most efficient and zealous propagator of her doctrines and the Apostle of nations.*[5] This was a surprise to many, but it soon became evident that Paul was, by his mental culture and great talents, by his energy of character and strength of will, but particularly by his great love of Christ and intimate *union with Him*,[6] better fitted than any of the other Apostles for his high and holy mission.

"The simplicity of the Apostle," says *Bossuet*, "became terrible when united with the power of God. Idols went down before it, and the Cross of Christ was set up in their stead. Thousands, subdued by its hidden power, gave their lives to further God's glory. So profound were the mysteries which it brought to light, that the greatest minds felt no shame in frequenting the schools where the doctrine of Christ was taught, and drinking in there saving lessons at the feet of the Apostle Paul."

He contributed more than any other of the Apostles to carry the knowledge of the faith of Christ far and wide, and to make known the depth and richness of the teachings of the Gospel by the wonderful clearness and precision with which he combated both the prejudice of the Jews and the sophistry of the Pagans.

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[1] *Dionysius Longinus* compares Paul to the Greek orators, Demosthenes, Lysias, Isocrates, and others. Paul, when occasion offered, cited the Greek poets, e. g. Tit. I., 12; Acts x. 28; 1 Cor. xv. 33.

[2] Acts viii. 3.

[3] A. D. 37.

[4] 1 Cor. ix. 1; 2 Cor. v. 16.

[5] Acts ix. 1–20, xxii. 4–16, xxvi. 12–20; 1 Cor. xv. 8, 9; 2 Cor. xii. 2–4.

[6] Gal. ii. 20; Phil. iv. 13.

He referred time and again, in explanation of the object and scope of Christianity and its relations *to society*, *to the divine purpose wrapped in mystery from all eternity*,[1] and which, the Prophets had foretold, *Christ* would accomplish *in the fullness of time*.[2] He frequently returned to this subject, and clearly pointed out the relation of Christ to the world by calling *Him the central point of all time* and *the beginning and the end* (τέλος) *of the human race*.[3] He taught in direct opposition to Judaism that the Old Covenant had been superseded by the New Law; that sanctification did not depend on the works prescribed by the law of Moses, but on faith in Christ, as had been shown by the example of Abraham; that before God there was no distinction of persons, and that Judaism was not a condition of admission into the Church of Christ for either Jew or Gentile. Looking away into the future, and penetrating the mystery of man's destiny,[4] he gave a clear and intelligible solution of the secret in these profound and energetic words: "For of Him and by Him and in Him are all things;"[5] and going still deeper into the depths of time, and extending still wider the horizon of his mental vision, he declared that all progress would be at an end "*when God should be all in all*."[6] And thus did the Apostle of the Gentiles enunciate the great principle that underlies all *philosophy of history*.

This, together with his apostolic zeal and the holiness of his life, abundantly shows that he had been *born again in Christ Jesus*.[7]

The Apostle, following a custom common among the Rabbies, and of which Peter had given an example, felt that since his sympathies and opinions had undergone so great a change, it was quite proper that he should change his name also. The name *Paul*,[1] which he took, was probably suggested by the conversion of the Proconsul, *Sergius Paulus*,[2] and by this alone is he known in sacred history.[3]

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[1] Ephes. i. 4–12, iii. 8–12; Rom. xvi. 25, 26.

[2] Gal. iv. 4; Ephes. i. 10.

[3] Ephes. i. 4; Tit. i. 3; 1 Tim. ii. 6; Rom. i. and vii; Gal. iii. 24; Acts xvii. 26–28.

[4] Rom. xi.

[5] Rom. xi. 36.

[6] 1 Cor. xv. 28,

[7] 2 Cor. v. 17. Conf. *Simar*, The Theology of St. Paul. Freiburg, 1864.

§ 46. *The Gospel is Preached to the Gentiles.*

Peter, when returning from Samaria, and while on his way to visit the maritime cities of Palestine, had a vision, in which it was made known to him that the time had come for *the admission of the Gentiles* into the Church of Christ. He accordingly baptized *Cornelius the Centurion*, who was probably a proselyte of the Gate, and had never become acquainted with all the doctrines and ceremonies of Judaism. The news of this event rapidly spread to Jerusalem, and excited much discontent among the Christian Jews. *Peter*, however, quieted their fears by assuring them that he had acted in obedience *to a revelation from Heaven*, and that in baptism *the gifts of the Holy Ghost are conferred* without distinction on both Jew and *Gentile*.[4] Still the Jews contended that Gentiles who should hereafter be admitted to baptism, without circumcision, should in all other respects be classed with the proselytes of the Gate, and made subject to the law of Moses.

A great number of converts entered the Church at Antioch, the capital of Syria,[5] upon this condition, and this number was greatly increased by the teachings of *St. Paul*, who assured them, in language the most positive, that man was not justified by the doing of works prescribed in the Old Law, but *by faith in Christ and by the aid of His grace;* and that the law of Moses was never intended to be permanent, but rather to serve temporarily as a means to teach the Jews their religion and their duties.

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[1] Acts xiii. 9.

[2] Acts xiii. 7 seqq.

[3] *St. Jerome* states this without reference or comment, catal., c. 5, and in the comment. in epist. ad. Philem. and *August.* confess. VIII. 3; among moderns, Bengel, Olshausen, and Meyer.

[4] Acts x. and xi.

[5] Acts xi. 20.

Some Jewish priests and Pharisees who had but recently come into the Church, together with their followers, wished to exact of the Gentile converts the same conditions as those imposed upon Christians of Jewish origin. These were extremely severe, and the Gentiles on this account sent a deputation to Jerusalem, where, for the first time, the Apostles assembled in Council (A. D. 50–52). The Council decreed, *in the name of the Holy Ghost*, to lay no further burden on the Gentile converts than that they should abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from *fornication*.[1]

The community at Antioch, composed of Jewish and Pagan converts, became so numerous and flourishing that it was called the *second mother Church*, and here the faithful for the first time received the name of *Christians*,[2] instead of Galileans or Nazarenes. A spirit of charity and self-sacrifice and a singleness of purpose united them by the strongest ties with the Church of Jerusalem, which *Herod Agrippa I.*, in the hope of conciliating the good will of the Jewish people, was at this time oppressing with the most merciless persecution. He put *James the Elder*, the brother of St. John, to death (A. D. 44), and Peter escaped from his hands only by divine interposition.[3] The latter returned to Jerusalem after the tragic end of Agrippa,[4] when he was treated with greater lenity by the Romans. Peter, John, and James, the last of whom the Apostles had appointed bishop of Jerusalem, were called the *pillars of the Church*.[5]

§ 47. *The Journeys of St. Paul—His Apostolic Labors and his Epistles.*

St. Paul, after his miraculous conversion, retired into

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[1] Acts xv. 28, 29. Conf. *Friedlieb*, on the Decree of the Apostles. Austrian Quarterly for Cath. Theol., 1863, p. 135 sq.

[2] Acts xi. 26.

[3] Acts xii. 1–19.

[4] Acts xii. 21–23.

[5] Gal. ii. 9.

Arabia, where he found ample opportunity for the exercise of his zeal in converting to Christianity the numerous Jews who inhabited that country. He returned thence to Damascus, and three years after the date of his conversion went up to Jerusalem, for the purpose of *conferring with Peter* and receiving official recognition as an Apostle of the Gospel.[1] Then, in company with Barnabas and the learned Levite, Joseph, a native of the isle of Cyprus, by whom he had been introduced to Peter and James, he went on a mission into Syria and Cilicia. While Paul was laboring with commendable zeal to establish the Church at *Antioch*, he did not forget, in his affectionate solicitude, the sufferings of the Church of Jerusalem during the persecution of Herod Agrippa.[2] About this time, while on his way through Seleucia, he and Barnabas set out on their *first great mission* to Cyprus, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lycaonia, after which he again visited the Church at *Antioch*.[3] He found the controversy concerning the duties of converted Pagans at its height, and, with the purpose of putting an end to it, set out with Barnabas to Jerusalem (50–52), where the Apostles were assembled in Council.[4] Accompanied by *Silas*, he soon after (52–53) went upon another mission through Syria, Cilicia, and Lycaonia. Barnabas quitted him to go on a journey to Cyprus with his relative, *John Mark*. *Timothy* joined Paul and Silas at Lystra, and traveled with them through Phrygia, Galatia, and Mysia. They fell in with a physician at Troas, who became, later on, the Evangelist, *St. Luke*. Thence they went into Macedonia, and founded successively the churches of *Philippi*, *Thessalonica*, and *Beroea*. Here, St. Paul, taking leave of his companions, crossed over to *Athens*, and in this great center of Grecian idolatry preached the *One unknown God* to the astonished inhabitants.[5] He proceeded thence to the wealthy but corrupt city of *Corinth*, where he was hospitably received by *Aquila*, a Jewish convert, and where also he wrote his first *epistles*—

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[1] Gal. i. 17–19; Acts ix. 19–27.

[2] Acts xi. 22–30, xii. 25.

[3] Acts xiii. and xiv.

[4] Acts xv.

[5] Acts xvii. 22 sq.

the two to the Thessalonians. He remained about eighteen months in this city, and succeeded in establishing in it one of the most flourishing of the early Christian communities. Thence, passing through Ephesus, Caesarea, and Jerusalem, he again returned to Antioch.[1]

Inspired by the ardor of his zeal, he set out upon a *third mission* into Asia Minor (A. D. 54 or 55), and after having visited the churches of Phrygia and Galatia, went to Ephesus, where he remained two years engaged in incessant efforts to establish the Kingdom of God, and, with characteristic energy, carried his labors beyond the city and its immediate confines into far-distant parts. His epistles to the churches of *Corinth* and *Galatia* were written during his stay at this city.

The Ephesians, fearing that the worship of their favorite goddess Diana would be abolished, became alarmed, rose in sedition, and drove St. Paul from their gates. Departing from Ephesus, he went into Macedonia (A. D. 57),[2] visited the various churches of that country, wrote his second epistle to the Corinthians, and shortly after returned to Corinth to adjust some difficulties that had arisen there.

Paul, burning with zeal, and true to his high calling of Apostle of Nations, *wrote to the Romans* (A. D. 58), and promised them that he would shortly visit them in person.[3] Three months later, passing through Miletus, Ptolemais, and Caesarea, he returned to Jerusalem.[4] His farewell to the bishops and priests who had assembled at Ephesus from the surrounding country is dignified and affecting.[5] He had hardly arrived at Jerusalem, when he was recognized in the temple, and, upon the complaint of some Jews from Asia Minor, *was arrested* and accused of contemning the law. Claiming the privileges of a Roman citizen, he was released from the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrin and sent to *Caesarea*, where he appeared before the Proconsul Felix.

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[1] Acts xv. 36, xviii. 22.

[2] Acts xx. 1 sq.

[3] Rom. i. 13–15.

[4] Acts xviii. 23, xxi. 17.

[5] Acts xx. 17–38.

Having justified himself successively before Felix and his successor Festus, and also before King Agrippa II., and after having spent *two years in prison*, he appealed to Caesar, and was sent to Rome, whither he was accompanied by his friends Luke and Aristarchus.[1]

During the voyage the vessel was frequently in imminent peril of being lost, but Paul sustained the faltering courage of his companions by his implicit trust in God, and foretold to many his future fate. Having arrived safe *at Rome*,[2] St. Paul was sent to *prison*, where he remained *for two years* (A. D. 61–63). During his imprisonment, he wrote his epistles to *Timothy*, to the *Colossians*, the *Ephesians*, and the *Philippians*, warning them of the heresies which would soon appear among them, and which even then gave tokens of their presence. It was also during this time that he wrote his beautiful and touching epistle to *Philemon*, entreating him to set at liberty the fugitive slave Onesimus, *his son and beloved brother*.[3] Even while in prison, Paul, aided by his fellow-laborers, seems to have done much toward spreading the faith in Rome, and succeeded in sowing its seeds in the very bosom of the imperial family.[4] It is more than likely that he wrote his *epistle to the Hebrews* during his stay in Italy.[5]

The sacred historian says nothing concerning the subsequent career of the Apostle of the Gentiles, but, according to the most ancient authorities, having recovered his freedom, he set out for *Spain*,[6] a country in which it had long been his desire to preach the Gospel.[1] It is quite certain that he visited Crete, and left behind him there his disciple Titus, to whom he afterward wrote a pastoral epistle from Syria. He also wrote, probably about this period, his second epistle to Timothy at Ephesus. After a somewhat protracted stay at Nicopolis (in Epirus?), he once more visited the churches of Troas, Miletus, and Corinth. Dionysius of Corinth affirms that SS. Peter and Paul met at this latter city, and returned together to Rome to comfort the faithful, who were then suffering all the horrors of the persecution of *Nero*. Here St. Paul was *again sent to prison*, and at the end of nine months put to death (A. D. 67 or 68). Being a Roman citizen, he was decapitated by the Lictor, and went to receive the crown of the Just as a reward[2] for the many hardships and sufferings endured during the course of his missionary labors.[3]

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[1] Acts xxi. 17, xxvi. 32.

[2] Acts xxvii. and xxviii.

[3] Conf. *Adalbert Mayer*, Introd. to the Writings of the N. T., p. 289 sq,

[4] Philip i. 13; iv. 22.

[5] Heb. xiii. 24.

[6] *Clement* of Rome, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, ch. v., has the following on this point: *ἐπὶ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών.* When it is borne in mind that this was written by one living in *Italy*, it seems quite evident that the words—*gone to the Far West*—refer to *Spain*, and not to that country. A passage in Murat. Fragm., concerning the Scriptural canon of the latter half of the second century, in *Routh*, reliquiae sacrae, T. IV., p. 4, warrants the same conclusion. Conf. *Hefele*, Patres Apostolici ad h. l., ed. IV., pp. 60, 61; *Gams*, Ch. H. of

§ 48. *Apostolic Labors of St. Peter.*

Peter, who contributed more by his labors toward founding the Church of Jerusalem than any of the other Apostles, also made frequent visits to the lately established Christian communities of Palestine, showed great solicitude in the direction of their spiritual affairs, and probably presided for a time as *bishop* over the Church of *Antioch*.[4] He preached the Gospel successively in Pontus, Cappadocia, Galatia, Asia, and Bithynia, and, according to the most reliable accounts, arrived at Rome as early as the year 42 A. D. He afterward returned to Jerusalem, whence, having miraculously escaped the tyranny of Herod, he fled, it is said, to Antioch,[5] where

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Spain, Vol. I., p. 29–49; *Fr. Werner*, St. Paul's Journey to Spain (Austr. Quarterl. of Theology, 1863, p. 320–346.

[1] Rom. xv. 24, 28.

[2] 2 Tim. iv. 8.

[3] 2 Cor. xi. 23–28.

[4] This is apparently denied by Hieronym. de Scriptoribus eccl., c. I.; Euseb. hist. eccl. III. 22, where he calls Evodius the first, and Ignatius the second, bishop of Antioch; but III. 36, Eusebius says Ignatius was the second successor of Peter. The Church, for this reason, celebrates a Cathedra St. Petri Antiochena and Romana. Conf. concerning Peter's Episcopacy at Antioch, Bonn Monthly of Philosophy and Theology, n. 66.

[5] Acts xii. 17.

he found a safe asylum. After the death of this prince, he went again to Jerusalem, and was present at the council held by the Apostles (A. D. 50–52).[1]

We hear of him later on at Antioch, and then again at Corinth, where, it is thought, he joined St. Paul,[2] and aided him in establishing the Christian community of that place. It is certain that he wrote from Rome, where he and Mark were then residing, his beautiful epistle to the faithful of Pontus and Galatia; for, though he calls the city from which he writes Babylon,[3] there can be no doubt that Rome[4] is meant. Papias, one of the Fathers of the Apostolic age, so understood it, and there is no proof that either *Peter* or any of the other *Apostles* ever labored at Babylon.

Though the historical documents relating to the life of Peter are very scanty, they are still sufficient to satisfactorily prove that he was the chief Pastor of the *whole* Church, and exercised the prerogatives of *Primacy* over the other Apostles. From the moment of our Lord's ascension into Heaven he took the lead in every affair of importance. He presided over the election of Matthias;[5] was the first to address the assembled multitude after the descent of the Holy Ghost;[6] spoke in the name of all the Apostles before the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem;[7] performed the first miracle;[8] pronounced the first and terrible sentence upon Ananias and Saphira;[9] was the first to admit the Gentiles into the Christian Church by the reception of Cornelius;[10] was visited at Jerusalem by

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[1] Acts xv.

[2] Galat. ii. 11.

[3] According to *Eusebius*, hist. eccl. II. 15, the early writers of the Church generally understood Babylon in this passage in a *figurative* sense, and as meaning Rome. The use of *figurative language at that time was so prevalent* that this need excite no surprise. Even *Tacitus* himself, annal. XV. 44, describes Rome as Urbs, quo *cuncta undique atrocia et pudenda confluunt.*

[4] 1 Petr. v. 13. Conf. Apocal. xvii. 1, 5, 9, 17.

[5] Acts i. 15 sq.

[6] Acts ii. 14 sq.

[7] Acts iv. 8.

[8] Acts iii. 4 sq.

[9] Acts v. 1 sq.

[10] Acts x.

Paul, who wished to take counsel with him;[1] presided over the first Council of Jerusalem;[2] and, though not the first to follow Christ, always stands *first* in the catalogue of the Apostles given by the Evangelists, which indubitably proves that his Primacy was recognized by the Apostles themselves.

He, together with St. Paul, fell a victim to the persecution of Nero at Rome (A. D. 67 or 68), and was crucified on the Vatican Hill, in the Jewish quarter of the city, with his head downward, as tradition says, at his own request, not deeming himself worthy to die as did his Divine Master.[3]

If we take for granted what we have already assumed, that St. Peter visited Rome on two separate occasions, there will be no difficulty in accounting for the universal tradition concerning his *twenty-five years' pontificate in the Eternal City.*[4]

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[1] Galat. i. 18.

[2] Acts xv.

[3] *Origen.* in *Euseb.* hist. eccl., III. 1; *Tertull.* de praescript. haer., c. 36.

[4] On the passage in 1 Petr. v. 13, taken in connection with Peter's stay in Rome, conf. the Apost. Father, *Ignatius* († 107), ep. ad Rom., c. 4; *Clem. Roman.* ep. I. ad Corinth., c. 5; *Dionys.* of Corinth († before 180), and the Roman priest, *Cajus*, in *Euseb.* hist. eccl., II. 25; *Iren.* III. 1, 3; *Tertull.* de praescript., c. 36; Habes *Romam*, ubi Petrus passioni Dominicae adaequatur; and contra Marcion. IV. 5. *St. Cyprian* († 258), alluding to Rome as the Cathedra Petri, speaks of it as something well known and admitted by all. And a fact so universally admitted by the early Christian world would never have been called in question, had not a false, critical, and partisan spirit suggested such a course. See *Spanhemii*, dissert. de ficta profectione Petri in urbem Romam (opp. T. II., p. 331 sq.); *Baur*, in the Tübingen Journal of Protest. Theology, number 4, 1831. For a refutation of the objections down to the middle of the eighteenth century, see †*Foggini*, de Romano Petri itinere et episcopatu ejusque antiquissimis imaginibus, exercitationes historico-criticae, Florent. 1741. (Dedicated to Benedict XIV.) Scientific treatises of later date: †*Herbst*, on the sojourn of Peter at Rome (Tüb. Quarterly, 1820, p. 267 sq.); †*Döllinger*, Church History, p. 65 sq.; † *Windischmann*, vindiciae Petrinae, Ratisb. 1836; † *Ginzel*, concerning Peter's episc. in Rome (*Pletz.* theol. journal, Vol. XI., No. 1–4, particularly against *Mayerhof's* introduc. to the writings of Peter, Hamb. 1835. Cf. *Olshausen*, in his Stud. et Criticism, year 1838, 4to; † *Stenglein*, concerning Peter's twenty-five years' episc. in Rome (Tüb. Quarterly, 1840, No. 2 et 3); Origines de l'église Rom. by the Benedictines of the restored convent Solesmes, 1836; † *Kunstmann*, the episc. of Peter in Rome (Historico-polit. Journal., vol. 40); †*Hagemann*, The Rom. Church, her Influence on Discipline and Dogmas, Freib. 1864, p. 627–675. On the occasion of the centenary of SS. Peter and Paul at Rome, 1867, *Gams* wrote a work entitled "The Respective Year of the Martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul," in which he maintains that St. Peter suf-

The answer is easy to the chief difficulty against this opinion, taken from Acts, chap. xxviii. 22, where the Jews of the Roman Synagogue are represented as saying to St. Paul that, concerning this sect (Christians), they knew only that it was everywhere contradicted. We have simply to point to the expulsion of the Jews from Rome during the reign of Claudius,[1] and to draw attention to another insidious effort of the Jews, in many respects similar to this.[2]

The whole of the epistle to the Romans, and particularly chap. i. 8, where St. Paul gives thanks to God because their faith is spoken of throughout the whole world, are sufficient evidence that the Christian community in this very city was at this period in a very prosperous condition.

§ 49. *Labors of the Other Apostles except St. John.*

Tillemont, Mémoires, T. I. *Natal. Alexander*, hist. eccl. saec. I., cap. 8. *Wiltsch*, ecc. geog., Vol. I., p. 18 et seqq. *Gams'* Moehler's Ch. Hist., Vol. I., p. 157. Note I., Particular Literature.

The Acts of the Apostles speak principally of the labors of SS. Peter and Paul, and have little to say of those of the other Apostles. The omission was probably intentional, as the narrative would have been a repetition of the miracles, virtues, and sufferings already related. The Apostles were more intent on carrying the light of the Gospel to the ends of the earth than anxious to hand their names and the fame of their works down to posterity; and hence the scarcity of written documents and the vagueness of even the traditions concerning them. Perhaps the most important bit of information gathered from these unsatisfactory sources is that the Apostles, before *separating* to go into the *various countries* that had fallen respectively to the *lot* of each, came together at Jerusalem and there drew up what is known as the *Symbol of Faith.*

They undoubtedly carried the faith of Christ to the most

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fered in the year 65 and St. Paul in 67 A. D. This assertion was vigorously opposed by *Ginzel* and *Peters.* Conf. *Gams*, Church History, Vol. III., p. 489.

[1] Acts xviii. 2, and Sueton. vita Claud., c. 25.

[2] John viii. 38, 44.

distant lands, and it would be difficult to find any important city of the Roman empire, and particularly along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, whose church does not trace her origin back to apostolic times. The Apostles, *by order of Christ*, set *James*, the *son of Alpheus*, who is unquestionably identical[1] with *James* the *Lesser*, surnamed the *Just*, and called the "*brother of our Lord*," as bishop over the Church of Jerusalem.

Distinguished for his love of justice and the mildness of his disposition, respected even by the Jews,[2] and remarkable withal for firmness of character, he put his own church upon a permanent basis, and exhibited great earnestness and zeal in the epistles which he wrote to the converted Jews living in distant lands, wherein he reminds them of the necessity of *uniting faith with good work.*

Josephus Flavius, whose statement, however, is not beyond suspicion, informs us that James, having been denounced by the *High-priest Annas* as an offender against the law, was stoned to death in the year 62 A. D., before the newly appointed procurator Albinus had arrived. Even the most zealous of the Jews were indignant at so flagrant a crime, and obtained the deposition of the high-priest by a petition addressed to King Agrippa. Hegesippus, a Jewish convert, who wrote at a *later* date, says, together with many other things equally open to suspicion, that James, refusing to abjure Christ, was, as early as A. D. 59, taken by the Scribes and Pharisees to the pinnacle of the temple, whence he was cast down, and, after his fall, dispatched with a fuller's club.[3] Simeon and Justus succeeded him as bishops of Jerusalem.

St. Matthew,[4] the Apostle and Evangelist, preached the Gospel in Arabia Felix (India and Ethiopia) to both Jew and

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[1] *Hug*, Introduc. to N. T., part II., p. 517 sq. *Schleyer* in Freib. Journal of Theol., Vol. IV., p. 11–65. Cf. *Guericke*, Introd. to N. T., p. 483 sq.

[2] Acts xv. 13 sq.

[3] Cf. *Jos. Flav.* antiqq. XX. 9, 1. *Credner*, Introd. to N. T., p. 481. *Heges.* in *Euseb.* h. e. II. 23. Cf. *Stolberg*, part VI., p. 360–365, and †*Kössing*, dissert. de anno, quo mortem obierit Jacobus, frater Domini. Heidelb. 1857.

[4] *Rufin.* hist. eccl. I. 9. *Euseb.* hist. eccl. III. 24, 39.

Gentile, and *St. Philip*,[1] who, it is said, like St. John, lived to the close of the first century, spent the last days of his apostolic career at Hierapolis, in Phrygia. *St. Thomas*, according to ancient tradition, evangelized the Parthians, Medes, and Persians; *St. Andrew*,[2] the Scythians of Southern Russia and the people living in the neighborhood of Byzantium; and St. Bartholomew,[3] the Indians of Southern Arabia(?), where, in the year 190 A. D., Pantaenus discovered a copy of the Gospel of St. Matthew, which is supposed to belong to the time of the Apostle; *Thaddeus*[4] converted Abgar, King of Edessa. The country said to have been evangelized by *Simon Zelotes* and *Matthias* is known by the general name of the East, but Egypt and Northern Africa are sometimes assigned to the former, and Ethiopia to the latter.

The Church, following her ancient traditions, honors all the Apostles, except St. John, as martyrs, and they are *represented* in pictorial art *with* both a *palm* branch and the Book of the Gospels.[5]

There can be no doubt that *Mark*,[6] who had been the companion of Paul and Barnabas, and afterward resided with St. Peter at Rome, was, if not the founder, certainly the first bishop of the Church of Alexandria. He was succeeded by *Annianus*, who received the pallium of Mark as a token that he also succeeded to his authority and prerogatives.

It would be entirely out of place to omit all mention of the Blessed Virgin when speaking of the chosen few who were the favored companions of our Lord. Sacred Scripture is almost silent relative to her life after the ascension of Christ, simply stating that she stayed at Jerusalem with the Apostles and disciples, prayerfully awaiting with them the coming of the Holy Ghost.[7] There can be no doubt that she was tenderly cared for by *St. John*, to whom her divine Son commended her when dying on the cross.

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[1] *Euseb.* III. 31, VI. 24.

[2] Ibid. III. 1.

[3] Ibid. V. 10.

[4] Ibid. I. 13, II. 1.

[5] *Aschbach*, Eccl. Cyclopedia, Art. Apostles, and portraits of each. *Heracleon*, a Gnostic writer of the second century, is alone in his assertion that Matthias, Thomas, Philip, and Matthew died natural deaths.

[6] *Euseb.* II. 16, 24. Chronicon Paschale (Alexandr.), p. 230, ed. *Dufresne*, Paris, 1688.

[7] Acts i. 14.

This much is known, but beyond this almost everything is conjecture, and it seems impossible to ascertain with any degree of certainty what manner of life she led afterward, or the time and circumstances of her death.

St. Epiphanius,[1] in view of her singular excellence, and at a loss to account for the silence of Scripture, did not venture to say whether she died a natural death and was buried, or enjoyed an exemption from the common lot of mankind. But the Catholic Church, says *Baronius*,[2] admits of no doubt as to the death of the Mother of God: she was human, and, as such, under the necessity of paying the penalty of all flesh.

There are two accounts concerning the *place* of her death, the first of which states that she expired at Jerusalem, A. D. 45 or 47, surrounded by the Apostles; the second, that she accompanied St. John to Ephesus, which, if correct, must have taken place at a much later date than the one just assigned.

When Mary beheld the Kingdom of God established and its permanence secured beyond all manner of doubt—when she heard the name of her divine Son glorified everywhere, and saw the virtue that went out from Him infusing its divine principle of vitality into the hearts of men—she felt at peace and "longed to be dissolved and with Christ." Conscious, as credible traditions tell us, that her end was approaching, and wishing to visit her home once more before her death, she set out upon the long and wearisome journey, most probably in company with St. John. In this supreme hour, consoled by the presence of her divine Son, who awaited her departure that she might be with Him in Heaven, she could cry out with deeper feeling and greater joy of heart than ever before, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Savior." Her immaculate body, too, shared in the joy and gladness with which her own spirit rejoiced in God her Savior, and its glorification was the crown of her life. This view has never been contradicted by the Fathers and Doctors of the Greek Church; on the contrary, *St. Athanasius*, interpreting the prophetic words of the psalm, "The Queen stood on Thy right hand in gilded clothing, surrounded with variety," says that not only the soul, but also the body of Mary, glorified and in the brightness and splendor of incorruptibility, was raised to the throne of Christ, an honor befitting a Virgin in whom the Second Adam, in the person of the Eternal Word, became incarnate.

St. Cyril of Alexandria,[3] commenting on the words of Apocalypse, "A great sign was seen in Heaven," says: "There can be no doubt that the sign here referred to is the Blessed Virgin Mary, who was assumed body and soul into Heaven."

Modestus, Bp. of Jerusalem,[4] says: "Mary, since she was the mother of Christ our Savior, the Giver of life and immortality, was by Him taken out of the sepulcher, quickened into life, assumed into Heaven as He knew best, and made forever partaker of His own incorruptibility."

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[1] *Epiphanius*, haer. LXXVIII. § 11.

[2] *Baronius*, ad an. 48, § 11, 12, et. Annot. in Martyrolog. XV. August. *Butler*, Lives of the Saints, August 15.

[3] *Cyril. Alex.* Hom. de dormit. B. M. V.

[4] Transl. by Mgr. Michelangelo Giacometti, Rome, 1760.

Gregory of Tours,[1] who wrote in the sixth century, says plainly that, "by command of the Lord, the body of Mary, raised from the dead, went together with her soul into Paradise;" and this assertion is fully borne out by the testimony of *St. Ildephonse* of Toledo,[2] and by the concurrent voice of all the succeeding *Fathers*[3] of the Church.

The teaching of *theologians* is also in accord with this opinion. We will quote the testimony of three of them, most conspicuous for their range and depth of thought.

"With as much reason," says the *Angelical Doctor*,[4] "should we believe that Mary was assumed bodily into heaven as that she was sanctified in her mother's womb."

Suarez[5] approves this opinion, and adds that "it can not be called in doubt by persons religiously minded."

Finally, the learned Cardinal *Gotti*[6] goes still further, and asserts that any one who should insinuate that the Church has erred in proposing the Assumption as a feast to be celebrated everywhere, would lay himself open to the charge of heresy, and directly oppose Catholic belief. And, as a matter of fact, the *feast of the Assumption* is so old and so universal in the Church that some have asserted that it is an apostolic institution. It is, however, more probable, as *Thomassini*[7] affirms, that it was first celebrated by the Church after the council of Ephesus.

The Sacramentary of Gregory the Great,[8] and martyrologies still more ancient, make mention of it. Benedict XIV.,[9] after referring to a host of eminent theologians, sums up as follows: "The bodily assumption of the Blessed Virgin into Heaven is not an article of faith, for the Scripture texts, usually quoted in support of this opinion, may also bear a different interpretation, and tradition is not sufficiently strong in its favor to invest it with such dignity. It is, however, a pious belief, and probably a true one, and it would be as impious and blasphemous, as foolish and unreasonable, to assert the contrary."

Launoy,[10] a rather critical Parisian doctor, who lived during the seventeenth century, was at great pains to search out every document that might throw discredit on the belief in the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; but *Gaudin*,[1] also a doctor of the Sorbonne, amply vindicated, if not its truth, its exceeding probability. Salmon,[2] Van den Baviere,[3] and Van den Driesch[4] triumphantly defeated a similar attempt made by their countryman, Marant of Louvain.[5]

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[1] De gloria Martyrum, c. 4.

[2] Serm. 6, de Assumptione B. M. V.

[3] See *Petrus Canisius*, De Maria Virgine libri quinque, Ingolstadii, 1577, in lib. V., cap. 5, where he collected a great many testimonies and arguments in its favor.

[4] In Sum. Theol., pt. III., quaest. XXVII., art. I. and pt. III., qu. LXXXV., art. 5.

[5] In Theolog., pt. III., quaest. XXXIII., art. 4, disp. 21, sect. 2, dub. 1.

[6] Tom. IV. de Verit. Relig. Christ., p. 2, c. 40.

[7] De Festis, lib. II., c. 20.

[8] Edited and annotated by the Blessed Cardinal Tommasi, Rome, 1680.

[9] See *Benedict XIV.* in commentariis de D. N. Jesu Christi Matrisque ejus festis, part II., § 114, and *Trombelli*, part I., diss. XXXVI.

[10] In his book: De exscribendo Parisiensis ecclesiae martyrologio.

Observation.—*Tillemont*, Tom. I. and II., has brought together, with much care and labor, everything that is known of the companions of the Apostles, whose names are mentioned in the New Testament. These are *Luke*, *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Barnabas*, *Clemens*, *Hermas*, *Linus*, *Crescens*, and the rhetorician philosopher and Jewish convert, *Apollos* of Alexandria.[6]

§ 50. *The Progress of Christianity.*

When we consider the rapidity with which Christianity spread throughout *Asia*, in Palestine and Syria, in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, at Caesarea and Antioch, Damascus and Edessa, in *Europe* and particularly in Greece, and in many islands, in Macedonia and Italy (Spain?), in *Africa* and notably in Egypt, and when we take into account the number of churches that were everywhere set up, and the measures that became necessary for their establishment and proper organization, we shall have some idea of the great successes of the Church even at this early day. It would be a very great error to suppose that these early Christian communities were made up only of the poor and illiterate. The large contributions of the faithful, mentioned in the Acts and Epistles;[7] the conversion of the Proconsul *Sergius Paulus*, governor of Cyprus,[8] and the distinguished eunuch of Ethiopia; of the centurion *Cor-*

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[1] Assumptio M. V. vindicata, Paris, 1670, in 18mo

[2] Apologeticum tentamen, etc. Gand. 1788.

[3] Reflexiones in librum cui titulus: P. J. Marant, Discussio historica, etc. Brugis, in 8vo.

[4] Discussio discussionis historicae: P. J. Marant, etc. Gand. in 18mo.

[5] This sketch of the Biography of the B. V. M. was compiled by the translator from *Gentilucci's* Vita di Maria Santissima, Rome, 1848; the Freiburg Theol. Cyclop.; *Wouters'* Hist. Eccl. Compend., Louvain, 1871, Vol. I., p. 36–38; *E. Veith's* Sermon on the Assumption, in Festpredigten, pt. 2, Vienna, 1849.

[6] Acts xviii. 24 sq., xix. 1; 1 Cor. i. 12.

[7] Acts xiii.; Philip. iii. 24 sq.

[8] Acts xiii.

nelius,[1] and *Dionysius* the Areopagite,[2] are a sufficient refutation of such an assertion. St. Paul made converts even in the imperial palace,[3] and *Flavius Clemens*, a relative of Vespasian, *Domitilla*, his wife, and other Romans of distinction, became Christians toward the close of St. John's life. The frequent warnings of the Apostle against introducing into Christianity any of the errors taken from the false systems of Pagan philosophy and theosophy,[4] may finally be mentioned as proof that men of learning and ability not only entered the Church, but were also sometimes anxious to bring their dangerous opinions with them.

The rapid growth of the Church will become still more a matter of surprise when the difficulties she was obliged to encounter are considered. The Jews were determined and obstinate, and the opposition of the Pagans, of which St. Paul had some experience at Athens, Ephesus, and Corinth, was terribly violent.

Stephen the Deacon, *James the Greater*, and *James the Lesser* were murdered, and, that there might be no escape for the Christians, the emperors put themselves at the head of the persecutors.

Claudius, in the year A. D. 53, confounding them with the Jews, banished them from Rome.[5] They were falsely accused of having set fire to the city, which was burnt A. D. 64, and on this account remained for many years the objects of the most merciless persecution. Some were cast to the wild beasts in the arena and torn to pieces, others thrown into the Tiber, and others, having been covered with pitch, were set on fire and placed as torches to light the public squares and imperial gardens.[6]

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[1] Acts viii. ix.

[2] Acts xvii. 34.

[3] Philip. iv. 22.

[4] Coloss. ii. 8; 1 Tim. i. 20 sq.

[5] *Suet.* vit. Claud., c. 25: Judaeos impulsore *Chresto* assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit. Conf. Acts xviii. 2.

[6] *Tacit.* ann. XV. 44. *Suet.* vit. Neron., c. 16. *Tert.* apolog., c. 5, speaks of laws passed under *Nero* and *Domitian* for the persecution of the Christians, and partially repealed under Trajan (quas Trajanus ex parte frustratus est). Conf. *Quellius*, prolusio de persecutione Neroniana, Frider. 1762, and *the same*,

This terrible cruelty finally softened the hearts of the multitude, and excited in their breasts feelings of compassion for the Christians.

The Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, *Processus* and *Martinianus*, servants of the imperial palace, and probably *Gervasius* and *Protasius*, at Milan, suffered martyrdom later on in Nero's reign. Orosius, a writer of the fourth century, says that a *general* persecution prevailed at this period; but this is doubtful.

The Christians were not persecuted as such by *Vespasian* (A. D. 69–79), but were required to pay the capitation tax equally with the Jews. *Domitian* (A. D. 81–96) went so far as to condemn to death *Flavius Clemens*, who was accused of Atheism because he manifested an inclination to Judaism, then synonymous with Christianity, at Rome.[1] He also banished Domitilla, the wife of Flavius, to the island of Pandataria; another of his relatives to the island of Pontia, and the Apostle *St. John* to the island of *Patmos*.[2] The desire of coming into possession of their property by confiscation seems to have been the principal motive for their banishment. He also cited before him some of the relatives of Jesus, of whose rivalry he had fears, but seeing that their hands were hardened by toil he dismissed them.[3]

During the too brief reign of *Nerva* (A. D. 96–98), the accusation of Atheism, which it was usual to bring against Christians and Jews, was given up as destitute of real foundation.[4]

When mention is made of those who persecuted the Church, an observation of *Lactantius*, in his work *de Mortibus Persecutorum*, comes up naturally to the mind. He says that all those who persecuted the Christians met with an unhappy death. His list of such begins with *Tiberius*, but the remark was verified by many examples before his time. Long anterior to Tiberius, the vengeance of God came upon those who had pursued with every sort of ignominy and finally put to death His own Divine Son. The first instance of this is

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prolus. de persecutione, Domit. 1763. *B. Aube*, la persécution de Néron (revue contemporaine, 15 Fevr. 1865, p. 417–449). *The same*, mémoire sur la légalité du christianisme dans l'empire romain au I. siècle. Par. 1866.

[1] *Dio Cassius* and the ep. of *Xiphilinus*. LXVII. 14. *Euseb.* chron., lib. II. ad Olymp. 218. *Hieronym.* ep. 96 (al. 27).

[2] *Tertull.* praescr. haer., c. 36. *Euseb.* h. e. III. 18.

[3] *Euseb.* hist. eccl. III. 20.

[4] *Dio Cass.* LXVIII. 1.

Herod the Great, who, thirsting for the blood of the Infant Jesus, and hoping to compass his infamous purpose by the slaughter of the Innocents, was stricken with a loathsome disease, which gradually consumed him, and from the agony of which he in vain tried to escape by attempts upon his life. *Pilate*, having been arraigned before Lucius Vitellius, the honored governor of Syria, upon charges of ambition and rapacity brought against him by the Jews, was sent to Rome, where, after the death of Tiberius, he was stript of all his dignities, and, thus degraded and dishonored, exiled, it is supposed, to Vienne, in Southern Gaul. Here he abandoned himself to despair and put an end to his life with a dagger. *Herod Antipas*, the murderer of John the Baptist, envious of the good fortune of Herod Agrippa, who, by favor of Caligula, had been created king, and urged by his ambitious and frivolous wife to seek a position of like distinction and influence, set out for Rome in the hope of accomplishing his purpose. When he arrived, instead of being crowned with the honors of royalty, he was brought before Agrippa, accused and found guilty of secret correspondence with Artoban, King of the Parthians, exiled to Lugdunum, in Gaul, and his territory passed into the hands of his accuser. Nor was this all; he who had taken so much delight in having divine honors paid to him,[1] who had persecuted the infant Church of Jerusalem, beheaded the Apostle James the Greater, and cast Peter into prison, had himself a sudden taking off. The subsequent history of the Church is replete with evidences of the signal vengeance of God.

§ 51. *Destruction of Jerusalem. Separation of the Church from the Synagogue.*

Jos. Flav. de bello Jud., libb. VII. (opp. ed. *Havercamp;* ed. Cardwell, Oxon. 1837, 2 vols.), narrates mostly as an eye-witness; translated from the Greek, with geogr. and historical illustrations. *Gfroerer*, Stuttg. 1836, 2 parts. *Tacit.* hist., V. 1–13. *Euseb.* h. e., III. 5–8. *Hegesippus*, s. Egesippus (after Constantine the Great), de bello Judaico, ed. *Weber*, absolvit *J. Caesar*, Marb. 1864. **Stolberg*, Part VII., p. 1–163. **Rausher*, Vol. I., p. 197–221.

Judaism having been no more than a preparation for Christianity, and having completed the work which, in the providence of God, was marked out for it, necessarily gave way to the latter upon its entrance into the world. The Temple of Jerusalem, the great central point of Jewish worship, had lost its primitive prestige and importance, and it soon became evident from frequent experience that as long as it existed it would be a continual source of embarrassment to Christianity. The Christians were threatened by a twofold danger—religious *dissensions* from within and bodily *persecution* from without, both of which originated with the Jews who had been lately converted to Christianity. These were decidedly in favor of keeping up a connection between Christianity and the Temple, so intimately bound up with Jewish worship, a policy altogether unchristian, as discriminating against Pagan converts, and fraught with the greatest danger in the future, as it might lead to a *confusion* of Christianity with Judaism.

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[1] Acts xii. 25.

The destruction of Jerusalem and the demolition of its Temple, as Christ had foretold, while the latter wass till surrounded with all its ancient glory and magnificence,[1] entailing a "*tribulation such as hath not been from the beginning of the world until now, neither shall be*,"[2] became an event of the most significant importance[3] for the success and spread of the Christian Church.

The Jews, once the chosen instruments of God in the accomplishment of His purposes, wished still to insist before the world upon *prerogatives* to which they could lay no claim. Though they had experienced the most tender proofs of God's mercy, and the most terrible evidences of His anger, still they stubbornly refused either to willingly accept their exalted mission or to submissively conform to the designs of Providence. They put limited and political interpretations upon the most *sublime Messianic prophecies*, and when the establishment of the Church of Christ precluded the possibility of these sanguine hopes ever being realized, they contemptuously rejected her Founder. They looked forward with hopeful joy to the approaching downfall of the Roman empire, and when, instead of declining, it went steadily on in a career of uninterrupted prosperity, they still put forth fresh energies in attempts to insure the success of their expectations.

This once favored people of God, oppressed by the proconsuls of Caesarea, and believing that the day of retribution was at hand, broke out into open revolt during the proconsulate of *Gessius Florus*, A. D. 64.

The outbreak was caused by a Pagan, who, out of contempt for the Jews, sacrificed some birds in the neighborhood of the synagogue. The Proconsul having taken sides with the Pagans, the revolt spread rapidly from Caesarea to Jerusalem. An attempt made A. D. 66, by the Jews, to overthrow the Roman power by force of arms, resulted in the loss of 50,000 lives.

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[1] Luke xxi. 5 sq.

[2] Matt. xxiv. 21.

[3] *Dieringer*, Divine Economy, Vol. 1., p. 240 sq., p. 262 sq.; 2 ed., p. 246–258.

The Jews, encouraged by the defeat of *Cestius Gallus*, which happened shortly afterward, brought fresh courage and greater strength to the conflict. But the terrible calamities, foretold of old by *Daniel the Prophet*,[1] and still more explicitly by our Lord when He wept over the fated city, were soon to come upon Jerusalem, and the blood of the God-man upon the heads of the castaway children of Israel. *Vespasian*, one of Nero's generals, accompanied by his son *Titus*, having largely reinforced his army with recruits drawn from Egypt, entered Galilee in the year 67 A. D. Iotapata, the strongest fortress of the country, capitulated after a brave defense of forty days, and 40,000 of her inhabitants were put to the sword. *Josephus*, with only a small number of followers, made his escape, and it required but a short time to complete the entire conquest of Galilee.

The Roman soldiers, elated by victory and impatient of delay, were anxious to end the war by the destruction of Jerusalem. Vespasian, however, prudently bided his time, and patiently waited till commotions within the walls of the city should render further resistance impossible. All Judea was distracted with conflicting counsels. The old, taught by experience, wished to settle the difficulties by arbitration, while the young, fired by a martial spirit and eager for war, were admitted into the city of Jerusalem by the famous outlaw, John Gishala. Vespasian, having in the meantime reduced all Judea to submission, sat down before the city (A. D. 68) to await further instructions from the successor of Nero. He was himself proclaimed emperor by the Roman armies.

At Easter, in the year 70 A. D., his son *Titus* arrived before the fated city with reinforcements from Caesarea. The Jews, conscious of the danger that threatened the Holy City and the Temple, and solicitous for their fate, came on pilgrimages in extraordinary numbers from all quarters.[1]

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[1] Dan. ix. 26.

While the city was compassed about by enemies from without, confusion and carnage reigned within its walls. The Christians, warned by the words of Christ, "When you shall see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, know that its destruction is at hand," fled the city, and took refuge at Pella, in Peraea.[2] The Jews, though recognizing in their present disasters the literal fulfillment of our Lord's prediction,[3] still exhibited a stubborn obstinacy that neither the horrors of a civil war nor the ravages of famine, of which Maria, the despairing daughter of Eleazar, was a terrible example, could subdue. Robbed of all her possessions by the brutal soldiery of *Simon*, and dying with a tender infant at her breasts, to which she could no longer supply nourishment, she yielded to an unnatural impulse, and taking the babe she had brought forth in pain and cherished with love, putting it upon a fire, roasted it, and having eaten a portion herself, gave the remainder to a crowd of starving soldiers who stood near, saying, "This is my child; take and eat of it: I, too, have eaten. Have you a heart more tender and compassionate than a woman or more loving than a mother?"

The news of this deed of horror spread rapidly through the city, and reached even the Roman camp. To such distress were the fated inhabitants reduced that, as Daniel had foretold, overwhelmed by their appalling misfortunes, they left off daily sacrifices about the middle of the last week of the siege.

But it seemed as if nothing could subdue the obstinacy of the Jews. Neither their present calamities nor the prophetic words of our Savior, "Blessed are the barren in those days, and those who bear not children, and whose breasts do not give suck," were sufficient to bring them to their senses. The Romans, victorious in arms, and recoiling with horror from these scenes of misery, resolved to put an end to them by the total destruction of the city. The circumstances attending its fall were terrible in the extreme, and when a Roman soldier applied a firebrand to the Temple,[1] the grief and dismay of the inhabitants knew no bounds. According to Josephus, upward of a million of souls perished during the six months of the siege.

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[1] According to *Jos. Flav.* de Bell. Jud. VI. 9, the assembled multitude numbered 2,700,000. *Tacit.* hist. V. 13, gives 600,000.

[2] *Feuerlein*, De Christianorum Migratione in Oppidum Pellam, etc. Jenae, 1694.

[3] Matt. xxiv.; Luke xxi. 6 et sq.

The unfortunate Jews, having lost their national independence, were now forced to disperse among the nations of the earth, without the comfort of a promise that they should one day again return—without prophet or king, sacrifice or altar, sanctuary or hope. The scepter had passed from them forever; and, to add to their misery, they were still forced by the Roman government to pay the capitation tax, though the Temple was now a heap of smoldering ruins.

It is rather a strange coincidence that just eight months[2] before the fall of Jerusalem, a Roman had also been instrumental in the burning of the capitol, with its temple of Jupiter and shrines of Juno and Minerva.[3]

The fact that the triumphal arch of *Titus*, the conqueror of the Jews, and the one commemorating the victory of *Constantine the Great* over Maxentius, the champion of the *Pagans*, are the best preserved monuments of ancient Rome, while the *Colosseum*, the very symbol of Paganism, is a broken ruin, is not without its significance, and may give rise to an instructive train of thought.

The time was now at hand for the Church to put forth her inherent energy and power.

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[1] Aug. 10, A. D. 70.

[2] Dec. 19, A. D. 69.

[3] *Döllinger*, The Jew and the Gentile, pp. 733 and 851–855.

CHAPTER III.

FORM AND CONSTITUTION OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

†*Petavius*, de hierarch. eccl. libb. V.; in his theol. dogm., ed. Venet. 1757, T. VI., p. 52–209; in other edit., T. IV. *Scholliner*. de hier. ecclesiae diss., Ratisb. 1757, 4to. †*Moehler*, the unity of the Church, Tueb. (1825), 1843. *Dr. Sylvius* (Ginzel), Gospel and Church, Ratisbon. 1843. Against: *Rothe*, First Beginnings of the Christian Church, Wittenb. 1837. *Ritchl*, Origin of the Old Catholic Church, Bonn (1850), 1857, and others. †*Hergenroether*, de eccles. Cathol. primordiis recentiorum Protestantium systemata expenduntur, dissertatio, Ratisb. 1851.

As the Father hath sent Me, I also send you. John xx. 21.

§ 52. *Clergy and Laity.*

The Church, even in the days of the Apostles, was not a disorganized body without connection and adjustment of parts, but from the very beginning bore about her the tokens of order and unity (cf. § 39). While Christ sojourned on earth with His Apostles, their relation to each other was that of *master* and *servant*,[1] and this formed the basis at a later period of the division of the Church's members into teachers and people, rulers and subjects, and clergy and laity. For as it was the will of Christ that His work, the salvation of the man, should continue after He had returned to His Father, it was necessary that the Church, as His representative, should possess the three great prerogatives of the Redeemer Himself, of *prophet* or teacher, *priest*, and *king* or pastor.

Christ, with this object in view, *gave the Apostles a commission to teach*,[2] not as men liable to err, but as teachers sent of God, and strong in the strength of his *infallible* Spirit. A corresponding commission was given to the laity to *hear* and *learn*, believe and obey,[3] to the end that they too might grow strong in faith and be endued with knowledge[4] from on high.

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[1] John xiii. 14, 16, xv. 15.

[2] Matt. xxviii. 18–20; Mark xvi.15.

[3] John x. 26, 27; Luke x. 16.

[4] 1 Tim. iii. 15; Eph. iv. 11–14.

Christ had wrought many miracles[1] in proof of His own teaching, and He conferred the same power upon His Apostles, that they might preach the Gospel[2] with greater efficacy and their words bear with them the divine sanction.

As the God-man, the great *High-priest*, according to the order of Melchisedec, had offered Himself once a willing victim on Golgotha, to make atonement for the sins of men,[3] He desired that there should be a perpetual commemoration made of this sacrifice upon the altars of His Church, and commissioned His Apostles to see that His will should be carried out.

They received the commission at the Last Supper, when Christ, taking bread and wine, changed them into His own Body and Blood, gave of these to eat and to drink to His Apostles, and commanded them to continue to do the same in remembrance of Him.[4] They also received *the power to forgive sins*.[5]

But the idea of Christianity included, besides sacrifices and the remission of sins, the *sanctification* of souls and *intercession* with God, and hence the Apostles became *ministers of the Sacraments*, and were placed in the Church of God as mediators between Him and His people. There could be no question of their fitness for the last office, for Christ Himself had taught them how and in what spirit to pray.[6]

Finally Christ gave His Apostles the power of the *keys*, and commissioned them to govern and direct His Church. This grant of governing power was in the case of Simon surrounded with circumstances of peculiar significance. Our Lord, upon His first meeting him, addressed him as *Peter*, or the Rock,[7] and said that upon this Rock He would build His Church;[8] and thus, with Peter as their Head, the other Apostles participated in the pastoral care of the flock of Christ.[1] Christ, on another occasion, confirmed the right of authoritative jurisdiction to the Apostolic college in language still more emphatic than that used in making the first grant. "*As the Father hath sent Me*," said He, "*I also send you;*" and, "*He that heareth you heareth Me, and he that despiseth you despiseth Me*."[2] And hence St. Paul says, "*Let a man so look upon us as the ministers of Christ and the dispensers of the mysteries of God*."[3]

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[1] John v. 36, x. 38, xv. 24.

[2] Matt. x. 1–8; Mark xvi. 17–20; John xiv. 12; cf. Acts ii. and 1 Cor. xii.

[3] Heb. ii. 17, vii. 17, ix. 28, x. 10.

[4] Matt. xxvi. 26 sq.; Luke xxii. 19, 20; 1 Cor. ii. 23, 26.

[5] John xx. 19–23.

[6] Luke v. 16, vi. 12, ix. 18, xi. 1 sq.

[7] John i. 42.

[8] Matt. xvi. 18, 19.

The seal was set to their authority when the Holy Ghost, who had on another occasion descended in the form of a dove, came upon them in the shape of fiery tongues.

The distinction between teacher and people, ruler and subject, existing in the Old Law, which Christ came not to destroy but to complete,[4] was made more clear and pointed by the grant of governing authority committed to the Apostles; and the introduction of the division between the clergy (*κλῆρος*) and the laity (*λαός*) into the Christian Church [5] is mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans i. 1, and also in the Acts xiii. 2, where there is question of setting apart (*ἀφορίζειν*) Paul and Barnabas for the ministry of the Gospel. And another proof to the same effect is that the grace and power of priesthood were conferred *by prayer* and *the laying on of hands*.[6]

St. Clement, a Father of the Apostolic age, draws a very rigorous distinction between the *clergy* and the *laity* in pointing out the duties of each. "A *bishop*," he says, "has a particular charge laid upon him, and the *priest* exercises functions special to his office; the *levite* has his own proper ministry, but *laymen* have to do only with the laws that pertain to their own order;" and, according to *SS. Ignatius* and *Polycarp*, also Apostolic Fathers, the bishop is the sole *ruler* and *master* of his church, and all things pertaining to it are subject to his control and inspection.[1]

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[1] John x. 11; Matt. xviii. 8.

[2] Luke x. 16.

[3] 1 Cor. iv. 1.

[4] Matt. v. 17.

[5] The word *cleric* occurs in the Old Test., where, in the division of Canaan, the tribe of Levi, taking God for its portion, received no share of land (*κλῆρος*). Propterea vocantur *Clerici*, says *Jerome*, vel quia *de sorte* sunt *Domini*, vel quia *ipse Dominus sors*, i. e. pars clericorum est: qui autem vel ipse pars Domini est, vel Dominum partem habet, talem se exhibere debet, ut et ipse possideat Dominum et possideatur a Domino; quodsi quidpiam aliud habuerit praeter Dominum pars ejus non erit Dominus. (Ep. ad Nepotian. Cf. Ps. xv. 5: Dominus pars haereditatis meae et calicis mei.) The people belonging to the Church, but subordinate to the clergy, were called *laics*, from *λαός*, people.

[6] Acts xi. 6, xiii. 3; 1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6.

Those passages of Scripture which speak of a *universal* priesthood,[2] and apparently run counter to the distinction we have been drawing out, have no application in this connection. These and similar texts of Old Testament,[3] upon which the former are based, refer to the sacrifices of prayer, charity, and penance which every one is obliged to offer to God[4]—something very distinct from the office of teaching and the commission to administer the other functions belonging especially to a separate priesthood.

§ 53. *The Institution of the Hierarchy by Jesus Christ. The Episcopate, Presbyterate, and Diaconate.*

Christ, in committing to the Apostles the office of priesthood with the plenitude of its gifts, clothed them with a sublime character and preëminent dignity which made them in a special sense His representatives among men, and gave His name and authority to whatever they did or said.

The *Apostles*, conscious that their *ministry* should endure forever,[5] and that they themselves would soon pass away;[6]

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[1] *Clem. Rom.* ep. 1 ad Corinthios, c. 40. *Ignat.* ep. ad Ephes., c. 6; ad Smyrn., c. 8. *Polycarp.* ep. ad Philipp., c. 5.

[2] 1 Petr. ii. 5, 9; Apocal. i. 6.

[3] Exod. xix. 6.

[4] *Orig.* hom. IX. in Lev., n. 9. Cf. *Tert.* de orat., c. 28, and Constitut. Apost. 1, III., c. 15 (*Galland.* T. III., pp. 99, 100). *Augustin.* de civit. Dei X. 3: "Each soul is a temple of God; *our heart is an altar*, on which we offer up to God a sacrifice of humility, praise, and burning charity;" or, "The family is the church, of which the parents are the *priests*, the children the *faithful*."

[5] Matt. xxviii. 20.

[6] Heb. vii. 23.

and, as Pope *Clement* says,[1] foreseeing that strife for preëminence would arise, in order that fit and proved men might, after their death, take up their work,[2] transferred their mission and functions to *bishops* (ἐπίσκοποι), who differed from priests in this, that they were invested with the fullness of apostolic power and authority. Thus the *apostolic office* was *continued in the episcopacy*, with this difference, however, that while the authority of the Apostles extended to all Christian communities and was unlimited, that of bishops was *limited both in extent and jurisdiction.*

That it was the will of Christ that one Supreme Pastor, and not many equal in authority and dignity, should preside over His Church, may be proved both explicitly and inferentially from a number of passages in the New Testament. The usage of the apostolic age confirms this assertion.

The words of St. Paul, in his exhortations to Titus and Timothy, whom he had set over the Churches of Crete and Ephesus,[3] are sufficient evidence that bishops exercised a supreme authority over both clergy and laity; and the censures of St. John are directed only against the *angels* or superiors[4] of the Churches of Ephesus, Smyrna, and the rest; for, although there were, as is well known, *many* inferior clergy connected with these churches, the bishops were their only true and accredited representatives.

St. Ignatius, an Apostolic Father († 107), lays special stress in his letters upon the preëminent dignity enjoyed by bishops over priests. "Let each of you," he says, "obey his bishop as Christ did His Father, and priests as the Apostles, and give honor to the deacons as to God's commandment."[5] If this gradation of dignity and authority had not existed in the early ages, how could the Doctors of the Church, in their controversies with heretics during the second and third centuries, have appealed to, and given catalogues of, the line of *bishops* which in all the principal churches came down unbroken from the days of the Apostles?[1] That the bishop, during the first three centuries, was everywhere the recognized head of his Church and his clergy subject to his jurisdiction, can be easily proved from history.

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[1] *Clem. Rom.* ep. 1 ad Corinthios, c. 44

[2] 2 Tim. ii. 2.

[3] Tit. i. 5; 1 Tim. v. 17–19.

[4] Apocal. ii.; Galat. iv. 14.

[5] Ep. ad Ephes., c. 6; ad Smyrn., c. 8; ad Magnes., c. 6; ad Trallian., c. 2; and various other passages. Conf. ad Philad., c. 3: *ὅσοι γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσιν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ επισκόπου εἰσίν.*—Those who are of God and Jesus Christ are also of the Bishop. Ad Polycarpum, c. 6: *τῷ επισκόπῳ προσέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν.*—Listen to the Bishop, that God may hear you.

The *uniform organization of* all the churches established wherever Christianity spread is an irrefragable proof that the episcopate is of *divine institution*, and the more so as we never hear that the *presbyters* appealed to their ancient constitution against *episcopal rule*. The importance of this fact becomes still more impressive when it is compared with the diversity in form of the different governments of the earth as they existed at various times. To explain this *universal practice* by calling it a usurpation is simply a gratuitous assertion.[2] A collusion at once so uniform and so universal, and that, too, in the earliest and purest age of the Church, is something too absurd to be entertained.[1] Neither was the episcopal dignity sought in those days from motives of ambition, for the examples of Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp of Smyrna, Cyprian of Carthage, and many others, sufficiently attest that those who held the office were in posts of danger, and drew upon themselves all the fury of persecution.

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[1] *Iren.* contra haer., III., 3, n. 3, 4. *Tertull.* de praescr. haer., c. 32, 36.

[2] St. Jerome, carried away by a fit of momentary excitement, attempted to explain in this sense the superiority of bishops to priests in the oft-cited passage of his commentary on Tit., ch. 1: "Idem est," he says, "Presbyter, qui est Episcopus, et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis: Ego sum Pauli, etc. (1 Cor. i. 12), communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiae gubernabantur. Postquam vero unusquisque eos, quos baptizaverat; suos esse putabat, non Christi; *in toto orbe decretum est* (?!), ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur caeteris, ad quem omnis ecclesiae cura pertineret, ut schismatum semina tollerentur."—The Priest was the same as the Bishop, till, through instinct of the Devil, there grew in the Church factions, and among the people it began to be professed, I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas. Churches were governed by the common advice of presbyters; but when every one began to reckon those whom he had baptized his own, and not Christ's, it was decreed *in the whole world* that one chosen out of the presbyters should be placed above the rest, to whom all care of the Church should belong, and so all seeds of schism be removed. His proof he draws from Phil. i. 1; Acts xx. 17, 28; 1 Pet. v. 1. In his ep. 82 ad Oceanum, Jerome uses such expressions: "Apud Veteres üdem Episcopi et Presbyteri fuerunt, quia illud nomen dignitatis, hoc aetatis."—Among the ancients, Bishops and Presbyters were the same, the former being a title of dignity and the latter of age. This opinion is based rather on a misconception of Scripture than historical evidence. It should also be remembered that St. Jerome, in opposing certain theories or crying down abuses, was easily carried to extremes. This is the reason for his bitterness in the present instance. His object was not to lower bishops, but to insist on the dignity of priests who had been insolently treated by certain deacons.

In answer to these arguments, it is said:

1. The words *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος* are, in the N. T., applied indifferently to the same person.[2] It should, however, be borne in mind that an indifferent use of terms by no means implies identity of rank, for a change in the character of an object does not necessarily imply a change of name. Peter and John, though Apostles, called themselves *πρεσβύτεροι*,[3] and so did the bishops of the second and third centuries, whose right to exercise authority over priests was certainly never called in question in that age.

The most satisfactory answer to this objection, however, is the fact that in the primitive Church the distinction between *presbyterate* and *episcopate* was not so rigorously insisted upon as at a later date; and, moreover, the name "*Bishop*," signifying a title of authority, was of later origin. In Churches whose members were composed of Jewish converts, the word *Elders* (*πρεσβύτεροι*) was used to designate those holding offices of dignity, while in those frequented by Pagan converts the word used for the same purpose was *Overseers* (*ἐπίσκοποι*), and hence Peter and James uniformly use *πρεσβύτερος*, not *ἐπίσκοπος*. That dignitaries designated by the former term were of a *secondary* rank, and subject to some jurisdiction, permanent or temporary, apostolic or otherwise, will presently appear.

2. In the N. T., the only words used to express superiority of rank or lead-

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On another occasion he writes: "Quid facit, *excepta ordinatione*, Episcopus quod presbyter non faciat" (Ep. 101, alias 85, ad Evangelum)—freely admitting the superiority of bishops in the *power of conferring orders*. In his cooler moments he writes more temperately. Ut sciamus, traditiones Apostolicas sumtas de V. T. Quod Aaron et filii ejus atque Levitae in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi *Episcopi*, *Presbyteri*, et *Diaconi* vindicent in ecclesia Christi (Ep. 101 ad Evang.) Cf. ep. 34 ad Nepotian. Against the Luciferians, he maintained: *Ecclesiae salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet;* cui si non exsors quaedam et *ab omnibus eminens detur potestas*, tot in ecclesia efficientur schismata quam sacerdotes. Cf. *Petav.* Theol. dogm., T. VI.: dissertation. ecclesiasticar. lib. I., de Episcopis et eorum jurisdict. ac dignitate, c. 1–3, p. 21–25; Mamachii origg., etc., T. IV., p. 503 sq.

[1] Conf. *Milman*, History of Christianity, Vol. II., p. 25; Vol. III., p. 254 sq. (Tr.)

[2] Acts xx. 17, 28; Tit. i. 5, 7.

[3] 1 Petr. v. 1, and 2 John i. 1.

ership are *ἐπίσκοποι* and *διάκονοι*,[1] and hence the former must also include the term *πρεσβύτεροι*, and is here, to all intent and purpose, its synonyme or equivalent.

It has often been remarked that in the form of salutation used in the epistle to the *Philippians*, "To all the saints in Christ Jesus, who are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons," the plural form, *σὺν ἐπισκόποις*, is used without the article, for the purpose of including the bishops of Macedonia, *properly* so called.[2] A comparison of Philipp. iv. 15, with 2 Cor. xi. 8, 9, confirms this opinion.

But, even granting that the *επίσκοποι* here mentioned are the same as those designated by the term *πρεσβύτεροι*, it should not be forgotten that St. Paul, in his epistle to the Phil. iv. 3, speaking of these very *ἐπίσκοποι*, mentions one superior to the others, and invested with apostolic authority, whom he calls his "*sincere companion*," *σύζυγε γνήσιε*. And, in his Epistle to the Colossians, he exhorts *only Archippus* to be faithful to his ministry. The passage in 1 Tim. iii. 2, 8, is still more pointed, and in Acts xv. the word *πρεσβύτερος* is used *five different times* to designate dignitaries distinct from both apostles and deacons, the latter of whom are mentioned in the sixth chapter of the same book.

It may also be fairly assumed that the primitive churches founded by the Apostles had each an elder or overseer, who exercised all the principal functions, and to whom, according to circumstances, one or several deacons were associated; moreover, persons fitted for so high an office were not easily found, and if the faithful were few in number, one would suffice for their wants.

To bring forward the writings of *Clement* of Rome to support the theory that the hierarchy was divided into only two classes, *bishops* or *priests* and *deacons*, is certainly to make a strange use of testimony.

It is evident from his First Epistle to the Cor., c. 40, that the *triple* division of the clergy there laid down applies to both the Old and the New Testament, for he draws a clear distinction between the *episcopate*, *presbyterate*, and *diaconate*. *Ignatius*, however, was the first who clearly and pointedly brought out the essential division of the clergy into *bishops*, *priests*, and *deacons*.[3]

We know, in the case of priests, that, in particular churches, when the number of the faithful greatly increased, the bishops raised them to the office of coöperators, and intrusted to them the administration of the sacraments. This power once conferred was permanent in the individual, and jurisdiction to exercise it could be withdrawn only for important reasons. Priests were dependent upon the bishops for authority to exercise their functions,[4] and could not confer the priesthood by ordination,[1] and these are the only particulars in which they differed from them.

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[1] Philip. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 1, 8. Compare also *Clem. Rom.* ep. 1 ad Corinth., c. 42.

[2] As in Tit. i. 5.

[3] Conf. *Döllinger*, Christianity and the Church, p. 300–313.

[4] 1 Tim. v. 17.

The *deacons* (*διάκονοι*), who constituted the third order of the hierarchy of the Church instituted by our Lord, are the successors to the seven blameless men to whom the Apostles intrusted the care of the poor and the distribution of alms.[2] Being "filled with the Holy Ghost and with truth," and allowed to preach and baptize, their office gave them a preeminence in dignity which raised them far above the other faithful.[3]

As bishops are the rightful inheritors of the authority of the Apostles, and the continuators of their office and work, so the *Primacy*, vested in Peter, has come down through his successors, and may be traced through history up to the very days of the Apostles themselves.

Pope Clement, a Father of the Apostolic age, and the third successor to St. Peter at Rome (A. D. 92–101), exercised his authority to put an end to the discord which had broken out at Corinth, though this church was not within his immediate episcopal jurisdiction. He went so far as to say that he would be guilty of a grievous offense should he, for the sake of pleasing them, depose priests of blameless lives and faithful ministry. And Ignatius, also an Apostolic Father, calls the Roman Church, by way of distinction, the *fostering mistress of charity* (*προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης*, i. e., a Christian bond of love.[4])

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[1] *Ignat.* *Ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἢ ᾧ αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ. Οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν.*—That Eucharist must be deemed unquestionable, which is celebrated under the bishop or by one to whom he has given permission. Neither is it lawful to baptize or to make a love-feast without the bishop's authority.

[2] Acts vi. 1 sq.

[3] Conf. Acts. vii. and viii. 12, 38, 40; conf. 1 Tim. iii. 8. Mention is also made in the N. T. of diaconesses and presbyteresses to whom was committed the care of the sick and the instruction of young persons of their own sex. (Rom. xvi. 1, *ἡ διάκονος*; Tit. ii. 3, *ἡ πρεσβῦτις*.) They were generally widows, not virgins; cf. 1 Tim. v. 9. They performed no ecclesiastical functions; cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 34: Mulieres taceant in ecclesia. Conf. Pankowsky, de diaconissis commentatio. Ratisbon, 1866.

[4] Ep. 1 ad Corinth., c. 44. Cf. *Tillemont*, T. I., p. 149–166. *Grabe*, Spicilegium, T. I., p. 254–305. *Ignat.* ep. ad Rom., especially in the form of salutation.

The word "hierarchy" (*ἱερὰ ἀρχή*, sacer principatus), used to designate the various gradations of rank and authority among the clergy, seems to have been first used by *Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite*, at the close of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century; but the classification itself of the clergy into distinct orders is coeval with Christ, and is implied in the very appellation he gave His Church, viz., *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ*, regnum Dei, regnum coeleste. The royal dignity and authority was so prominent a feature of His Kingdom that when asked by Pilate if He were a king, He answered without hesitancy, "Thou sayest I am a *king*."[1] Christ, in transmitting all power to the Apostles, made no exception of this, which, unlike the material power of this world's kings, is something sacred (*ἱερά*), and hence the exercise of it must be characterized by mildness, consideration, and kindness, for it is written "the kingdom of Christ is not of *this* world." And hence Holy Scripture says whoever will be *greater* among you let him be your minister,[2] and not lord it over your faith.[3]

§ 54. *The Teachings of St. Paul relative to the Organization of the Church.*

From the moment the Church came into existence, false teachers have ever been at work striving to destroy her peace and harmony.

The epistles of St. Paul are filled with warnings admonishing the faithful to beware of false teachers who come under *pretense of superior knowledge* (*ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις*),[4] and to keep clear of *fables and genealogies*.[5] These were the first symptoms of what was afterward known as Gnosticism. He was particular to guard them against a return to Judaism, and was careful to keep the distinction between it and Christianity clear before their minds;[6] spoke in severe terms to the Corinthians, who showed personal preference for one teacher above another, saying, "I am of Paul, and I am of Apollo, and I am of Cephas," and told them that they *all were of Christ;*[1] defended the doctrine of the *resurrection*[2] *of the body* against the heretics *Hymenaeus* and *Philetus*;[3] and seeing that such tendencies would eventually divide the faithful and disturb the Church, explained, with that depth and reach of thought so peculiarly his own, the essentials of her characteristics, *form of government*, and *principles* of *doctrine.* He taught that the union of Christians, all working together as members of one common household, is based on a necessity of man's condition; for the human family is so constituted that one has need of another's assistance—one possesses what the other wants, and the needy are supplied from the abundance of the wealthy. Neither the individual nor society can reach a perfect development unless materially aided by each other, for perfection lies in the united strength and harmony of the collective forces of both. The individual, therefore, is an integral member of society, and can not be isolated from it; he forms part of its organic unity.

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[1] John xviii. 37.

[2] Matt. xx. 26, 27, xxiii. 11; John xiii. 13–17.

[3] 2 Cor. i. 24; 1 Petr. v. 3.

[4] 1 Tim. vi. 20.

[5] 1 Tim. i. 4; Tit. iii. 9.

[6] Epistles to the Galatians and Hebrews; Philip. iii. 2; Coloss. ii. 8 sq.

St. Paul illustrates this idea by the analogy of the human body, whose members, though various and complex, all work in harmony under the guidance of *one* spirit (ἓν πνεῦμα, ἓν σῶμα).[4] He transferred the analogy to the body of the faithful, animated by one spirit, the various members of which have their different offices according to the gifts and talents of each. The same principle gives rise *in some measure* to the diversity of ministry in the Church. Christ having called some to be Apostles and others Evangelists, some to be pastors and others doctors, that all may labor in, each in his own way, *for the perfection of the saints and the building up of the mystic body of Christ.*[5]

St. Paul, writing with special reference to the ministry of doctors and pastors (bishops and priests), exhorts the Ephesians to follow their teaching, and *cease to be like children car-*

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[1] 1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 3 sq.

[2] 1 Cor. xv.

[3] 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.

[4] 1 Cor. xii.

[5] Ephes. iv. 11, 12.

ried about by every wind of doctrine, and driven to and fro like ocean waves, the sport of every error.[1] He also admonishes with great tenderness those whose duty it is to teach and govern others, to have a care of themselves, as well as the flocks *which have been committed to their charge by appointment of the Holy Ghost*,[2] who not only *set them* over their churches, but continually *assists them*, as the Apostles declared when assembled at the first Council of Jerusalem,[3] presided over by St. Peter. They, in deciding an important doctrinal question, began their decision with the words, "It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." St. Paul, assured of this abiding presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church, calls her "*the pillar and ground of truth*."[4]

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[1] Ephes. v. 14.

[2] Acts xx. 28.

[3] Conf. *Schenz*, Historico-exegetical Essay on the general Council of Jerusalem, Ratisbon, 1869.

[4] 1 Tim. iii. 15.

CHAPTER IV.

CHRISTIAN LIFE—WORSHIP—ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.

By this shall all men know that you are My disciples, if you have love one for another. John xiii. 35.

§ 55. *Christian Fellowship and Christian Life.*

Conf. †*Pabst*, Adam and Christ, being an Illustration of Matrimony, Vienna, 1835, p. 106 sq.

Baptism, or the immersion of the catechumen, to indicate a burial with Christ unto death and resurrection unto life,[1] was, by divine precept,[2] the necessary condition of entrance into the Christian Church, after which the Apostles laid on hands as *an authoritative token that the gifts of the Holy Ghost were conferred*.[3] Thus raised to the dignity of Christians, become Temples of the Holy Ghost, made worshipers and followers of Christ, the newly received members were obliged to renounce completely the sinful life of the Pagans, and prove by a *thorough change of conduct in thought and sympathy*, in word and act, that they had indeed entered upon a *new life*. The Christian Church, taking as her ideal the pattern of life left her by her Divine Founder, could not tolerate faithless children within her bosom. Her members should be *holy* (ἅγιοι) and vessels of the Holy Ghost.[4]

Christ had taught that all men were equal before God, and hence should be united by the close and enduring *bonds of fraternal love*. The *community of goods*[5] among the Christians of the Church of Jerusalem was a beautiful and perfect example of this spirit. This practice, adopted in imitation of the complete union which existed between Christ and His Apostles, though only local and temporary, and *not* requiring the *total* renunciation of all personal property,[1] is an abiding proof of the influence of Christianity upon the minds of men.[2]

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[1] Rom. vi. 4.

[2] Matt. xxviii. 20.

[3] Sacr. of Conf., Acts viii. 14–17, xix. 5, 6; Hebr. vi. 2; 2 Cor. i. 21, 22.

[4] 1 Cor. v. 9; cf. 2 Thess. iii. 6.

[5] Acts ii. 44, iv. 32–37; v. 1–5.

While some churches gave touching proofs of their charity by sending generous donations in money to their needy brethren at a distance, and others by giving a cordial welcome to strangers and kindly and hospitably entertaining them, still others became bright examples to their own and future ages by the patience and fortitude with which they bore up under contempt and persecution,[3] and by their lively faith, filial reliance upon God, and a heavenly enthusiasm, which *now* carried their hopes and aspirations up to the throne of Heaven.[4]

Marriage, so imperfectly understood by both Jew and Pagan, was to the Christian a great sacrament, *a symbol of the union of Christ with His Church*,[5] made the wife the *equal* of the husband, and obliged her to serve him with love and fidelity.[6] This principle rendered the marriage tie so absolutely indissoluble[7] that death alone, and not even the pretended exception in the case of adultery,[8] could sunder it.

The education of children was in perfect keeping both with the spirit of the Church and this exalted idea of matrimony, and the ennobling state of *virginity* had its true worth set upon it.[9]

It can not, however, be denied that the Church of the apostolic age had among her members some who remained all their lives unworthy the Christian name, and others who, having, in a moment of weakness, proved faithless to their baptismal vows, did penance, made a *specific confession of their sins*,[1] received *sacramental absolution*,[2] and again became dutiful and loyal members of her fold, and such the Apostles had in view when giving those warnings of which their epistles contain so many.

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[1] Acts xii. 12; cf. xi. 29.

[2] *Moshemii*, Comment. de vera natura communionis bonorum in eccl. Hierosolym. (Ejusd. dissertatio ad. hist. eccl. pertin. Tom. II., p. 23. Alton. 1743.) Cf. *Gaume*, History of Domestic Society. Ratisbon, 1854. 3 vols.

[3] Luke xxi. 19.

[4] 2 Tim. i. 10: cf. xi. 25, 26.

[5] Ep. v. 32.

[6] Coloss. iii. 19; Ephes. v. 25.

[7] 1 Cor. vii. 10. 39; Mark x. 11, 12; Luke xvi. 18.

[8] Matt. v. 32, xix. 9. *Döllinger* gives a very ingenious and possibly true explanation of the passages on marriage in St. Matt. (The First Age of the Church, English translation, London, 1867, p. 363 sq., and Appendix III.—Tr.)

[9] 1 Cor. vii. 32, 34, 38.

While but one heart and one soul[3] animated the Church of Jerusalem, that of Corinth was rent with schism and filled with disorder. The Protestant *Arnold's* well-known description of the state of morality in apostolic times must, in view of this, be regarded as faulty and as containing much misrepresentation.[4]

Two causes at this time contributed powerfully to retard the progress of Christianity, viz., the false notion maintained by converted Jews relative to the necessity of observing the Law of Moses, and the dangerous opinion of those who, that they might have a sanction for their own license and immorality,[5] put a false interpretation upon the words of St. Paul, and insisted on *justification without works*.

A great many, misapprehending the words of Christ relative to His spiritual advent and glorious manifestation of Himself,[1] believed that His coming was near at hand, a belief which produced a partially good, but, on the whole, a bad effect on the religious life of the Christians.[2]

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[1] We read in the Acts xix. 18: *πολλοί τε τῶν πεπιστευκότων ἤρχοντο ἐξομολογούμενοι καὶ ἀναγγέλλοντες τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν.*—And many of those who believed came confessing and declaring their deeds. The expression *πεπιστευκότες*—"those believing"—refers to those *converted* at Ephesus, as distinguished from those of whom mention is made in ch. v., v. 17. The former (cf. v. 9) were overcome by fear, as is clear from the use of the participle perfect in the Greek (*πεπιστευκότων*), and the use of two verbs with *τὰς πράξεις*, not *τὰ πράγματα* (cf. Luke xxiii. 51, and Coloss. iii. 9), signifies a *confession of particular sins*. Cf. 1 John i. 9; James v. 16.

[2] Matt. ix. 6; John xx. 22, 23.

[3] Acts iv. 32.

[4] *Arnold*, First Love, or a True Picture of the First Christians, Frkf. 1696; Tueb. 1845.

[5] Cf. 2 Petr. iii. 16, and James ii. 14, 26. That the Apostle St. Paul did not teach that faith without good works sufficed for sanctification is evident from Galat. v. 6: *ἀλλὰ πίστις δι ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη*, as well as from the words of his 1 Ep. to the Cor. vii. 19, where he says: "Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but *the keeping of the commandments of God;*" and from another passage in the same Epist. xiii. 1: "If I speak with the tongues of men and angels, *and have not charity*, I am become as a sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal." Cf. also *Schleyer*, The Doctrine of the Epistle of St. James as Compared with Paul's Teaching on Justification, Freib. Journal of Theol., Vol. IX., p. 11-65.

§ 56. *Worship.*

† *Welte*, Connection between the Doctrine and Discipline of the Catholic Church. (Tübing. Quarterly, 1836, p. 371 sq. and 556 sq.)

While the Christian converts from Judaism continued to frequent the Temple, others assembled in private houses[3] for devotional exercises, and these communities bore the same relation to the Church as the synagogues did to the Temple. Thus gathered together, the early Christians mutually strengthened each other's faith, and fostered devotion by *prayer*, never forgetting their absent brethren, living and dead; by *reading* passages from the Old Testament, to which later on they added explanations of the Apostolic Epistles;[4] by *chanting psalms* and *singing hymns*,[5] and by giving instructions, with the purpose of bringing out the hidden meaning of the Scripture texts previously read. This last office was not, however, confined to bishops and priests alone, many of whom being incapable of properly discharging the functions of teachers,[6] the duty devolved on such of the laity as felt themselves called to the task by special inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and then became evident the manifestations of His diverse gifts, of *wisdom* and *knowledge*, *prophecy* and the *discernment of spirits*, the *gift of tongues* (*γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*), and the *interpretation of speeches*.[7] Even the gift of *miracles* was not the exclusive prerogative of the Apostles. But the efforts of the early Christians were directed rather to the promotion of *charity* than to the acquisition of these gracious gifts.[1]

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[1] Matt. x. 23, xxiv., xxviii. 20; John xiv. 18, 21, 23.

[2] 2 Thess. iii. 11; 1 Thess. iv. 12, 17.

[3] Rom. xvi. 4; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; Coloss. iv. 15.

[4] Coloss. iv. 16.

[5] Acts i. 47; Eph. v. 19; Coloss. iii. 16; 1 Tim. iii. 16 (?). Even *Pliny* speaks respectfully of this practice, Epp. lib. X. ep. 97: "*Carmenque Christo, tanquam Deo, dicere secum invicem.*"

[6] *διδακτικοί*, cf. 1 Tim. v. 17.

[7] 1 Cor. xii.

The *celebration of the Last Supper*, the *Breaking of Bread*,[2] was the great feature of these daily assemblies, during which the faithful became wholly absorbed in meditation upon the sufferings and death of Christ. The early Christians, following the example of our Lord, celebrated it in the evening, and concluded with the agape (ἀγάπη)[3] or love-feast. It is unhappily true that excesses were sometimes committed at these holy solemnities.[4]

The *sick*, unable to be present at these feasts, in obedience to the command of Christ,[5] called in the *priests*, *who* prayed over them, *anointing them with oil*, in the name of the Lord, and, if there was need, remitted their sins, an irrefragable proof of the divine institution of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction.[6]

A characteristic part of the early Christian assemblies was the practice of giving the *kiss of peace*[7] to each other after prayer. *Fasting*[8] was frequently joined to *prayer*, and more particularly, if any work of importance was to be undertaken.

With regard to the *time* of meeting for these assemblies, the Apostle tells the Christians that in their case *all* days are equally holy,[9] but this does not imply that some days, distinguished above others as marking great events in the history of man's redemption, were not to be kept with special solemnity.

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[1] Conf. 1 Cor. xiii. *Staudenmaier*, Economy of the Gifts of the Spirit (Tübing. Quart. 1828), reprinted, Tübg. 1835. †*Adalbert Maier*, The Gift of Tongues during the Apostolic Age, Freibg. 1855. *Engelmann*, Charismata in general and the Gift of Tongues in particular, Ratisb. 1848, with copious literary references.

[2] Acts ii. 42, 46, xx. 7.

[3] 1 Cor. xi. 20 sq.; Acts vi. 2.

[4] 1 Cor. xi. 20–34.

[5] Mark vi. 13.

[6] James v. 14–16.

[7] *φίλημα ἀγάπης, ἅγιον.* Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 20.

[8] 1 Cor. vii. 5; cf. Matt. xvii. 20.

[9] Gal. iv. 9 sq.; Coloss. ii. 16; cf. Rom. xiv. 5.

The Mother Church at Jerusalem continued to observe the *Sabbath* or seventh day, while the Church of Antioch kept *Sunday* or the first day of the week, which, by way of preeminence, was called the *Lord's Day*,[1] in memory of Christ's resurrection[2] from the dead. The converted Jews, recognizing the passion and resurrection of our Lord as the two great *central dogmas of Christian faith*,[3] celebrated, besides the Sabbath, the *Sunday* also. The latter, to speak more correctly, entirely replaced the former. Though it is impossible to prove from the fifth chapter[4] of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians that the Apostles celebrated the *feast of Easter* in a Christian sense, we may with every reason affirm that such was the case.

§ 57. *Discipline.* (Cf. Prov. x. 17.)

The Church of Christ, like all other institutions, was in a sense subject to the evil influences which are the natural outgrowth of the fickleness and perverseness of human nature. Many of the early Christians proved faithless to their high professions, and, instead of following in the footsteps of Christ, went after the evil inclinations of their own hearts. Hence, even at this early period, a special and comprehensive legislation was called for to meet the growing evil. The *body of the priests*, whose office was to preside over and direct the exercises of the religious assemblies in the various Christian communities, felt that they had also a duty to watch over the morals of the faithful, which they could not neglect. The mode of procedure in such cases had been clearly marked out by Christ.[5] The offending brother was to be at first privately warned and kindly reminded of his duty; if this did not suffice, the warning was to be repeated in the presence of one or more witnesses; if this was still ineffectual to turn him from his evil ways, he was handed over to the constituted authorities of the Church; and should he prove deaf to her voice and go on in his habits of sin, his case was looked upon as hopeless, and he was regarded by the Church as a Heathen and a Publican, and cut off from the community of Christians. Such was the line of conduct pursued by the Apostles in these cases. Any person guilty of grievous sin was expelled from the Christian community, and penitence and real amendment of life were the only conditions on which he would be again received.[1] The triple excommunication of the Jews formed a precedent for the practice among Christians.[2]

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[1] *ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου.* Apocal. i. 10; conf. Acts, xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2. *Barnab.* ep., c. xv.

[2] *Hengstenberg*, The Lord's Day, Brl. 1852.

[3] Rom. iv. 25; 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4; 2 Tim. ii. 8.

[4] Verse 7.

[5] Matt. xviii. 15–17.

The *integrity* of the *sacred deposit* of faith committed to the Apostles and their successors was a matter of as much solicitude as the purity of morals, and it became necessary for its *inviolate* preservation as the *only true*, sound, and saving doctrine, to enact severe penalties against those who should attempt either to reject or corrupt any part of it.[3] Hymenaeus and Alexander are examples of the exercise of this severity.

The Apostles to whose keeping the deposit of faith had been intrusted, enjoying the continuous assistance of the Holy Ghost, and, as a consequence, being infallible, were regarded as the true expounders of the pure doctrine of Christ. Their teachings were received as the *true*, healthful, and sanctifying word of God, and therefore *holy* and *unchangeable*. They, conscious of the truth of what they taught, insisted on *unity of faith* among all Christians, and demanded full obedience to its precepts and an entire acceptance of its dogmas.[4] Should any person, even though he were an angel from Heaven, teach *another* doctrine than this, such a one was excommunicated,[1] and after repeated admonitions, to be reputed a *heretic* (*αἱρετικὸς ἄνθρωπος*) and shunned by all the faithful.[2] As an example of this, St. Irenaeus relates[3] that St. John, meeting the notorious Cerinthus at a bath, refused to remain under the same roof with him. The expelling of a member from the body of the faithful was resorted to only as a salutary means of correction, and conducted in a spirit of tender charity. "With the power of our Lord Jesus we deliver such a one to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, *that the spirit may be saved*."[4]

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[1] Conf. 1 Cor. v. 4 sq., with 2 Cor. vi.–xi.

[2] Namely, the threefold excommunication: נדוי, חרם, שמתא—Nidui, Cherem, Shammatha. Cf. †*Kober*, The Ban of the Church, Tüb. 1857, p. 1–14. In the forms used by Paul *ἀνάθεμα ἔστω* (Galat. i. 8 and 9; 1 Cor. xvi. 22), and *παραδιδόναι τῷ Σατανᾷ* (1 Cor. v. 5; 1 Tim. i. 20), we have a basis on which to build the distinction between the excommunicatio minor and major used at a later period in the Christian Church.

[3] 1 Tim. i. 20: "That they may learn not to blaspheme."

[4] The following passages should be consulted: 1 Tim. vi. 3; 2 Tim. i. 12–14, iv. 3; 1 Cor. i. 10; Galat. i. 6–9; Ephes. ii. 21, iv. 11–16; Tit. iii. 10; 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19; 2 Thess. ii. 14, 15; 2 Pet. ii. 1, where the contrast is strongly marked by the following expressions: *ἀλήθεια, λόγος ἀληθείας, ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία, ὑγιαίνοντες λόγοι, παραδόσεις, παραθήκη· πάντας τὸ αὐτὸ λέγειν· ἑνότης τῆς πίστεως. οἰκοδομὴ συναρμολογουμένου καὶ συμβιβαζομένου σώματος Χριστοῦ*, in opposition to *ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον* of the *ψευδαπόστολοι, ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι, ἑτεροδιδασκάλοντες, αἱρετικοί* and

The earnestness and firmness displayed by the Apostles in the discharge of the duties belonging to their sublime mission and calling, served not only to command respect for the authority of the word of God, but also secured the very *existence of the Church*, and guaranteed the success of her noble work.[5] For, as a disposition to differ from the received belief of any religious community tends to disintegrate the whole body, so neither could the Church, whose underlying and vital principle is the unity of her children in one common faith, have escaped the effects of so pernicious an influence had she permitted it to take root.[6]

As Christ had given to the Church the assurance of His

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the pernicious influence of *αἱρέσεις καὶ σχίσματα*, which are threatened with *ἀνάθεμα· ἔστω*.

[1] *ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.* Gal. i. 8, 9.

[2] Tit. iii. 10; 2 Thess. iii. 14; 2 Petr. ii. 1–10. Conf. Rom. xvi. 17; 2 John, vs. 10 and 11.

[3] *Iren.* contr. haer. III. 3 and 4.

[4] 1 Cor. v. 4, 5.

[5] 2 Tim. iv. 2.

[6] These acts of the Apostles are certainly not contradicted by passages from the 2 Ep. ad Cor. i. 23, and 1 Peter v. 3: "Not because we lord it over your faith (*οὐχ ὅτι κυριεύομεν*), but we are helpers of your joy (*συνεργοὶ τῆς χαρᾶς ὑμῶν*): for in *faith* you stand." Here we must take *οὐ κυριεύειν*, which by Peter is strengthened into *κατακυριεύοντες*, in the same sense that *Estius* takes it in (comment. in omnes Pauli epistolas): non dominari, praeesse cum ostentatione, eaque abuti ad privata commoda. For the office of guarding the purity of faith and morals exercised by the Church has not the character of despotism, but is an evidence of maternal care and pastoral guardianship. Cf. *Reischl*, in this place, in his Scriptures of the N. T.

protection against the powers of evil, the Apostles declared that the existence of heresies, inasmuch as they had been predicted by God Himself,[1] instead of harming, would be a benefit to her, serving as a test of orthodoxy, and showing who were and who were not, and had never really been of the Fold of Christ.[2]

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[1] 1 Cor. xi. 19: Oportet esse haereses! cf. Matt. xviii. 7.

[2] 1 John ii. 19; cf. 2 John v. 9; Luke ii. 34, 35.

CHAPTER V.

HERESIES OF THIS EPOCH—LABORS OF ST. JOHN—CLOSE OF APOSTOLIC AGE (A. D. 33–100).

§ 58. *Heresies Resulting from the Confusion of Judaism with Christianity. The Ebionites and Nazarenes.*

Tillemont, T. II. *Hilger's* Critical Review of the Heresies, Vol. I., p. 97 sq. *Hefele*, Freiburg Eccl. Cyclopedia, Vol. III., p. 356. *Dorner*, Christology, 2 ed., Stuttg. 1851, pt. I., p. 302–324.

St. Paul, who for good reasons had frequently shown great tenderness and consideration to the Christian converts from Judaism,[1] expressed his fear, while disputing with them on different occasions, that they would yet render void all they had already done for the Christian faith. The prediction was unhappily to be soon verified. These Judaizing Christians, by maintaining that the Law of Moses, under certain restrictions, was of equal value with the doctrine of Christ as a source of the spiritual life of the soul, implied a doubt of the divinity and creative omnipotence of our Lord.[2] And when, as time went on, the increasing number of Pagan converts and the development of the generous spirit of Gospel liberty checked their aspirations and threatened to abolish their peculiar views, they withdrew, about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, altogether from the Church, and established a separate community for themselves. It was not long, however, before the little society was rent by fresh divisions. Some of them, professing to be followers of Peter, though themselves observing the Law of Moses, did not insist on this as a condition of salvation; while the *converted Pharisees*, more conservative than their brethren, held that the keeping of the Law was obligatory alike on Jew and Gentile converts. These gave considerable trouble to the

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[1] 1 Cor. ix. 20; Acts. xxi. 20–26, xvi. 3.

[2] Gal. v. 4.

Church at Antioch about the middle of the first century, and, still later on, to the churches in Galatia and at Corinth.

The first formal heresy took place after the death of James, Bishop of Jerusalem, when the so-called *Petrines*, passing over *Thebutis* on account of his known favor with the Judaizing Pharisees, raised *Simeon* to that see.

At the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem, the Pharisees receded still further from the Christian Church, and, uniting with the Essenes, formed the sect of the *Ebionites*, of whose creed Judaism was the predominant element.

They acknowledged, in common with the Christians, the dignity of the office and sublime mission of the Messiah, but likewise held that Christ was *only man*, the son of Joseph and Mary, and begotten according to the flesh. They scrupulously adhered to the Mosaic law, which, they said, was obligatory on all Christians, and, on this account, entertained the most violent hatred against St. Paul, whom they contemptuously called an apostate.[1]

SS. Irenaeus and Epiphanius, whose testimony may be open to question, state[2] that they claimed to derive their doctrines from the Hebrew text of the Gospel of St. Matthew. The origin of their name is altogether a matter of conjecture; whether it was assumed to denote their actual renunciation of the things of earth, or merely a detachment from them in spirit (אביונים—Ebionim), a profession common among primitive Christians, whether as implying their contempt for Christ,[3] or their attachment to "the *weak* and *beggarly* elements" of Law, or, finally, as a designation referring to an historical personage by the name of *Ebion*, it is difficult to say.[4]

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[1] *Iren.* contr. haer. I. 26; V. 1. *Justin.* M. dialog. cum Tryphon, c. 47; *Hippolyti* philosophumena, lib. IV., V., and VII.; *Epiphan.* haer. XXX. 29. In *Origen*, contr. Cels. V. 61, lib. II. at the beginning. *Euseb.* hist. eccl. III. 27, and *Theodoret*, haereticar. fab. II. 1: They appear not yet separated from the *Nazarenes.* Conf. *Gieseler* on the Nazarenes and Ebionites (Stäudlin and Tzschirner's Archives of Church History, Vol. IV., n. 2).

[2] *Iren.* contr. haer. I. 26. *Epiphan.* haer. XXX. 3. *Euseb.* III. 27, points out the *εὐαγγέλιον καθ'* Ἑβραίους.

[3] *Euseb.* hist. eccl. III. 27. *Origen.* Philocalia, I. 17.

[4] *Tert.* de praescr., c. 48. *Epiphan.* haer. XXX. 1.

It seems to be historically established that the Ebionites, on quitting Jerusalem, became very closely connected with the *Elkessaites*,[1] the most advanced school of the Essenian sects, and of which *Elksai* was the recognized head.

The Ebionites derived from the Essenes the mysterious ascetic and theosophic doctrines characteristic of their sect, besides a few others more obscure and of minor importance.

The *Clementine Homilies*,[2] so-called from having been attributed to Pope Clement I., owe their origin to the sect of Elkessaites, and, furthermore, it is certain they were not written before the middle of the second century.

The design of their author seems to have been to bring the fundamental doctrines of Judaism into harmony with the teachings of the Church by a sort of Essenian-Gnostic theory, and this accounts for the omission of any reference to St. Paul.

The *Nazarenes* (a name first applied to the early Christians),[3] though formerly classed with the Ebionites, differed from them, according to the testimony of SS. Jerome, Augustine, and Epiphanius, in both name and doctrine. They were probably of the sect of Petrines, and St. Jerome informs us that they wished to restrict to Jewish converts the obligation of observing the *Law of Moses.* Nor did they insist on this as essential to salvation, and hence recognized St. Paul as the Apostle of the Gentiles.[1] They also believed that Christ was the Son of God, supernaturally conceived and born of Mary.[2] "*Credunt,*" says St. Jerome, "*in Christum Dei Filium in quem et nos credimus,*" and hence they may be called schismatics more properly than heretics. While wishing to be both Jews and Christians at once, they were neither, and their withdrawal from the Church was hastened by a prohibition forbidding them to approach the *Aelia Capitolina*, which the Emperor Adrian had built on the ruins of Jerusalem. Observing the Law of Moses, they were naturally classed with the Jews, and accordingly refused admittance into the new city.

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[1] The sect of the Essenes consisted of four classes, and the names of heretics mentioned by *Epiphanius*, viz., Essenians, Sampseans, and Elkesseans (בני חיל כסי—B'nei cheil k'sai—the sons of the hidden power, *δύναμις κεκαλυμμένη*), are probably the most advanced of these.

[2] Τα *Κλημέντια* (*συγγράμματα*) or Κλήμεντος *τῶν* Πέτρου *ἐπιδημίων κηρυγμάτων ἐπιτομή*—an abstract, by Clement, of the popular preachings of Peter, i. e., three prologues and twenty homilies; and in another form in the Recognitionum (St. Clementis) libb. X., containing the controversies of Peter, especially with Simon the Magician, and the history of *Clement* in search. Both in *Cotelerii*, Patr. Apost.; in *Galland.* bibl., T. II.; in *Migne*, ser. gr., T. I. and II.; ed. *Schwegler*, Stuttg. (1847), 1853. *Clem. Rom.* homiliae XX., nunc primum, integrae ed. *Dressel*, Goetting. 1853; *de Lagarde*, Clementis rom. recognitiones syriace, Lps. and Lond. 1861. Conf. *Schliemann*, The Clementines, together with cognate writings, and Ebionitism, Hamb. 1844. *Hilgenfeld*, The Clementine Recognitions and Homilies, exhibited in their origin and substance, Jena, 1848. *Uhlhorn*, The Homilies and Recognitions of Clement of Rome, exhibited in their origin and substance, Goetting. 1854; and in *Herzog's* Encyclopedia, Vol. III., p. 621–625.

[3] Acts xxiv. 5.

They appear to have derived their doctrines from a *Gospel* written *in Syro-Chaldaic*, and, judging from the fragments extant, differing essentially from the Gospel of St. Matthew. This was probably the Gospel (*καθ' Ἑβραίους*) to the Hebrews, and differed from that of the Ebionites.

§ 59. *Pseudo-Messiahs. Dositheus, Simon Magus, Menander, Cerinthus. The Docetae and Nicolaitanes.*

†*Sepp*, Life of Christ, Vol. VII. Jewish Christs, or False Messiahs.

The Church was obliged from the very beginning to sustain a conflict against both the *arrogant pride* of philosophical systems and the pretentious assumptions of Judaism. The subtile and fallacious reasoning of *Greek* philosophy, and particularly of Philo's *Alexandrian-Judaic* school,[3] coming in contact with Christianity and assimilating itself to revealed dogmas, had the effect of apparently stripping these of their divine character. The disciples of this school, considering *matter* a source of sin, and detesting it accordingly, were obliged, like the Gnostics of a later day, to take refuge in

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[1] *Hieronym.* comment in Jes. ix. 1 sq.

[2] *Idem* ep. 89, ad Augustinum and *Augustin.* de haeresibus, c. 9. †*Wirthmiller*, The Nazarenes, Ratisb. 1864.

[3] Coloss. ii. 8; 1 Tim. i. 4, vi. 20; 2 Tim. iv. 3, 4; Tit. i. 14, iii. 9.

Dualism and Emanation. They were very active at *Colossae, Ephesus*, and on the island of *Crete.*

The doctrines of Philo spread rapidly from Alexandria to Palestine and found many followers among the Pharisees and Samaritans. As a proof of this, in the case of the latter, it is sufficient to mention the names of Dositheus, Simon Magus, and Menander.

Dositheus pretended that he was the Prophet announced in Deuteronomy. His doctrines and moral code were derived from those of the *Sadducees* and *Essenes.* According to Epiphanius, he accepted the Law of Moses, which he said was the revealed will of the *good* God. He taught that the world was eternal. His disciples numbered about thirty, among whom was a woman named Luna.[1] He died of famine, and his tragic end appears to have added greatly to his popularity.

Simon Magus, a native of *Gitton*, a village in Samaria, at first the disciple and afterward the master of Dositheus, was the founder of a strange and incoherent syncretic system of theurgy, derived from the philosophy of the Jew *Philo*, and which became quite popular in Samaria, his native country. He was baptized by *Philip* the Deacon, about A. D. 36, probably in the hope of receiving some supernatural gift, which would contribute to his success as an expert juggler. But when he approached *Peter* with a proposition to purchase spiritual gifts with money (Simony!), his advances were indignantly repulsed by the Apostle.[2]

The prevailing superstition at Rome had prepared the minds of the people for the reception of his doctrine, and when he went there still later on in his career, his theurgical art met with great favor. According to *Justin M.* and *Ire-*

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[1] *Euseb.* h. e. IV. 22; *Orig.* contr. Cels., lib. I. and VI.; de princip. IV. 17. *Epiphan.* haer. XIII. *Theodoret.* haeretic. fab. I. 2. Concerning the dispute about Deut. xviii. 18, see *Eulog.* in Photii bibl., cod. 230. Cf. *Hilgers*, Critical Exposition of Heresies, p. 144–147.

[2] *Hilgers*, on the authority of Acts viii. 8–24, ably defended the historical reality of Simon Magus against *Baur* (Christian Gnosis, p. 310). See the Bonn Periodical, n. 21, p. 48 sq.

naeus, he was honored as a god.[1] It is utterly impossible to adjust and harmonize in one consistent system the conflicting *doctrines* ascribed to him by various authors; and it seems altogether incredible that he should have endeavored to advance them by the aid of Christianity. The story goes that, ambitious of the honors of Icarus, he came to his end by drowning, and found a grave in the watery deep; while another has it that, wishing to rival Christ, he had himself buried alive at Gitton, his native village, with the purpose of rising again the third day, but by some mishap his plan miscarried, and he perished amid all the horrors of suffocation, thus falling a victim to his own imposture.[2]

Simon maintained the existence of a *First Being, solitary and eternal*, infinitely good and perfect, yet neither the *creator of the world* nor the *God of the Jews*, to whom he is incomparably superior. Incomprehensible and invisible, he never manifests *himself* to the world, and dwells in "*Pleroma*," an abode neither on earth nor in heaven, and filled with immaterial light. He first begets *Ennoia*, the mother (*παμμήτωρ, οὐσία, σοφία, κυρία*) of the world of spirits, of angels and archangels (*eons, gods*), whose natures are pure, immutable, and resembling that of the universal Father. He has *intercourse* (*συζυγίαι*, connection) with *Ennoia*, and *six* other beings, called Roots (*ῥίζαι*), are born to him. They are in pairs, Mind and Intelligence, Voice and Name, Ratiocination and Reflection (*νοῦς καὶ ἐπίνοια, φωνή καὶ ὄνομα, λογισμὸς καὶ ἐνθύμησις*). Every successive conception of Ennoia is inferior to the preceding, and to the angels lowest in rank, or least perfect, is assigned the task of creating or rather forming the world. *Logos*, the most perfect of the angels, having usurped the supreme government of the world, arrogates to himself the prerogatives of a self-existing and uncreated being, that he and his associates may appear neither to have been created by nor to be dependent on another. He also refuses to allow his mother to return to Pleroma, and goes so far as to make an attempt upon her honor.

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[1] According to Justin. apolog. I. 26, a statue was raised in his honor on the isle of the Tiber at Rome, bearing the inscription "Simoni, Sancto Deo," a statement repeated by *St. Irenaeus*, *Tertullian* (apolog., c. 13), *Euseb.* (hist. eccl. II. 13), and others. When (A. D. 1574) a column was exhumed on said island, bearing an inscription in honor of the Sabine god, running thus: "Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio Sacrum," Justin was charged with having made a mistake. But no proof has been furnished for the identity, taken for granted without further investigation, of the statue seen at Rome and described by Justin, and the one unearthed subsequently. It would certainly be very disparaging to the known ability and scientific training of Justin Martyr to suppose him incapable of discriminating between the wording of the two inscriptions. And, moreover, is there anything impossible in the idea that the two statues may have existed at Rome at a time when idolatry was so rife in that city? Conf. *Stenglein* in the Tübg. Quart. 1840, p. 425 sq.; *Kuntsmann*, Hist. Polit. Periodical, Vol. 47, p. 538 sq.

[2] *Justin.* apol. I. 26 and 56; apol. II. 15; dial. c. Tryphone Jud., c. 120; Iren. adv. haeres. I. 23: *Arnob.* adv. gent. II. 7; Constit. Apost. VI. 9. *Sulpit.* Sever. hist. sac. II. 28. *Clement.* homil. II. 22 sq., recognit. II. 7 sq. The *φιλοσοφούμενα* (vid. p. 20, note 1), lib. VI. 7–20. Cf. *Nolte's* review of the edition of the Philosophumena of *Cruice* in the Tübg. Quart. of 1862. *Epiphan.* haer. XXI. Cf. *Hilgers*, Heresy, p. 134–142. *Hefele* in the Freibg. Eccl. Cyclopedia, Vol. X., p. 154–157. *Simson*, Doctrines of Simon Magus (*Illgen.* Journal of Historical Theology, 1843, No. 3, p. 15–77).

Beings to people the newly-created world are next needed, and the angels, endowed with the power of creating, getting possession of souls, which, because of their mother's fall, are ignorant of their former high estate, imprison them in bodies of sinful clay and stifle in them all desire of returning to Pleroma. The enactment of the Jewish, and all other laws, according to Simon, with the duties and obligations which they lay upon man, is the work of evil spirits (*ἀριστεραὶ δυνάμεις*), inimical to his weal, interested in keeping him in bondage, and delighting to make him the sport of their capricious envy. "*Everything* is lawful," said he, "that the passions and lust of man suggest." (Antinomy.)

The Supreme Being sends his Great Power (*μεγάλη δύναμις*), in the person of Simon, to regain possession of Ennoia, free her from her earthly bondage, and bring her back to Pleroma. He, descending through the various celestial realms, assumes in each a character corresponding to that of those who dwell in these different abodes, without, however, becoming in any true man. He appears first among the Jews, and next among the Samaritans.

He now takes Ennoia as his companion, and asserts that she is identical with both *Helen*, the famous courtesan of Troy, in whom she first appeared, and with the Greek Minerva, in whose person she was afterward worshiped.

The assertion that Simon regarded himself as the Supreme Being is incorrect. He claimed, according to the *teachings of Philo* and the Alexandrian school, to be the *Great and Highest Power of the Supreme Being*,[1] who appeared in Judaea as God the *Son*, in Samaria as God the *Father*, and among the Gentiles as God the *Holy Ghost.*

Claiming to be the Highest Power of God, he assumed to be superior to the Creator of the world and to all possible powers of the divinity, and styled himself accordingly *ἑστώς* (the Eternal and Immutable Being), or *ἑστὼς υἱός* (the Immutable Son), *υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* (the Son of God). Wishing, however, to be recognized as the *Christ*, he held that Jesus suffered only *in appearance.* His disciples worshiped him as Jupiter.

It seems evident from what has been said that *between the teachings of Simon Magus and Christianity there is a very wide margin*, and that neither he nor his disciples can be properly called Christians.

Still, as he himself had received baptism and as many of the principles of his false system contained the *germ* of what afterward developed into Gnosticism,[1] he has not unjustly been recognized as the father of all heresies.[2]

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[1] Acts viii. 10.

Menander, at first probably the disciple, and afterward, according to St. Irenaeus, the *successor* of Simon,[3] claimed, like him, to be the Messiah, and adopted essentially the same system. Following the theory of *Philo*, he maintained that there was one Primary or Supreme Being, hidden and incomprehensible; that angels begotten of *Ennoia* made the world; that man, because of his contact with matter, became degraded and enslaved; that he himself, by reason of an indwelling principle of divinity, was superior to the angels, and that he had a mission to free the world from their rule. More eclectic than Simon, he introduced *baptism* among his disciples, and assured those who received it that they would enjoy the blessings of perpetual youth and an exemption from death.

Cerinthus taught a doctrine which, though closely allied to that of the Ebionites, led to very different conclusions. *St. Irenaeus*[4] asserts positively that he was contemporary with the Apostle St. John, while, according to *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius*,[5] he lived during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian. It is as difficult to ascertain the place of his birth as when he lived. All writers affirm that he was most zealously attached to *Judaism*,[1] and this, together with some elements of Christianity, constitutes a great portion of his confused system.

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[1] *Hippolyti*, philosoph. VI. 20, we read: *οὗτος δὴ καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὸν Σίμωνα μῦθος, ἀφ' οὗ Οὐαλεντῖνος τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν, ἄλλοις ὀνόμασι καλεῖ· ὁ γὰρ νοῦς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ λόγος καὶ ζωὴ, καὶ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐκκλησία, οἱ Οὐαλεντίνου αἰῶνες, ὁμολογουμένως εἰσὶν αἱ Σίμωνος ἓξ ῥίζαι· νοῦς, ἐπίνοια, φωνὴ, ὄνομα, λογισμὸς καὶ ἐνθύμησις.*—But the nomenclature of the Simonian system adopted by Valentine is now considerably changed, the latter making mind and truth, reason and life, man and assembly, synonymous with the Eons of the former, viz., mind and intelligence, voice and name, ratiocination and reflection.

[2] *Iren.* contr. haer. I. 23, Simon Samaritanus, ex quo universae haereses substiterunt, habet hujusmodi sectae materiam. The same may be seen in *Epiphan.* haer. XXI. 1, *Σίμωνος γίνεται—πρώτη αἵρεσις.* *Euseb.* h. e. II. 23. Cf. *Grabe*, spicilegium, etc., T. I., p. 305–312. *Baronii*, annal. ad a. 44, n. 55.

[3] *Justin.* apol. I., c. 26 and 56; *Iren.* adv. haer. I. 23, n. 15; *Hippolyt.* philos. VII. 28; *Tertull.* de anima, c. 50; *Euseb.* h. e. III. 26; *Epiphan.* haeres. XXII.

[4] *Iren.* contr. haer. III. 3, n. 4, p. 177.

[5] *Tertull.* de praescr., c. 48, p. 252. *Epiphan.* haer. XXVIII. 1.

Like the Alexandrians, he professed belief in a Supreme Being, having no relations with the visible world; admitted the principle of *emanation*; and asserted that the world was made, not by the Supreme Being, but by a *power* (*δημιουργός*) subordinate to Him, thus giving a tolerably definite indication of what afterward developed into the Gnostic *Demiurge*.[2] He further asserted that it was but an angel who gave the *Law to Moses*; that Jesus was, as the Ebionites had asserted, *only a man*, born of Joseph and Mary according to the ordinary course of nature, and remarkable for His wisdom and piety; that, after His baptism, the Logos or Word (*ἄνω Χριστός*, Christ; *πνεῦμα θεοῦ*, the Spirit of God; *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, the Holy Ghost) descended upon Him in the form of a dove and filled His soul; that He then proclaimed the unknown *Father*, *wrought miracles*, and thus accomplished the work of redemption; and that afterward the Logos or Word departed from Jesus, who then suffered and rose again simply as man, while the Logos, being entirely *spiritual*, remained *impassible*.[3]

It is rather surprising that Cerinthus, entertaining so vulgar a notion of the Creator of the world and the Author of the Mosaic Law, should have so strictly insisted upon the observance of certain portions of the latter, and appealed to the example of Christ as a warrant for his conduct.[4]

He used, of the New Testament, only the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, and regarded with special aversion the epistles of St. Paul and St. John.

He held the generally received opinion of the Jews that Christ would establish a glorious kingdom on earth, which he represented as the *millennium*, whose grossly sensual joys were to be the reward of those *of the just*[5] who should first rise from the dead with Christ. This opinion, which has received the name of *Chiliasm*,[6] and which is based upon a wrong interpretation of St. Matthew, chapter xxiv., verses 29 and 34, and of the Apocalypse, chapter xx., verses 2, 3, 4, and 6, found favor later on with many Christians, and was embraced by *Papias*, Bishop of Hierapolis, a father of the apostolic age. These latter, however, took a more exalted view of the millennium, as is evident from the testimony of *Justin Martyr* and *Irenaeus*, who speak of it as a preparation for the state of beatitude which was to be entered upon at the second coming of Christ and after the general judgment.[1]

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[1] *Epiphan.* haer. XXVIII. 2. *Philastrius*, de haeresib., c. 36. Cf. *Paulus*, historia Cerinthi, Judaeochristiani et Judaeognostici, Jen. 1795.

[2] *Iren.* contr. haer. I. 26, n. 1. A virtute quadam valde separata et distante a principalitate, quae est super universa, etc., III. 11. *Epiphan.* haer. XXVIII. 1, *ὑπ' ἀγγέλων.* Cf. *Theodoret*, haeret. fab. II. 1–3.

[3] *Iren.* and *Epiphan.* 1 c.

[4] This inconsistency is blamed by *Epiphan.* haer. XXVIII. 2.

[5] According to the Rom. presbyt. Cajus in *Euseb.* h. e. III. 28, and *Dionys.* of Alexand., in the same work, VII. 25. The former even makes Cerinthus the author of our Apocalypse.

[6] *Klee*, tentamen theologicum de chiliasmo, Mogunt. 1825. *Wagner*, Chiliasm in the First Century of the Christian Era, Dillingen, 1849 (Programme). *Schneider*, The Doctrine of Chiliasm Schaffh. 1859.

Finally, the doctrine of the Docetae began at this time to come into notice. They asserted that all corporeal things were only apparently so, and, while being fully in accord with the system of Philo of Alexandria, who regarded matter as the root of all evil, were in direct opposition to the teachings of the Ebionites.

This belief, so thoroughly erroneous, was founded on another equally so, viz., that it was impossible to reconcile the absence of sin in Christ with the fact of His existence in a corporeal body, and hence both *Simon Magus* and *Cerinthus* denied that the divine Logos or Word had truly taken upon Himself a human nature.

The Apostle St. John, fearful of the consequences of a doctrine which threatened to reduce the history of Jesus to the level of a fantastic fable, set himself to the work of refuting it, which he did with much vehemence and power: and the refutation of the *Docetae*, who held the same belief, forms the principal subject of the Apostolic epistles of *St. Ignatius*.[2] St. Irenaeus informs us that the belief of the *Nicolaitanes*[3] was pretty much the same as that of Cerinthus and the Gnostics, but that they might surround it with *some sort of dignity* they claimed to have derived it from Nicolas, one of the seven Deacons.

They are charged in the Apocalypse ii. 6, 14, 16, with being idolators and fornicators, and were sometimes confounded with the *Balaamites*,[1] of whose name, it appears, "Nicolaitanes" is a Greek translation.[2] They were also accused of eating the meat offered to idols and leading very loose and dissolute lives.

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[1] *Iren.* contr. haer. V. 33, 34. Cf. *Massuet.* in his edition of Irenaeus, p. 206 sq., and the closing remarks.

[2] 1 John i. 1–3, iv. 2; 2 John v. 7. *Ignat.* ep. ad Ephes., c. 7–18; ad Smyrn., c. 1–8; ad Trallian, c. 9. In his ep. ad Smyrn., c. 2, we read: *ὥσπερ ἄπιστοί τινες λέγουσιν· τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι, αὐτοὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ὄντες!*—Some infidels say He (Christ) suffered only apparently, but those who say so are themselves the victims of their imagination.

[3] *Iren.* contr. haeres. I. 26, III. 11. *Clem. Alexandr.* Strom. II. 20, III. 4. *Euseb.* h. e. III. 29. Cf. *Walch*, History of Heretics, Vol. I., p. 167 sq. *Lob. Lange*, The Christianized Jews, the Ebionites, and Nicolaitanes of the Apostolic Times, Lps. 1828. *Zeller*, Theolog. Report of 1842, p. 713 sq.

Clement of Alexandria mentions a sect whose members also referred to Nicolas the Deacon as their founder, and claimed to find a sanction for their licentious practices in the words attributed to him, "Every one ought to abuse his flesh" (*παραχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκί δεῖ*). He also gives an account of the circumstances which gave occasion to these words, and which seem in perfect keeping with so sensual a doctrine. It is that Nicolas, having a beautiful wife and being reproached by the Apostles with jealousy, conducted her into their midst and offered her to any one of them who wished to marry her.[3]

§ 60. *St. John the Apostle. His Conflicts with the Heretics.*

Tillemont, T. I. Saint Jean Apôtre et Evangéliste, art. 1–12. *Hug*, Introd. to the N. T., pt. II. *Adalbert Maier*, Introd. to the Scriptures of the N. T., p. 121 et sq.

The Well-beloved Disciple, who had enjoyed the holy privilege of reclining upon the bosom of the Lord, took in with his eagle glance all the momentous events, both favorable and adverse, that had taken place up to his time. The Acts of the Apostles, after speaking of the part he took in the labors of the Apostles in and about Jerusalem and throughout Samaria, make no further mention of him; but tradition is unanimous in representing him as having, later on, quitted Jerusalem and gone to *Ephesus*,[4] there to continue and extend the work begun by St. Paul, and it may be taken for granted that he was equally vigilant and active in watching over the six communities of Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardes, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, mentioned in the Apocalypse, ch. ii. and iii.

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[1] Apoc. ii. 14 and 20; 2 Peter ii. 15; Ep. of Jude, verses 4, 8, 11, 19.

[2] בלעם *νικᾶν τὸν λαόν*, to surpass the people in religious knowledge.

[3] Cf. *Coteler.* in the constitutt. Apostolor. VI. 6. Later information may be obtained from *Cassian*, coll. 25, 16. *Epiphan.* haer. XXV. *Philastr.*, c. 33. *Augustin.* de haeresib., c. 5. This whole story is qualified by *John H. Blunt* as "incredible." Dict. of Sects, Heresies, etc., art. *Nicolaitanes*, Lippincott & Co., Phila., and Rivingstons, London, 1874. (Tr.)

[4] Clement of Alexandr. in *Euseb.* h. e. III. 23. *Iren.* contr. haer. III. 1, and Origen in *Euseb.* h. e. III. 1.

No fact of history is either better known or better established than his banishment to the island of *Patmos*,[1] though the date of the event is not certain, but it probably took place either under the reign of Domitian, Claudius, or Nero. It is said that previous to his banishment he was plunged into a cauldron of boiling oil before the Latin Gate (*ante Portam Latinam*), and came out uninjured.[2]

The Apostle, who was, above all others, conspicuous for his great purity of soul, serene quiet of mind, and depth of knowledge, had been destined by Almighty God to evangelize those very countries in which the sects of the Ebionites, the Docetae, and the Cerinthians were doing the greatest harm. It was an inestimable benefit for the primitive Church to possess a champion like St. John, who, by his apostolic authority, his single-minded and earnest zeal, and his exalted genius, was adequate to the task of defending the true nature of Christ. His labors had a special blessing, for they endured after they had passed into the hands of the numerous disciples whom he had gathered about him.[3] Such were *Papias*, *Ignatius* of Antioch, and *Polycarp* of Smyrna, bishops and martyrs, who, bound together by the bond of Christian charity, became the watchful guardians and zealous defenders of the faith at a time when men were striving to introduce dangerous innovations. It was not by word of mouth alone that St. John refuted the Ebionites, Nicolaitanes, and Cerinthians. He also committed his arguments to writing in that sublime

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[1] Apoc. i. 9. *Euseb.* h. e. III. 18, 20. *Tert.* de praescr., c. 36. *Epiphan.* haer. LI. 33. *Von Schubert*, Travels in the East, Erlangen, 1838 sq., Vol. III., p. 427 sq., writes: "Even at this day all the inhabitants of Patmos are Christians, a fact which reflects great credit on them, when compared with other Christian communities; and they still cherish with filial love the memory of their Apostle and his stay among them, and dwell with pleasure upon the story of his exile and the circumstances that preceded it."

[2] According to *Hieronymus*, commentar. in Matt., c. xx.

[3] *Iren.* contr. haer. II. 22, p. 148. *Euseb.* h. e. V. 20.

Gospel so replete with richness and depth of thought, and which, like his first epistle, is the very model of profound contemplation and the expression of true *mysticism* (εὐαγγέλιον πνευματικόν, the *spiritual* Gospel). An ancient account says that he combated the *Ebionites*, *Cerinthians*, and the *Nicolaitanes*.[1] We shall, however, look in vain through the writings of St. John for an open attack upon heretics, his object having been to refute error, not so much by controverting false principles as by clearly expounding the truth, and thus directly establishing positive doctrine.[2] Thus viewing the subject in an historical light, as in the prologue to his Gospel, he triumphantly refutes a host of errors, of which we shall have occasion to speak later on. He makes the *Logos*, or Word, who manifests Himself in Creation and Redemption,[3] and by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made, a Being neither purely human, as the *Ebionites* asserted, nor inferior to the Supreme God, as the *Cerinthians* affirmed, but a God coëternal and consubstantial with the Father.[4] He taught that this Word did not descend upon Jesus at the moment of His baptism, but had already assumed in true sense a body of flesh (σάρξ),[5] and that, contrary to the teachings of the Cerinthians and the Docetae, the Word became man; that John the Baptist was only man, and not the Light of the World; that he was not the true

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[1] *Iren.* contr. haer. III. 11, n. 1.

[2] *Neander* very pointedly remarks: "His polemics is of a positive character, so much so that he bears testimony with all the energy of his soul to what he considers the foundation of salvation as certain beyond all manner of doubt, and, *on many occasions*, rejects with supreme aversion everything contrary to it, without troubling himself about entering into a lengthy refutation of such errors." History of the Foundation and Guidance of the Christian Church by the Apostles, pt. II., p. 483. St. Ignatius, the pupil of St. John, followed his method of disputation. Cf. ep. ad Smyrn., c. 5, τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, ὄντα ἄπιστα, οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι ἐγγράψαι. I have not chosen to write down their names, since these are not well authenticated.

[3] Concerning the Logos of St. John and the difference between it and that fabricated by Philo, see *Döllinger*, The Jew and the Gentile, p. 843. *Staudenmaier*, Genius of Christianity, Vol. I., p. 440–463. †*Lutterbeck*, Doctrinal Systems of the N. T., Vol. II., p. 262 sq. Freibg. Eccl. Cyclopedia, Vol. VI., p. 575–581. *Herzog's* Encyclopædia, Vol. XI., p. 591 sq.

[4] John i. 1–3.

[5] John i. 14.

Light, as his disciples maintained, but that his office had been simply to bear witness to the Light that became visible through the Incarnation;[1] that the Mosaic Law was not, as the *Judaizing Christians* taught, a means of obtaining the fellowship of the Word or of becoming of the children of God; and that faith in the mission of Christ,[2] through the *grace* and *truth*[3] that came into the world when the Word was made flesh, are the only conditions to the enjoyment of these gracious privileges.

St. John, with a vision equally penetrating and far-reaching, and a flight of thought equally majestic, foretells, in the prophetic words of the *Apocalypse*, the future destiny of the Church, and predicts that, though tossed to and fro amid the violence of revolutions, she will survive them all, and endure until the day of final victory, when she will be transformed into a celestial city. Some persons have been led into all manner of absurdities[4] by attempting to interpret certain images and visions of this book in a sense which would make them applicable to *particular persons*, periods, and circumstances of the Church.

The Apostolic zeal which is so characteristic of the Gospel and epistles of St. John did not cool as youth departed, but rather grew more ardent as years went on. *Clement of Alexandria*[5] relates that, heedless of all danger, he on one occasion followed a party of brigands into a lonely retreat, and brought back one of their number whom he had known and tenderly loved as a youth, and restored him again to the bosom of the Church. Inspired with the same burning zeal, though no longer able to engage in active missionary duty, he gathered his people about him, and constantly repeated these words, which embody the very soul of a spiritual life, "*My children, love one another.*"[1]

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[1] John i. 6–8.

[2] John i. 12.

[3] John i. 17.

[4] *Hug*, Introduction to the N. T., pt. II. †*Maier*, Introd. to N. T., p. 438–476. †*Stern*, Commentary on the Apoc. of St. John, Schaffh. 1854. *Bossuet*, too, interpreted this mysterious book. Cf. *Boost*, Explanation of St. John's Apoc., Darmst. 1835. (He finds in the Apocalypse the contents of the history of the Christian Church.)

[5] In the work *τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος*, c. 42.—What rich man will be saved.

Many began to see in the extreme old age of St. John the fulfillment of the report that had gone "abroad among the brethren, that that disciple dieth not,"[2] when, during the reign of Trajan, the Apostle, filled with joy because the Church of Christ had spread over the whole face of the earth, and surrounded by those dearest to him, peacefully and tranquilly gave back his pure soul to God (A. D. 100).[3]

§ 61. *Summary of the Doctrines of the Apostles—Their Mode of Teaching.*

Döllinger treats the subject at length in his work entitled Christianity and the Church, p. 142–290.

The Apostles, in obedience to the command of Christ, "Go and *teach* all nations," began their work by proclaiming to the world the three great fundamental truths of the Christian religion: the *Incarnation*[4] of the Son of God, *His Death* and *Resurrection*,[5] to which they added instructions on the necessity of *faith in God*, *penance* for sin, and *justification by faith*,[6] and gave explanations of baptism conferred in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,[7] and of the meaning of the laying on of hands. They followed these up with a clear statement of the doctrine relative to the forgiveness of sin,[8] the resurrection of the dead, and final judgment.[9] In these doctrines were essentially and formally contained all the articles of belief embodied in the *Symbol of Faith*, known as the *Apostles' Creed*, and which, based upon apostolic tradition,[10] was given to the world at a later date.

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[1] Hieronym. comment. ad Galat. (Opp. ed. Martianay, T. III., p. 314.)

[2] John xxi. 22 sq.

[3] *Euseb.* h. e. III. 1, 31. *Hieronym.* de viris illustr., c. 9.

[4] 1 John iv. 2, 3

[5] 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4, and 12–14; Rom. iv. 25.

[6] Gal. iii. 8, 9; Rom. iii. 28.

[7] Matt. xxviii. 19.

[8] Jas. v. 16; 1 John i. 9.

[9] Heb. vi. 1, 2.

[10] One of the oldest reads thus, according to *Roman* form: Credo in Deum

The doctrine of the *Trinity*, so explicitly set forth in the form for baptism, though spoken of in the sense of an *economy*, or as showing how man's salvation is due to the coöperation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is, nevertheless, based on the *essential* relations which the unity of substance in the three divine persons of the Trinity necessarily implies. Hence, it is constantly to be borne in mind that when the Apostles speak simply of the *Lord* or of the *Holy Ghost* as dispensing grace, they understand by this form of expression the *united* power of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. That this is the meaning of the Apostles is evident from many passages of their writings. St. Peter, for instance, in his first epistle, connects the three persons of the Blessed Trinity with the economy of grace:[1] "To the strangers . . elect according to the preknowledge of God the *Father*, unto the sanctification of the *Spirit*, unto the obedience and the sprinkling of the blood of *Jesus Christ*." Again: St. Paul[2] speaks of the "grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the charity of God (the Father), and the communication of the Holy Ghost." The same Apostle, in another place,[3] in making mention of the diversity of graces communicated by the *Spirit*, the diversity of ministries conferred by the *Son*, and the diversity of operations proceeding from the *Father*, is careful to add that the "same God worketh all in all." *Justification* is also represented as the effect of a Father's love, who, to give proof of it, sent His Son, who in turn became incarnate and satisfied for the sins of the world, and made man's justification possible through the Holy Ghost. There is no question but that the method followed by St. Paul in

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Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum Dominum nostrum, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et (ex) Maria Virgine, sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus et sepultus, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in coelum, sedet ad dexteram Patris, inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. Et in Spiritum Sanctum; Sanctam Ecclesiam; Remissionem peccatorum; Carnis resurrectionem. To this was added, by the formulary of the Church of *Ravenna*, Vitam aeternam, and the *Spanish* form, Amen. Cf. *Denzinger*, enchiridion symbolorum, etc., p. 1–8.

[1] 1 Petr. i. 2.

[2] 2 Cor. xiii. 13.

[3] 1 Cor. xii. 4–6.

expounding Christian doctrine is superior to that of any of the other Apostles in clearness of arrangement and thoroughness of handling.

The *Gospels* and various *Epistles* of the Apostles were written with the purpose of giving permanence and vitality to their *oral* instructions,[1] for such are easily forgotten, and their injunctions, unless constantly brought before the mind, would have been soon neglected.

The different forms under which the same truths are put forward afford examples of the three distinct types of Christian theology, and supply an inexhaustible source from which Christian theologians of every age have drawn materials for scientific demonstration.[2] The first three Gospels and the Epistles of SS. James and Peter are specimens of the *historical* or *practical* and *positive* type. The writings of St. Paul are examples of the *dialectical* method; while St. John, as studied in his Gospel, is the best representative of a *contemplative life.*

The writings of the *Apostolic Fathers*, namely, the immediate disciples of the Apostles, abundantly show that, while preserving the mode of teaching adopted by the latter, every effort was made to give the widest extension to their doctrines. In proof of this, it is sufficient to refer to the Catholic Epistles of *Barnabas;* the two epistles of *Clement*, Bishop of Rome, to the Corinthians; the seven epistles of *Ignatius*, Bishop of Antioch († 107 or 114), to various Christian communities and to Polycarp; the epistle of *Polycarp*, Bishop of Smyrna († 168), to the Philippians; and the epistle to *Diognetus*, the author of which is unknown. *The Explanations of our Lord's Discourses* (ἐξηγήσεις), of which only a few fragments are extant, written by *Papias*, Bishop of Hierapolis, and the work of *Hermas*, known as the Pastor, under the various headings *Visiones*, *Mandata*, et *Similitudines*, first appeared in the city of Rome. The author of the Pastor should not, however, be confounded with the person of the same name mentioned in the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans.[1]

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[1] Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 14; 1 Cor. xi. 2; 2 Tim. i. 13, 14, ii. 2, with John xx. 30, and 2 John v. 12. Concerning the object of the composition of *St. Matthew's Gospel, Euseb.* h. e. iii. 24, writes as follows: "Matthew, who had originally taught among the Hebrews, when he was on the point of departure to carry the truths of the Gospel also to others, composed his Gospel in the vernacular tongue of those with whom he was about to part, that thus might be supplied the want of further instruction during his absence."

[2] †*Lutterbeck*, Doctrinal Systems of N. T., Vol. II., p. 138 sq.

CLOSE OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

"With St. John," says Card. Rauscher,[2] "ends our connection with the Apostles and their times. The Lord is always merciful and the elect are continually receiving evidences of His grace and power; but He no longer gives to the world tokens of His gracious presence by numerous miracles, as in the early days of the Church, and among those who had enjoyed the fellowship of Christ, the Son of the Living God, and who went from His presence to preach the doctrine of the Gospel—a doctrine that baffles human prudence and confounds the worldly wise; whose mysteries humble our pride, and whose teachings enjoin self-restraint; a doctrine that inspires the generous purpose of setting at naught all worldly goods and ambitious hopes; makes self-denial a duty, and warns the faithful that though persecution will certainly be their portion, so also will joys unseen; a doctrine preached by men, eminent neither for literary culture nor scientific attainments, and whose wonders were first heard from the lips of a few despised Galileans. Behold what follows: The Jew, proud of his title of son of Abraham and Moses, and looking forward to the earthly reign of the Messiah, humbles himself and puts aside his ambitious hopes; the Greek forsakes the splendid colonnades of the Porch and the pleasant shades of the Academy, and becomes a disciple of the Galilean; the Roman forgets the glories of his proud Capital, and bows in reverence to the Cross; and the Pagan abandons his idols, and cheerfully embraces a life of self-restraint, patience, and penance. From East to West, from Ctesiphon, beyond the Euphrates, to Rome, all are become *one* people."

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[1] Rom. xvi. 21. Patrum Apostolicor. opera ed. *Cotelerius*, Paris, 1672; repetita cura *Clerici*, Antv. 1724, 2 T. fol. ed. *Hefele* (ed. IV.), Tubg. 1855, ed. *Dressel*, Lps. (1857), 1863.

[2] Ch. H., Vol. I., p. 236.

It is impossible not to recognize in these events the hand of Christ, the Head of the Church.

There is reason to be thankful to God that, through His providential care, the Church's *constitution* and *doctrine*, *worship* and *discipline*, have been preserved in all the purity and integrity in which they came from the hands of the Apostles, who were witnesses of the work of redemption, and first proclaimed its great truths to the world. But they did not stop with simply announcing to man the truths of salvation. They also indicated the method to be followed in order to pursue the study of theology with both safety and scientific accuracy.

Many writings not enumerated in the canons of the N. T., said to have been written by the Apostles, and containing many references to them, have come to light since their day. They are evidently based on rumor, and, by a species of *fraus pia*, ascribed to the Apostles that they might acquire a greater influence and a more extended circulation. Cf. *Fabric.* cod. apocryph., etc. See also note 4, page 163, § 42, and *Ruttenstock*, Institutiones H. E., T. I., p. 161–169. The so-called Canones (85), Consitutiones (libri VIII.), and the Symbolum Apostolorum have each a specific value. The first two works were evidently written, probably in Syria, between the second and the fourth century, and contain important information relative to the constitution, worship, and discipline of the Church. Cf. *Tillemont*, T. II., p. 164–166. *Natal. Alexander*, H. E. Saec. I., diss. 18, T. IV., p. 407 sq. Also the remarkable criticism of *Drey:* Late Investigations of the Canons and Constitutions of the Apostles, Tueb. 1832. It had been preceded by many works bearing on the same subject, such as *Beveridge's* Remarks on the Canons of the Apostles, and the Cod. Canon. Ecclesiae Primit. vindicatus et illustratus, Lond. 1678, 4to.

It is an ancient belief that the Apostles, before setting out to evangelize the different parts of the world allotted to each, had come together, and after serious thought (συμβολή) composed the *short symbol of faith*, known as *the Symbol of the Apostles*, which should serve them as a rule for teaching and be a guide to the faith of the people. *Rufinus* is strongly in favor of this opinion in his Exposit. Symb. Apostol., and Homil. de Symb. The latter has been attributed to *St. Augustine.* Cf. *Fabric.*, T. III., p. 339 sq. The legend is also defended by *Natal. Alex.* H. E. Saec. I., diss. 12 (I. IV., p. 299–311); by the *Bolland.* Act. Sanct. ad diem 15. Julii; and still later by *Meyers*, De Symb. Apost. Titulo, Origine, et de Antiquissimis Eccles. Temporibus Auctoritate, Trev. 1849. *Tillemont* rejects it, T. I., p. 397 sq., also p. 649 sq.; *du Pin* and others do the same.

There is a strong reason for not giving credence to the legend in the fact that the event out of which it grew was not mentioned for some centuries after the time when the alleged meeting of the Apostles took place.

Again, *the various forms* into which it has been cast, and the style of composition are so peculiar, when compared with other apostolic writings, that they are strong evidence against its authenticity. But though not the actual composition of the Apostles, there can be no doubt that it is substantially the same Symbolum Fidei as that which they agreed should serve them as a guide in their work of conversion. It may be taken for granted that a short Symbol of Faith was in early times taught to the faithful, and afterward written down, probably about the close of the first century, when, owing to the increasing number of heresies, and the necessity of openly denying them, it had been extended to a considerable length.

PART SECOND.

EXTERIOR DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

I. PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY. II. PERSECUTIONS AGAINST THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

I. *Fabricii*, salutaris lux, etc. *Mamachii*, originum et antiquitatum, lib. II. (de origine et propagatione religionis Christianae). *Le Quien*, Oriens Christianus, Paris, 1740, 3 v. f. *Wiltsch*, Manual of ecclesiastical geogr. and statistics, Vol. I., pp. 32 sq. **Gams*, Series Episcoporum Eccl. Cath., etc., or Catalogue of the bishops of the whole Catholic Church, and length of their episcopate, Ratisbon, 1873. (Tr.)

§ 62. *Growth of the Christian Church in Asia.*

Christianity spread rapidly after the close of the apostolic age, and particular churches grew in number and importance. Either to increase the influence of the churches already established, or to set up new ones, became the engrossing care of the Christians, and the results of their labors were soon visible, not only throughout the length and breadth of the Roman empire, but also in lands never subject to its authority. The disasters consequent upon incessant wars were providentially made to contribute to the spread of *the religion of peace*. The armies that invaded the Roman empire left behind them numbers of captives. These soldiers, during their captivity, heard incessantly of the Christian religion, and, by comparing their own condition with what they saw round about them, learned to appreciate the civilizing influences and blessings of Christianity, and once set at liberty, they became its apostles among their barbarian countrymen. The growth of the Church from this time onward till the fourth century is due principally to the exertions of bishops, as, for example, in the case of *St. Gregory Thaumaturgus*, Bishop of Neo-Caesarea, who, on coming into possession of his diocese, found there only seventeen Christians, and at his death left unconverted only seventeen heathens.

Though the fall of Jerusalem had weakened, it did not entirely extinguish the feelings of attachment with which the Jews of *Asia* regarded the Mosaic Law, and hence, when the city was rebuilt, the Christians who had gone out from it previously to its destruction, again returned, accompanied by *Simeon*, their bishop. The thirteen bishops, who, between this time and the reign of Hadrian, successively followed Simeon, were of Jewish birth, and the communities over which they presided continued to observe the Mosaic Law.

When, however, the notorious *Bar Cochba* (i. e., Son of the Star),[1] calling himself the Messiah, and acknowledged as such by the venerated Rabbi *Akiba*, had excited the Jews to rebellion, during the reign of Hadrian, the whole of Palestine was laid waste, and the community of Christian Jews at Jerusalem driven out of the city.[2]

The exiles took refuge with the Christians of Pagan descent living at *Aelia Capitolina*, a city in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, built by and named after *Aelius Hadrianus*, and of which *Mark*, a man of Gentile birth, was bishop.

The church of *Caesarea* (Stratonis), in Palestine, was still more important than that of Aelia; but the Church of *Antioch*, of which *St. Peter* and *Evodius* had been bishops, and to which a fresh glory had been added by the martyrdom of *St. Ignatius* († 107 or 114), the third successor to St. Peter,[3] was always regarded as the most influential Church of the East. *Syria* also contained flourishing churches, such as those of Seleucia, Beroea, Apamea, Hierapolis, Cyrus, and Samosata; while *Phoenicia* numbered, besides the Church of Tyre founded by the Apostles, those of Sidon, Ptolemais, Berytus, Tripolis, and Byblos. *Ephesus* and *Smyrna* were the most prominent Christian communities of *Asia Minor*, and in

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[1] Numb. xxiv. 17.

[2] *Münter*, the Jewish war under Trajan and Hadrian, Lps. 1821.

[3] *Euseb.* hist. eccl. III. 36.

Phrygia those of Laodicea, Colossae, and Hierapolis, to which later on was added that of Synnada, a city that afterward became the metropolis of East Phrygia (*Phrygia Salutaris*). The Proconsul Pliny complained, about A. D. 106, that the superstition called Christianity was rapidly spreading through Bithynia, and the churches established in *Nicomedia*, at Apollonias, Prusa, Hellenopolis, Caesarea, and Adrianople, are sufficient evidence that his complaint was well founded. The Church *Caesarea* (Mazaca), in *Cappadocia*, of which the celebrated *Firmilian* became bishop A. D. 233, was in a very flourishing condition; and in *Pontus* there were the churches of Sinope and Neo-Caesarea, of the latter of which the famous Gregory Thaumaturgas was consecrated bishop by the neighboring bishop of Amasia, and he in turn consecrated Alexander the Philosopher, bishop of Comana. Even the distant Trapezunt possessed a Church in the beginning of the fourth century. A Christian Church was founded A. D. 288 at *Edessa*, the capital of the province of Osroëne, and we meet at an early period churches at Amida, Nisibis, and Cascar, in *Mesopotamia*.

St. Denys of Alexandria wrote a letter on penance[1] to the Christians of Roman *Armenia*, and during the second and third centuries we find mention of churches at Sebaste, Melitene, and other places. Maris, said to be a disciple of St. Thaddeus, was bishop of *Seleucia*, a city situated on the Tigris in *Chaldea*, and which, always important because of its relations with *Ctesiphon*, became still later a nursery from whence the faith was carried to the kingdom of the Parthians, occupying the territory afterward known as Persia. *Pantaenus*, the head of the catechetical school of Alexandria, labored energetically to propagate the Christian religion in *India* (Arabia Felix?).[2] The seed sown by St. Paul[3] in *Arabia* bore fruit a hundred-fold, for one of the Emirs of that country (ἡγούμενος τῆς Ἀραβίας) sent a request to *Origen*, asking him for instruction in the Christian religion, to which the latter gladly acceded.

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[1] In *Euseb.* hist. eccl. VI. 46.

[2] *Happy Arabia* (Yemen), because *Philostorg.* hist. eccl. II. 6, calls the Homerites and Zabeans *Indians*, and *St. Jerome*, de viris illustr., c. 36, relates that Pantaenus found amongst them the Gospel of St. Matthew, which, it is said, they had received from St. Bartholomew, whose Apostolic labors in Happy Arabia are an established fact. Conf. *Tillemont*, T. I.; *Mosheim*, comment. de rebus Christ. ante Constant. M., p. 206. *Euseb.* h. e. V. 10, and VI. 19. *Gildemeister*, scriptor. Arabum de rebus Indicis loci et opuscula inedita, Bonnae, 1838.

[3] Galat. i. 17.

There was a bishopric at Bostra at a very early date, and at many other places in Arabia about the middle of the third century.[1] The Christians were tolerably numerous in *Persia* during the second and third centuries, where a spirit of hostility to the Romans, who persecuted the Persians, inspired the kindness with which they were treated.[2]

The metropolitan Church of *Salamis*, on the island of Cyprus, had, before the Council of Nice, three bishops, and not long after fifteen other bishoprics were made suffragan sees.

§ 63. *Christian Churches in Africa.* (Cf. § 50.)

†*Morcelli*, Africa christiana, Brix. 1816, 3 T. 4. [*Wiltsch*, ecclesiastical Geography, Vol. I., p. 52–55.] *Münteri*, primordia eccl. Afric., Hafn. 1829. *de Rossi*, de christianis titulis Carthaginiensibus separately taken from the spicilegium, Solesmense, ed. *Pitra*, T. IV. Collection of the Christian inscriptions found in Algiers, ed. Léon Renier, 1855. (Voices from Rome, by the Benedictines of St. Paul, Schaffh. 1860.) *Blampignon* de Sto Cypriano et de primaeva Carthaginiensi ecclesia, etc., Paris, 1862.

St. Mark, the Evangelist, carried the faith to *Egypt*, and became the first bishop of *Alexandria*.[3] But the influence of the Jews in Lower Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, and the laying waste and depopulation of the provinces brought about by the rebellion of the Jews under Hadrian (A. D. 115), together with the opposition of the *Gnostics*, who were very numerous in these parts, seriously interfered with both the founding of churches and the establishment of bishoprics. Still, in the beginning of the third century, a council was held (235), consisting of twenty bishops. Three well-known bishops—*Demetrius*, *Heraclas*, and *Dionysius*—presided successively over the Church of Alexandria.[4]

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[1] *Euseb.* VI. 33, 37.

[2] *Arnob.* (about A. D. 297), adv. gentes, II. 7.

[3] The Christian Jew, Apollos, mentioned Acts xviii. 24, xix. 1; 1 Cor. i. 12, was a native of *Alexandria*.

[4] *Euseb.* h, e. II. 16, VI. 2.

Men of intellect throughout Egypt grew more favorably inclined toward Christianity in proportion as they became dissatisfied with the gloomy tenets of their national worship, and soon learned from the teachings of the great theologians of Alexandria that the Christian religion alone satisfied all the cravings of human nature. So favorably was Christianity received during the time of Origen that he was obliged to have recourse to the services of a coadjutor to aid him in instructing the catechumens.

The history of the first attempts to establish the Church in *Northwestern Africa, Proconsular Africa, Numidia,* and *Mauritania* is very unsatisfactory; but it is quite probable that missionaries were sent thither from Rome at an early period. *Baronius* says that the Apostles themselves founded the Church there, but *Schelstrate* takes exception to this assertion.[1]

Carthage became the metropolitan see of the African churches, and Christianity spread thence into Numidia and Mauritania, and its progress, to which the use of the Latin language by the early Christian writers contributed not a little, was so remarkable for the space of a century, or down to the reign of the Emperor Severus, and the number of Christians increased so rapidly, that *Tertullian*,[2] the famous priest of Carthage, declared, A. D. 202, that throughout the cities of Africa, the Christians almost outnumbered the Pagans. *Agrippinus*, Bishop of Carthage, toward the close of the second century, presided over a synod of seventy bishops of Africa and Numidia, and *St. Cyprian*, who succeeded to the see A. D. 248, convened a synod of the three named provinces, at which eighty-seven bishops were present.[3] During the fourth century the number of ecclesiastical provinces was increased by the addition of Tripoli, Byzacium, and Mauritania Sitifensis, all of which contained numerous bishoprics.

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[1] *Baron.* ad a. 49, n. 8. *E. Schelstrate*, ecclesia Africana sub primatu Carthag., Par. 1690, 4to. Concerning the idolatry of Carthage, see *Döllinger*, The Jew and the Gentile, pp. 455, 456.

[2] Ad Scapul., c. 2: Tanta hominum multitudo pars paene major civitatis cujusque; and c. 5: Quantis ignibus, quantis gladiis opus erit? Quid ipsa Carthago passura est *decimanda* a te., pp. 86 and 88. Apologet., c. 37: Hesterni sumus et *vestra omnia implevimus:* urbes, insulas, castella, municipia conciliabula, *castra ipsa*, etc., p. 33.

[3] *Cypr.* ep. 71 and 73. *August.* de baptismo, II. 13. *Mansi*, T. I., p. 967–992. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 159–180.

§ 64. *Propagation of Christianity in Europe.*

† *Ughelli*, Italia sacra s. de Episcop. Italiae, etc., ed. II., studio N. Coleti, Venet. 1716–1722, 10 T. fol. *Florez*, España sagrada, continued by Risco and others, Madr. 1754–1850, 47 T. 4to. *P. Gams*, Church History of Spain, Ratisbon 1862 sqq., 2 vols. *Gallia Christiana* in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa, qua series et historia omnium Episcoporum et Archiep., etc., opera et studio fratrum *Sammarthanorum* (*Dionys.*, Scaev. et Lud. de St. Marthe) et alior. Monachor. congr. St. Mauri, Paris, 1715–1786, 13 T. fol. New ed. by *P. Piolin*, O. S. B., Paris, 1871., 13 T. *Calles*, annales ecclesiastici Germaniae, Viennae, 1756, fol. T. I. Cf. *Wiltsch*, ecclesiastical Geogr. and Statistics, Vol. I., p. 34–43; and *Holzhausen*, Establishment of the Christian Church in the Domains of the Roman Bishops. (*Illgen*. Hist. Period., Vol. VIII., n. 4.)

St. Paul and his fellow-laborers laid the foundations of the Church in *Greece*. The most flourishing of all the churches of *Italy* was beyond all question that of Rome, which had been quickened by the preaching, moistened with the blood, and hallowed by the glorious death of the Prince of Apostles. Besides SS. Peter and Paul, there were, as *Tacitus* affirms, great numbers (*ingens multitudo*) put to death by every species of cruel torture during the persecution of Nero.[1]

About the middle of the third century, mention is made of priests, deacons, sub-deacons, and clerics in minor orders in connection with the Roman Church, in which they appear to have been quite numerous at this time. (Cf. § 83.) Many other churches of Italy were founded either by the contemporaries of the Apostles or their immediate disciples.[2] Such was the church of Lucca, founded by *Paulinus*, and of Fiesole by *St. Romulus;* of Ravenna by *St. Apollinaris*, and of Milan by *St. Anathalon;* of Aquileia by *St. Mark*, and of Bologna by *St. Zamas*. The church of Bari, in Apulia, can boast that St. Peter appointed *Maurus*, who suffered martyrdom during the reign of Domitian, its first bishop; and the churches of Benevento, Capua and Naples, Palermo and Syracuse, in

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[1] *Tert.* de praescr., c. 36. *Tacit.* annal. XV. 44.

[2] *Selvaggio*, antiquit. Christ., lib. I., c. 5–7, P. I., Mogunt. 1787, p. 86–137.

Sicily, and those of Pavia, Urbino, Mantua, Verona, Pisa, Florence, and Siena, point with pride to similar traditions.[1] There is no positive proof either that St. Paul preached the Gospel in *Spain*, or that the Apostle *St. James, the Son of Zebedee*,[2] to whose reputed tomb at *Compostella* the piety of the Spaniards led them to make pilgrimages in after years, was ever in that country. A marble slab found (?) at Compostella, and bearing an inscription thanking the Emperor *Nero* for having rid the country of a band of robbers and such as would impose a new superstition upon the inhabitants, if genuine, would show beyond doubt that the Gospel was preached in Spain in the first century; but it has been proved a forgery.[3] Historians of the third century make mention of the churches of Leon, Astorga, Caesar Augusta, Tarragona, and others, which the Mozarabic liturgy and Spanish writers affirm were founded by the seven bishops, Torquatus, Ctesiphon, Secundus, Indaletius, Hesychius, and Ephrasius, whom SS. Peter and Paul sent as missionaries to Spain.[4]

Nineteen Spanish bishops were present at the synod of *Elvira*, A. D. 306.[5] The martyrdom of *Fructuosus*, bishop, and of the deacons *Augurius* and *Eulogius*, during the reign of Valerian, threw a halo of glory around the church of Spain; but the number of her martyred saints was greatly increased in the time of Diocletian.[6]

For a long time before the introduction of Christianity into *Gaul*, the well-organized body of the *Druids*[7] had exercised both a religious and political influence over the minds of the people, with which the Roman laws so seriously interfered, after the conquests of Caesar, that the mythology of Rome gradually crept in and rapidly undermined their primitive faith. The Gauls, unsettled and dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs, were prepared to receive the Apostles of the Gospel sent thither from Asia Minor,[1] and her historians refer with pride to the churches of *Lyons* and *Vienne*, whose origin dates back to the second century, and to their holy bishop, *Pothinus* († 177), and their glorious martyr, *St. Irenaeus* († 202).

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[1] Cf. *Joann. Lami*, deliciae eruditor. T. VIII. praefat., p. 25 sq. T. XI. praefat.

[2] *Natal. Alex.* h. e. saec. I., diss. 15, on SS. Paul and James. (T. IV., p. 334 sq.)

[3] *Gruteri* thesaur. inscription. No. 9, p. 238. The genuineness of this inscription is denied by *Muratori*, and defended by *Walch*, persecutio Christianor. Neron. Jen. 1653; called in question by *Scaliger*, *Hagenbach*, and others, and denied by *Gams*, C. H. Spain, Vol. I., p. 387–392. *Zell*, delectus inscript. nr. 1486. Cf. *Iren.* contr. haeres. I. 10 and annot., p. 43. *Tertull.* adv. Jud., c. 7.

[4] *Gams*, l. c., p. 76–80, and p. 118 sq.

[5] *Mansi*, T. II., p. 6.

[6] The acts in *Ruinart*, p. 210; *Gams*, l. c., p. 284 sq.

[7] *Caesar*, de bell. gall. I. 31, VI. 12–16. *Döllinger*, The Jew and the Gentile, p. 558–563.

Posthumius, inspired with a love for Jesus Christ, went with St. Irenaeus from Asia into Gaul, where, impelled by his ardent zeal, he labored effectually for the propagation of Christianity. The churches of Toulouse, Narbonne, Arles, Clermont, Limoges, Tours, and Paris, founded about the middle of the third century, owe their existence to the energetic efforts of *Fabian*,[2] Bishop of Rome; and these, together with the other churches of Gaul, soon entered into close relations and maintained a friendly intercourse with those of Italy and Africa.

St. Cyprian, for instance, prays Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, to demand of the bishops of Gaul the deposition of Marcianus, the Novatian bishop of Arles. The churches of Marseilles and Nantes also acquired prominence about this time.

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[1] Ancient legends relate that Lazarus, who had been raised to life by Christ, together with Maximin, Mary Magdalen, and Martha, set out for Southern Gaul shortly after our Lord's death, and founded the Church of *Marseilles;* that *Peter and Paul* sent thither messengers of the faith, and that *St. Denys the Areopagite* (Acts xvii. 34) founded the Church of *Paris*. But these have been entirely rejected by Sirmond, Launoy, Petavius, and others. Cf. *Petr. de Marca*, ep. de evang. in Gallia initiis (*Valesii* ed. h. e. *Eusebii*); the legends regarding Paris are defended by *Natal. Alex.* h. e. I. saec. diss. 16, T. IV., p. 343 sqq. Cf. *Euseb.* h. e. V. 1. Numerous works, some of which are of considerable value, have recently appeared on the same subject. *Faillon*, monuments inédits sur l'apostolat de Marie Madeleine en Provence et sur les autres apôtres de cette contrée, St. Lazare, St. Maximin, St. Marthe et les saintes Marie, Par. 1848, 2 T. 4to. *Paul Piolin*, O. S. B., histoire de l'église du Mans, Paris, 1851 sq., 6 T. By the *same* author, Origines chrétiennes de la Gaule (with a criticism on the work just quoted by *Faillon*), Paris, 1855–56, 2 vols. The complete collection of the Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII. siècle—par *le Blant*, Par. 1856–65, 2 T. 4, with 552 inscriptions—is a very valuable work. Further specialties concerning ancient dioceses in *Gams*, Moehler's Church Hist., Vol. I., p. 191–196.

[2] According to *Gregorius Turon.* hist. Francor. I. 28, X. 31.

There were present at the Council of Arles, A. D. 314, convened for the purpose of condemning the Donatist heresy, the bishops of Rheims, Rouen, Vaison, Bordeaux, and Orange, and delegates from many other churches.[1]

Observation by Translator.—Every church of ancient Gaul, says Abbé Blanc,[2] which possesses no historical monuments to attest its antiquity, traces its origin back either to one of the Apostles or to one of their disciples. They were hallowed by such pleasing and pious traditions when, during the sixteenth century, a spirit of criticism set in, which, under pretense of clearing away the rubbish of the Middle Ages, aimed at perverting all ecclesiastical antiquities. The Centuriators were the first to lead the way, and the impulse they gave to this over-critical spirit so reacted on some Catholics that they too indulged in the excessive criticism of Protestants. The school inaugurated by Doctors *Ellies Dupin* and *Launoy* was especially conspicuous for its antagonism to every ancient tradition not supported by indubitable historical monuments, or about which there was the least suspicion of assumption.

The controversy arose in the first place out of a question relative to the antiquity of seven churches which claimed to have been founded by seven apostolic men, sent by the Holy See into Gaul, a land which the arms of Caesar rendered accessible to the messengers of the Gospel. These were St. Gatian of Tours, St. Trophimus of Arles, St. Paul of Narbonne, St. Saturninus of Toulouse, St. Dionysius of Paris, St. Austremonius (of Clermont) in Auvergne, and St. Martial of Limoges.

The difficulty turns on the *date* of the arrival of these illustrious personages in Gaul. Did they arrive in the first century, and were they sent by St. Peter to preach the Gospel to the Celts, or by his successor, St. Clement, or by St. Fabian, in the third century?

Three of these churches, indeed, viz., those of Auvergne, Toulouse, and Tours, can not produce unexceptionable historical proofs in favor of their apostolic origin; but Launoy asserted that none of them could claim a higher antiquity than the pontificate of Fabian. To support this assertion, he adduced a passage from Sulpicius Severus, who, in speaking of the persecution of the Christians under Marcus Aurelius, says that the Christian religion had but lately been introduced into Gaul. He also quoted Gregory of Tours, who affirms that these seven missionaries arrived in Gaul during the pontificate of Fabian. These bold assertions, and the confidence with which they were made so overawed the rest of the literary world outside of this school of criticism, that people insensibly began to regard the system as unassailable. We, however, do not hesitate to assert that we embrace the opposite view as that, which, if not entirely demonstrated, has the preponderance of proof on its side, is more in keeping with the glorious history of the church of Gaul, and treasured in the memory of nearly every ancient see.

We assert, with *Baronius*, *D. Ruinart*, *Pagi*, *de Marca*, *Noël Alexander*, *Mamachi*, and others, that the inconclusive passage of Sulpicius Severus and the obscure and unsupported words of Gregory of Tours should not weigh against the explicit testimony of *St. Irenaeus* and *Tertullian*. The Bishop of Lyons appeals against the heretics to the teachings of the churches of Gaul and Belgium as well as to those of the East and Egypt;[1] and Tertullian calls the attention of the Jews to the fact that the Christian religion is spread throughout Spain, among the *different nations of Gaul*, is found on the island of Great Britain, and has penetrated regions inaccessible to even the Roman legions.[2] Hence, churches existed in Gaul in the middle of the second century, with a pure doctrine, an approved and Apostolic teaching, such, in fine, as might be appealed to in refuting heretics. These churches had their bishops, their hierarchies, and everything that goes to make up a church. Had there existed at that time only the churches of Lyons and the neighboring cities—such as Vienne, Valence, and Besançon—St. Irenaeus could not have appealed to the testimony of the churches of Gaul; for, if this were the case, his own church would have been an equally good witness. Neither could Tertullian have said that the faith was spread throughout the different nations of Gaul.

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[1] Conf. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 267. *Mansi*, T. II., p. 476.

[2] In his cours d'hist. eccl., ed. 4, Paris, 1867, T. 1., p. 71 sq.

Abbé *Faillon*,[3] the learned rector of St. Sulpice, and author of a life of M. Olier, has made an earnest study of all the monuments relating to the introduction of Christianity into Gaul, and has succeeded, after profound research and much labor, in clearing away the difficulties that formerly surrounded the question. The traditions so dear to the heart of every Provençale have never had a more scholarly and able defender.

The Abbé endeavors to establish the following points: 1. That *Denys*, the first bishop of Paris, was sent into Gaul by *St. Clement;* 2. That *St. Trophimus*, the first bishop of Arles, was sent thither in company with some other missionaries by St. Peter himself; and 3. That *SS. Lazarus*, *Martha*, and *Mary Magdalen*, with *St. Maximin*, one of the seventy-two disciples, were the Apostles of *Provence;* that St. Lazarus was the first bishop of *Marseilles* and *St. Maximin* of *Aix*.

1. It is a little remarkable that *St. Gregory* of Tours, whose words are quoted by *Faillon*, gives no authority for his statement that St. Denys was one of the seven bishops sent from Rome to Gaul during the reign of the Emperor

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[1] These are the words of *St. Irenaeus:* ". . . . Ecclesiam per universum orbem usque ad fines terrae fuisse seminatam, et ab Apostolis, et a discipulis eorum accepisse eam fidem. Et neque hac, quae in Germania sunt fundatæ ecclesiae, aliter credunt, aut aliter tradunt, neque hae quae in Iberia sunt, neque hae quae in *Celtis*, neque hae quae in Oriente, neque hae quae in Aegypto, etc." Lib. II., c. 1, contr. haer.

[2] "Getulorum varietates," says *Tertullian*, "et Maurorum multi fines, Hispaniarum omnes termini, et *Galliarum diversae nationes*, et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita, et Sarmatorum, et Dacorum, et Scytharum, et abditarum multarum gentium; et provinciarum et insularum multarum nobis ignotarum, quae enumerare non possumus in quibus omnibus locis Christi nomen, qui jam venit, regnat." Advers. Judaeos, c. viii.

[3] In his work, Monuments inédits sur l'apostolat de Sainte Marie Madeleine en Provence, et sur les autres apôtres de cette contrée, Saint Lazare, etc., 2 vol. grands in 8vo., Paris, 1848.

Decius. But *Fortunatus*, bishop of Poitiers, and a contemporary of Gregory, says expressly that St. Denys was sent to Paris by Pope Clement. The learned *de Marca* and *A. Pagi*, who are always disposed to be critical, maintain the same opinion. Gregory of Tours was frequently mistaken on points relating to ecclesiastical antiquity, and his mere assertion that Denys came to Paris during the reign of Decius has not influenced the judgment of posterity, who have followed the better authenticated account of Fortunatus. Moreover, the Paris Breviaries, down to the year A. D. 1700, in giving an outline of the life of St. Denys, always state that he was sent to Paris by Pope Clement. *Francis Pagi*, after combining all the arguments of Anthony Pagi and de Marca, brings forward many new ones to support their statements. *Mabillon* goes still further, and, after stating that there can be no doubt as to Pope Clement's having sent St. Denys to Paris, gives it as his opinion that there is some weight in the arguments of those who wish to identify him with Denys the Areopagite.

2. Faillon offers some new and weighty arguments in support of the opinion that St. Peter sent seven bishops into Gaul during the reign of Claudius.

He cites an *ancient manuscript*, which once belonged to the Church of Arles, containing the letters of the Popes from Zosimus to Gregory the Great, among which is one from Pope Pelagius to Sapaudus, who died A. D. 586; after which, and immediately preceding the letters of St. Gregory to Virgilius, are the following words, written in vermilion: "Concerning the seven persons sent by St. Peter to preach the faith in Gaul." Then comes the passage: "During the reign of the Emperor Claudius, St. Peter the Apostle sent some disciples into Gaul to preach the faith of the Trinity to the Gentiles, assigning to each a particular city. These were Trophimus, Paul, Martial, Austremonius, Gatianus, Saturninus, and Valerius, together with many others whom St. Peter sent to accompany them."[1]

Rhabanus Maurus also states that Trophimus of Arles, Paul of Narbonne, Martial of Limoges, Saturninus of Toulouse, and Valerius of Treves were placed over those sees in Apostolic times, and the church of Arles has from the earliest times venerated St. Trophimus as the one of the seventy-two disciples of our Lord whom St. Peter sent to that city. *Gregory* of Tours, relying on the supposed date of the acts of St. Saturninus, affirms that Trophimus and the other six bishops came to Gaul A. D. 250,[2] during the reign of Decius; but if Gregory really believed this date correct, it is difficult to reconcile the statement with another which is given further on, where he says that St. Saturninus was ordained by a disciple of the Apostles; and, if so, his ordination must have taken place at the close of the first or in the beginning of the second century.[3] There is, however, a weighty and authentic testimony very favorable to the claims of St. Trophimus, and of a date a century and a half earlier than the time of St. Gregory. This is a *letter of nineteen bishops*, written *to Pope Leo*, and praying him to restore to the metropolitan see of Arles the privileges which had been wrested from it. "It is a matter," the letter goes on to say, "well known to all Gaul and to the Holy Roman Church that *Arles, the first city of Gaul*, has the honor of having received the faith from St. Peter through *Bishop Troph-*

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[1] *Faillon*, Monuments, etc., T. II., p. 373 sq.

[2] Ibid., p. 349 sq.

[3] Ibid., p. 365.

imus, and that it spread thence to the other provinces of Gaul." The object of the bishops was to show that the church of Arles was more ancient than that of Vienne. But if St. Trophimus did not found the church of Arles till the third century, how could these nineteen bishops claim for it a higher antiquity than that enjoyed by the church of Vienne, which was in a flourishing condition in the second century, as may be proved from the letter written A. D. 177, by this church and that of Lyons to the churches of Asia Minor? Even *St. Ado*, the greatest of all the bishops of Vienne, contradicts the statement of Gregory of Tours. He says, in his martyrology, on the 27th day of January: "At Arles the feast of *St. Trophimus, bishop* and confessor, a *disciple of SS. Peter and Paul*." Speaking of the feast of the Apostles, in the same work, he says: "Feast of St. Trophimus, of whom the Apostle writes to Timothy: '*I have left Trophimus at Miletus*.' This Trophimus was consecrated at Rome by the Apostles, and was the first bishop sent to Arles, a city of Gaul, to preach there the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and Blessed Pope *Zosimus* says that the faith spread from this city throughout all Gaul. He went to rest in peace at the same city."

St. Ado does not merely assert that Trophimus was sent by the Apostles to become the first bishop of Arles, but he proves it on the authority of Pope Zosimus, who lived a century before Gregory of Tours.

There is still more ancient testimony to prove that St. Trophimus was sent to Arles by the Apostles. *St. Cyprian*, Bishop of Carthage, wrote, at the latest, A. D. 254, to Pope Stephen, exhorting him to instruct the bishops of the province of Lyons, which was at that time presided over by Faustinus, to excommunicate and depose Marcianus, Bishop of Arles, because he was infected with the Novatian heresy, and to have another appointed to his place. "He" (Marcianus), says St. Cyprian, "has *long since* cut himself off from our communion, and it is a sufficient charge against him that in *past years* he has permitted several of our brethren to die without giving them the peace." The expressions, "*long since*" and "*past years*," made use of certainly not later than A. D. 254, will place the date of Marcian's separation from his colleagues at A. D. 250 or 251, and his episcopacy must have begun at even an earlier period. How then can it be assumed, with Gregory of Tours, that Trophimus was sent from Rome A. D. 250, during the reign of Decius, under whom Pope Fabian was martyred (January 20, A. D. 250), and after whose death sixteen months elapsed before another pope could be elected? It is difficult to understand how Pope Fabian could send seven bishops, with many companions, into Gaul in the same year, in the very beginning of which he was martyred, while there is no reason why it might not have been done during the reign of Claudius.

Hence *Longueval* and *Tillemont* reject the authority of Gregory relative to this question, while the learned *P. de Marca* not only puts aside his testimony, but also refutes it.

3. Launoy argues against the opinion that Lazarus and Maximin, Martha, and Mary Magdalen, were sent into Provence by the Apostles, and his reasoning carries with it some weight. He asserts, against the belief of the whole Western Church during the seventeenth century, that there is no ground for believing in the truth of this mission, because St. Lazarus died on the island of

Cyprus, St. Martha at Bethania, St. Mary Magdalen at Ephesus, and that, moreover, the fact is not mentioned by any writer before the eleventh century.

Launoy, to prove that the traditions of Provence and the belief of the whole Western Church were erroneous, cites only a single Greek compiler of the eleventh century, who, speaking of the relics of Lazarus the *Just*, discovered on the isle of Cyprus during the reign of the Emperor Leo VI., confounds him with Lazarus of Bethania, who everywhere enjoyed the surname of *Martyr*, and whom the Cypriotes never believed to have been buried among them.

St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, is altogether silent on the point, and though writing at the end of the fourth century, and giving a detailed account of Lazarus and the manner of his resurrection, does not even hint at his having been buried on the isle of Cyprus. Again, the monks of Cyprus protested against the assertions of Launoy as soon as they appeared, and maintained that Lazarus was buried in Provence, and not on Cyprus.

Launoy brings forward pretty much the same sort of argument to show that St. Mary Magdalen died at *Ephesus*. A Greek fragment of apocryphal acts mentions a Mary Magdalen, *Virgin and Martyr*, who was put to death at Ephesus, and this he supposes to be the sister of Lazarus. She, however, is not mentioned under the title of either Virgin or Martyr; and Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus enumerates, in a letter written at the close of the second century, all the glories of his church, and has not a word about the tomb of that holy virgin, which he would certainly not have failed to mention had it really existed.

Launoy and those who follow him give *Flodoard* as their authority for saying that Martha died at Bethania, but that writer states only that in his time the *house* of Martha, which had been converted into a church, was shown at Bethania, and has not a word either of her death or place of burial.

But the fact that there does not exist in Provence any written document or other monuments of a date anterior to the eleventh century, attesting the apostolic mission of Lazarus, Martha, and Mary Magdalen, is the palmary argument of Launoy.

It will be remembered that during the ninth and tenth centuries Southern Gaul was overrun by the Saracens, who overthrew all ecclesiastical monuments and destroyed and burned all the archives. But, notwithstanding all this, enough remains for our purpose.

Faillon gives these monuments under thirteen heads, to a few of which we will refer. They are taken from a very old life of Mary Magdalen, written in the fifth or sixth century.

They are: Various tombs, the crypt of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Maximinus; the "Ste. Baume," where Mary Magdalen retired to pray, and on this account held in great honor by the early Christians; the oratory of "our Savior" at Aix, which had been sanctified by the presence of St. Maximinus; the acts of the martyrdom of St. Alexander of Brescia, which prove that St. Lazarus was Bishop of Marseilles and St. Maximinus of Aix, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius; the tomb of St. Lazarus in the church of St. Victor at Marseilles, and his prison in the same city; the tomb of St. Martha at Tarascon, very much venerated during the fifth and sixth centuries; the most ancient martyrologies which mention the mission of SS. Lazarus, Martha, and Mary Magdalen; and the fact that it is historically certain that the relics of St. Mary Magdalen were transferred during the reign of King Odoin or Eudes to a place of safety, that they might be secure against the outrages of the Saracens.

St. Epiphanius affirms that *St. Luke* preached the Gospel in Italy and Dalmatia, but that his labors were confined principally to Gaul.[1] He also says that *Crescent*, a disciple of St. Paul, labored to spread the faith in the same country, and that the passage of the Apostle in his second epistle to Timothy, relative to Crescent, refers not to Galatia, but to Gaul.[2] *St. Isidore* of Seville says that St. Philip also came to labor in Gaul.[3]

It is impossible to go through the labor of proving the antiquity of every single church of Gaul, but from what has been said it seems fair to conclude that, besides those churches already mentioned, and the date of whose foundation has been traced back to apostolic or sub-apostolic times, there must have existed many more, scattered up and down the country.

Reasoning in this way, it will be necessary to assign the apostolic age, or a short time after, as the date of the origin of the churches, which those who follow the authority of Gregory of Tours, if they wish to be consistent, must refer to the pontificate of Pope Fabian. This line of argument is strengthened by the tradition which exists in many of these churches claiming as their founders the men whom the Apostles sent as missionaries into Gaul. Such are the churches of Evreux, founded by St. Taurinus; of Senlis, by St. Rieule; of Beauvais, by St. Lucian; of Meaux and Verdun, by St. Sanctinus; and of Saintes, by St. Eutropius, and whose origin on this hypothesis will date back to the close of the first or the beginning of the second century.

The church of Bourges was founded by St. Ursinus, a disciple of one of the seven messengers sent to Gaul.

Many other churches claim an equally high antiquity with those of Paris, Arles, and Narbonne, and their traditions assert that their first bishops, though neither the first Apostles of Gaul (already mentioned), nor their disciples, were nevertheless sent thither by either St. Peter or his immediate successors. Such were St. Sixtus of Rheims, St. Sabinian of Sens, St. Julian of Mans, St. Aventine of Chartres (a disciple of St. Florus), St. Clarus of Albi, a saint of the same name of Nantes, and St. Genullius of Cahors.[4]

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[1] *Epiphan.* haeres. LI.

[2] Ibid.

[3] *Isidor.*, De vita et morte sanctorum, c. 74.

[4] Conf. *Longueval*, Vol. I., A. D. 245 sq. The prime motive of that school of criticism which flourished at Paris and elsewhere during the seventeenth century was to prove the traditional lives of the saints contained in the Breviaries incorrect and at variance with history. Thus, for example, Mary Magdalen lost her identity, and became, in the hands of these critics, three distinct persons, viz., Mary the Penitent, Mary the Sister of Lazarus, and Mary Magdalen, from whom Jesus drove out seven demons.

Characteristically enough the two palmary arguments in support of this theory are whimsical blunders. Launoy and his school quoted in support of the distinction a passage from St. Theophilus of Antioch, who lived in the second century. It turned out, however, that they had made a slight mistake in

St. Irenaeus states that in his time Christianity had spread into the "two *Germanics*," which, as Prof. *Friedrich* of Munich has proved, are identical with the countries lying along the left bank of the Rhine, and extending up as far as

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his identity, as well as in that of Mary Magdalen, and had not been over precise in their chronology; for it was ascertained, after a little investigation, that Theophilus of Antioch was not the same person as Theophylactus, whom they had quoted, but that the latter was a writer of the Lower Empire, and lived, not in the second, but in the eleventh century. It is hardly to be wondered at that Rome does not care to be set right by men so gifted. Their second blunder was equally glaring. The Jansenist critics wished to revise the Liturgy, and quoted the Roman Martyrology as their authority for introducing the feast of Mary and Martha on the 19th of January. The passage on which they grounded themselves runs as follows: "At Rome, on the Cornelian road (Feast) of the holy martyrs, Marius and Martha his wife, with their sons Audifax and Abachum, noble Persians, who came to Rome through devotion in the time of the Emperor Claudius. . . . Martha was put to death in the place called Nympha; the others were beheaded and their bodies burned." (The Rom. Martyrol., Baltimore, 1869, pp. 20, 21.)

But, it will be asked, how could these learned men and liturgists mistake this passage as referring to the feast of Mary and Martha? In this way: Instead of reading Marius and Martha his wife, one of these modern doctors read Mary and Martha, suppressing the rest of the history.

Father Sollier, a Flemish Jesuit, detected the blunder, and when he had made it public, the innovators suppressed the feast in the new Paris edition of their Breviary, but it was allowed to remain in those of the provinces.

Such are the two arguments brought forward in support of the modern theory that Mary, the sister of Martha and Lazarus, is not identical with Mary Magdalen. Abbé Faillon proves by a number of hitherto unedited and but little known monuments that the Roman Church was right in maintaining her ancient traditions, and that Mary Magdalen, Mary the sister of Lazarus, and Mary the Penitent are one and the same person.

This he does from the constant tradition of both the Greek and the Latin churches. Among the Greeks, every single Father, with the exception of two or three, who simply take for granted that they were different, teaches the identity of the person to whom these three names are indifferently applied.

Some of them treat the subject exhaustively, such as *Ammonius Saccas*, the master of Origen, in his Harmony of the Gospels, and *Eusebius* of Caesarea, in his Evangelical Canons, translated by St. Jerome. *Origen* is the first who maintains that the names apply to distinct persons, but he is hardly consistent. *St. Chrysostom* admits that the Evangelists seem to speak of but one person, but his own opinion is that there are two or more Penitents. These are the only two Greek Fathers who are of opinion that different persons are meant.

The *Latin* Fathers, without a single exception, either take for granted or openly assert that Mary the sister of Martha, Mary the Penitent, and Mary Magdalen are but one person. See *Rohrbacher*, Hist. Univ. de l' église, 2d ed., T. IV., p. 476–485.

Belgium.[1] The churches of *Treves*, then the capital of Belgic Gaul, and those of *Metz* and *Cologne* undoubtedly existed at the close of the third century, and their respective bishops were *Eucharius*, *Clement*, and *Maternus*. There is a legend that the last mentioned was sent to Gaul by St. Peter. He was present at Rome when the Donatists were condemned, A. D. 313,[2] and shortly after went, in company with his deacon, Macrinus, to take part in the Council of Arles, A. D. 314, at which *Agroecius*, Bishop of Treves, and the Felix the Exorcist, also assisted.[3]

There is also a tradition, which, however, is not very reliable, that the churches of *Tongres*, *Spires*, and *Mayence* existed at this period, and that *Crescens* was the first bishop of the last named place.[4]

We have less copious information relating to the early history of the Church in those countries lying along the Danube, such as *Noricum*, *Rhetia*, and *Vindelicia*. Christian soldiers, belonging to the Roman camps scattered up and down throughout these provinces, or to colonial cities, such as Laureacum, Augusta Vindelicorum, Reginum, Juvavia, and Tridentum, became everywhere apostles of the Gospel. The most ancient church is that of *Lorch* (*Laureacum*), whose bishop, *Maximilian*, was martyred at *Celeja* (Cilly in Styria), his own native town, A. D. 285. *Victorinus*, Bishop of Petavio (Pettau in Styria), and *St. Afra*, of Augsburg, who had been converted from a life of shame by the holy bishop *Narcissus*, met with a similar fate.[5]

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[1] *Iren.* contr. haer. I. 10, p. 49. †**Friedrich*, C. H. Germany, Vol. I. (the Roman Period), Bamb. 1867.

[2] *Optat.* Milevit. de schismate Donatist. I. 23.

[3] *Hug. Calmet*, hist. de Lorraine T. I., p. 7. *Nic. ab Hontheim*, hist. diplom. Trevirensis. in prodromo T. I., p. 64 sq. (diss. de aera fundati episcopatus Trevir). *Tillemont*, T. IV., p. 1082. *Bolland.* Acta Sanctor. Jan. T. II., p. 922. All three endeavor to show that *Eucharius* came to Treves already in the third century, and that *Maternus* appeared in those countries only in the beginning of the fourth. *Rettberg*, C. H. of Germ., Vol. I., p. 73 sqq. †*Marx*, Hist. of the Arch-prebend of Treves, etc., from the earliest times to 1816, Treves, 1858–64, in 5 vols. *Friedrich*, l. c., Vol. I., p. 221 sqq.

[4] *Falk*. Catalogue of the Bishops of Mentz before the times of Boniface, 1870.

[5] Chronicon Laureacens. et Petaviens. Archiep. et Episc. (*Pezii* T. I. script. rer. Austr.)

The Roman colony of *Brigantium*, on the shores of the Lake of Constance, contained a Christian community at a very early date, for the Christians who were persecuted during the reign of Diocletian at *Constance*, a city named after Constantius Chlorus, are said to have taken refuge in the so-called Heathen Caverns, near the town of Ueberlingen. There was also a bishopric at *Sirmium*, in Farther Pannonia, whose bishop, *Irenaeus*, suffered martyrdom during the persecution of Diocletian.

During the second century the knowledge of Christianity was spread among the *Goths*, a warlike and barbarous nation, inhabiting Moesia and Thrace, by Christians whom they had led away captive in some of those predatory incursions which they were accustomed to make into the neighboring countries.[1]

The influence of the Druids was very sensibly weakened in *Britain*, as well as in Gaul, by the government, mythology, and civilization of Rome, which in turn prepared the way for Christianity, whose civilizing influences soon became apparent throughout the land. The English Church of to-day, ambitious of a high antiquity, and quoting in support of its claims the names and authority of Eusebius and Theodoret,[2] wishes to trace its episcopal succession back to *St. Paul.* Though there is not a shred of evidence to support this claim, it is nevertheless true that Christian communities, by special favor of the Roman civil and military colonies, existed in Britain in the early part of the third century. Tertullian and Origen mention the fact, and the former asserts that Christianity *made greater conquests than the Romans themselves*, but the remark refers to Scotland or Iceland rather than Britain.[3]

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[1] *Sozomen.* h. e. II. 6. *Philostorg.* h. e. II. 5.

[2] *Euseb.* demonstr. evang., c. 3 and 7. *Theodoreti* comment. in 2 Tim. iv. 17, and in Ps. 116. (Opp. ed. *Schulze*, T. IV., p. 829 sqq.) *Lingard*, Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, Bresl. 1847, p. 1 sqq.

[3] *Tertull.* adv. Jud., c. 7. *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca Christo vero subdita. Origen*, in Matth. tract. 38. Cf. *Alford*, annales eccl. Britannicae, Leodii. 1663, T. I. *Usseri* britannicar. ecclesiar. antiquit, Lond. 1687. *Bingham*, origg. eccl. T. III., p. 557 sqq. *Bonn*, Periodical of Philos. and Cath.

Venerable Bede states that *Lucius*, a British prince, requested and obtained Christian teachers from Pope *Eleutherius* (177–192). The edicts of Diocletian[1] against the Christians were carried out with great severity in the Church of Britain. *St. Alban* was England's first martyr. Three Bishops from Britain, viz., those of *York* (*Eboracum*), *London*, and *Lincoln*, were present at the celebrated synod of Arles.

REVIEW.

When we call to mind the details just narrated, the eloquent accounts that have come down to us of the condition of the Church at this time, though a little too rhetorical, will not surprise us.[2] The Fathers speak of it with enthusiasm. "There is," says *Justin Martyr*, "no people, whether Greek or Barbarian, among whom prayers and thanksgiving are not offered to the Father and Creator of the world in the name of Christ crucified." *St. Irenaeus*, in speaking of the Church as extending to the ends of the earth, does not confine himself to loose and general assertions, but specifies the very churches of Libya and Egypt, of the Celts and Iberians, and even the Germans.

"Everywhere," says *Tertullian*, in a burst of enthusiasm, "are to be found the disciples of the Crucified—among the Parthians and Medes, the Elamites and Mesopotamians; in Armenia and Phrygia, Cappadocia and Pontus, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Cyrene; mingled with the various tribes of the Getuli and Moors, in Gaul and Spain, and Britain and Germany." And he elsewhere says that the Christians are numerous enough to raise armies as large as those of the Parthians and Marcomanni. It is well to remember while reading

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Theolog., No. 15, p. 83–103. *Thiele*, commentar. de eccl. Britannica primordiis, P. I., Hal. 1839. †*Montalembert*, The Monks of the West, Ratisb. 1860 sqq., Vol. III., p. 16–21. †**Greith*, Bishop of St. Gall, History of the Ancient Irish Church, etc., Freibg. 1867, p. 82 sqq.

[1] *Gildas*, the most ancient British writer, gives testimony to this. (Querulus de excidio Britan. *Galland.* bibl. T. XII.

[2] *Justin.* M. dial. c. Tryph., c. 117. *Iren.* contr. haer. I. 10. *Tertull.* adv. Jud., c. 7; apologet., c. 37.

such passages that the Pagans were always far more numerous than the Christians. This may be inferred from the fact that Constantine and his successors, fifty years after Christianity had received an official sanction, were obliged to have recourse to force in order to suppress Paganism within the confines of the Roman empire, and that Julian, when emperor, made an attempt to again establish it as the religion of the state.

§ 65. *Causes of the Rapid Propagation of Christianity.*

The causes which contributed to the rapid propagation of Christianity, apart from *external* circumstances, were its *intrinsic* worth and *positive* character as a divinely revealed religion, which brought to the soul that stability of belief and firmness of conviction for which the Pagan philosophers had sought in vain. We would refer the reader for the external circumstances which contributed to the spread of Christianity to the *historical introduction*, where the positive and the negative preparation for the coming of Christ among the Jews and Pagans will be found treated in paragraph twenty-five; and also ask him to call to mind the fact that prophecies *announcing the Messiah* existed among almost every nation of the earth, and were better known to the Romans than to any other people.

Christianity met and *fully satisfied every religious craving of the human soul,*[1] thus accomplishing a work in which both the philosophies of the time and the religious superstitions of the East had failed.[2] It gave rest to the troubled soul and peace to the heart, dispelled the perplexity of doubt, and brought comfort to the sinner and pardon to the guilty. It recommended itself to the Jews who had laid aside their prejudice, as well as to Heathens, as a divine religion, adequate to the work of salvation;[3] held out to the poor the hope of everlasting joys, and cheered the desponding; inspired in the slave a feeling of true liberty and manly dignity, and forced the master to recognize and respect the inalienable rights of man.

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[1] *Tertull.* apologet., c. 39. *Minut. Felix.* Octav., c. 9.

[2] Matt. vi. 28, 29.

[3] Rom. i. 16.

Besides all these, there were many other instruments of power and influence placed within the reach of the Christian missionary. He could confidently appeal to the fact that both the Jewish and the *Sibylline* prophecies had been fulfilled in the person of Christ, and point to the holy and irreproachable *lives of the Christians* as an undeniable result of their religion Again, the contempt of the Christians for the goods of this world, the purity of their morals, their sympathetic charity, their numerous acts of kindness and beneficence, their patience under injuries, and above all, their enduring fortitude and heroic courage in bearing up under the most violent persecution, were such as to excite the astonishment of all and elicit the admiration of the Pagans themselves. "The Christians," says the Pagan Caecilius, in the work of *Minutius Felix*, known as the Octavius, "love each other before they become acquainted." And *Tertullian* says that even the enemies of the Christians were forced to cry out in wonder, "Behold how they love and are ready to die for one another."[1] *St. Cyprian* tells us, in his work *De Mortalitate*, how surprised the Pagans were when they beheld the Christians burying the bodies of those who had died of a plague, and extending the same kind offices to the Pagans, whom their friends had cast out upon the streets.

But, if there was one thing above another that drew the attention of all upon the Christians and inspired feelings of admiration for them in the breasts of others, it was the heroic fortitude and joy which so many evinced in laying down their lives for their faith.[2] Every reasonable person must have been convinced that no other than a supernatural and divine influence could have prompted men to meet death with joy, that *their blood*, as Tertullian says, *might be the seed of Christianity*. Thus the enthusiasm with which some faced death rather than give up the faith of Christ, inspired others with a generous zeal to become its apostles. It was a gratifying duty for philosophers who had been converted, to labor for the conversion of their former friends, and the examples of Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, and Tertullian are evidence that this labor was not in vain. All wished to gain souls to Christ, and joined heartily in the work of promoting the holy cause. Merchants became traveling missionaries, and their extended journeys gave them opportunities to exercise a wide influence. The soldier preached Christ in the camp, and the slave carried a knowledge of Him into the bosom of the private family.[1] Slaves, and especially females, to whom the care of children was committed, and who always take up the cause of religion with a more generous enthusiasm than men, were not slow to make the best use of the advantages which they possessed. This universal interest in the affairs of religion by persons of all classes will explain the meagerness of detail in the history of missionaries properly so called. Every Christian was enlisted in the work, and the faith of Christ permeated society through a thousand channels and rivulets.[2]

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[1] *Tert.* l. c.

[2] *Lactant.* institut. rel. chr. V. 13.

Should these causes be thought insufficient to explain the triumph of the Gospel over Paganism, another and greater may be found in the subduing and *mysterious influence* exercised *by Christ* over the hearts of men,[3] and in the divine gift of miracles which He promised[4] to the Church, and which was *most fully* manifested in her ministrations during the first three centuries.[5] The Christian apologists are continually appealing to cures miraculously wrought and to persons delivered from the possession of the Evil One, as to events of ordinary occurrence, and taking place under their own eyes. "Miracles," says *Origen*, are not known among the Jews, while among the Christians they have not yet ceased to be wrought; nay, more, the miracles at present are more striking than formerly,[1] and if I may be thought a credible witness, I will affirm that I myself have seen them performed."

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[1] *Münter*, Christians in Pagan houses before Constantine, Copenhagen, 1828.

[2] *Euseb.* h. e. III. 37. *Justin.* dialog. c. Tryph., c. 8. * *Origen.* contr. Cels. III. 3, III. 10.

[3] John vi. 44, 66, vii. 38 sq., xii. 32. *Justin.* dial. c. Tryph., c. 7.

[4] Mark xvi. 15–20.

[5] *Just.* apol. II., c. 8; dial. c. Tryph., c. 85. *Tertull.* apolog., c. 23; de spectacul. c. 29. *Iren.* contr. haeres. II. 31, 32. *Orig.* contr. Cels. I. 10, II. 21. Constit. Apostol. VIII. 1. *Euseb.* h. e. V. 3 and 7. More explicit on the greater manifestation of the gift of miracles is *Mamachi*, origin. et antiquitat. christ. T. I, p. 363 sqq. *Dieringer*, System of the Divine Actions (Vol. I., p. 109 sqq.), 2 ed., p. 78 sq.

In the beginning, it was necessary that the Church should possess in all its fullness the gift of graces and miracles, if she would successfully cope with Paganism and triumph over a spirit of intolerance that was checked by no principle of humanity, and punished opposition with death. We shall presently have more to say on the subject.

There is much force in the remark of *St. Augustine.* "Though," says he, "the Pagans may not believe that the same Apostles who announced *the resurrection and ascension of Christ* wrought *this one great miracle*, it is sufficient for us that the whole world believes it without the testimony of miracles."[2]

§ 66. *Obstacles to the Propagation of Christianity.*

†*Mamachi*, orig. et antiq., lib. I., c. 2, especially § 18 sq. *Kortholt*, paganus obstrectator, seu de calumniis gentilium in Christianos, libb. III. (Hamb. 1698), Lubec. 1703. *Hulderici* gentilis obstrectator, Tigur. 1744. *Tzschirner*, Downfall of Paganism, ed. by *Niedner*, Lps. 1829, p. 255 sqq., 335 sqq. *Gams*, History of the Church, by Moehler, Vol. I., p. 197–223.

Having mentioned some of the causes that favored the growth of Christianity, we shall briefly notice the obstacles that retarded its progress. These arose, on the one hand, from the efforts of the *Jews*, who, besides being crafty, were still powerful, and, on the other, from the *Pagans*, whose opposition was far more formidable. The former did not hesitate to invent and give circulation to lies, at once both shameless and stupid, concerning Christ and His followers, and were at special pains to carry them into the schools of learning at Babylon and *Tiberias*. This conduct caused *Tertullian* to say:[1] "What other people besides the Jews would say such hard things of us?" When, however, the Jews saw that, notwithstanding the bitterness and energy of this opposition, the Church went steadily forward in her career of conquest, they gave evidence of an increasing anti-Christian tendency, by developing an effete and senseless sectarianism, known as *Rabbinism*, in which a legendary ritual and traditions are appended to the majestic Law of Moses.

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[1] John xiv. 12.

[2] *August.* de civ. Dei XXII. 5: "Et ipse modus, quo mundus *credidit*, si consideretur, *incredibilior* invenitur. Ineruditos liberalibus disciplinis, et omnino, quantum ad istorum doctrinas attinet, impolitos, non peritos grammatica, non armatos dialectica, non rhetorica inflatos piscatores Christus cum retibus fidei ad mare hujus saeculi paucissimos misit, atque *ita* ex omni genere tam multos pisces, et tanto mirabiliores, quanto rariores etiam ipsos philosophos cepit." The end of this chapter runs thus: "Si vero per Apostolos Christi, ut eis crederetur, resurrectionem atque ascensionem praedicantibus Christi, etiam ista miracula facta esse non credunt, hoc nobis *unum grande miraculum* sufficit, *quod eam terrarum orbis sine ullis miraculis credidit.*"

These traditions, which are very minute, compiled about A. D. 220, were known as the *Mishnah* or Second Law, and about the end of the third century, when additions were added by the Doctors of the Law, as the *Gemara of Jerusalem*, and still later (A. D. 430–521) as the *Gemara of Babylon*. The whole collection of these laws and doctrinal books goes now under the general name of the *Talmud*. This new development of Judaism stood in the way of any recognition of the real Messiah by the Jews[2] on the one hand, and on the other fanned into a fresh flame their undying hatred of the Christians. Though their pretensions were frequently refuted by the Christians, every argument was unavailable.[3]

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[1] *Tertull.* ad nationes, 1, 14. Of the many low as well as obscene things related in the *Talmud*, we will but mention that Christ is ridiculed therein as a filius spurius, and that he is said to have forced his mother, by most cruelly introducing her head between the door and its jamb, and thus putting her to the torture, to confess that she gave birth to him out of wedlock!

[2] *G. Surenhus*, Mishna text, with Latin transl. and comm., Amst. 1698–1703, 6 T. f.; translated into Germ. by *Rabe*, Ansp. 1760–63, 6 vols. 4to. *Pinner*, Compend. of the Talmud of Jerusalem and Babyl., Brl. 1832, 4to. *The same*, Babylon, Talmud (Hebrew and Ger.), and Comment., Brl. 1842 sqq. Agreeably to the wily tactics of the Jews, of which mention is made in John viii. 39, Christ and His followers are very seldom mentioned, and, if so, always in a concealed manner. Cf. *Wolfii* bibl. Hebr., P. II., p. 979–986. *Graetz*, History of the Jews down to the finishing of the Talmud, Brl. 1853.

[3] *Just. Martyr*, dialog. c. Tryphone Judaeo; *Tertull.* adv. Judaeos; *Cyprian*, testimonior. adv. Jud., libb. III.

It was also necessary for the progress of the Christian religion to eradicate among Pagans those religious ideas, and smooth away those prejudices which had gained strength and persistency by a growth of centuries, and held the intellect of the Old World captive, and to replace them by new thoughts and sympathies, a new line of conduct and a new existence; in fine, to work a total change in man.

There was also a great difficulty in overcoming the influence which the worship of idols exercised upon the public mind. It had everything to recommend it to the masses of the people. It was of undoubted antiquity, was interwoven with their education and modes of thought, and, more than all, ministered to their sensual passions. Again, the *priests*, who, if the people embraced Christianity, would be stripped of all consideration and influence, and the *merchants*, who derived great *profits* from the sale of things necessary to the worship of idols, exercised no little influence in keeping the bulk of the people from a knowledge of Christianity.[1]

Even literary men, who naturally regarded with affectionate partiality the objects which their genius had celebrated, and which contributed to their own glory, took sides against the Christians when they beheld them attacking Pagan divinities and Pagan literature. But who were those teachers of the Gospel, those dreaded enemies of Paganism? A few ignorant men, who enjoyed no consideration even in their own country, which itself was looked upon with scornful contempt by all the world; men who, instead of tampering with the passions of men, laid an obligation upon their followers to war against the flesh.

Again, *the old systems of religion had been intimately bound up with the interests of the State;* while Christianity, on the contrary, not only opposed the superstitions of Paganism, but also asserted an independent and absolute authority. Moreover, it was neither a religion officially tolerated, nor one handed down from remote antiquity (*religio antiquitus tradita*), but a religion which had not before been heard of (*religio nova*), and which, not having the sanction of the State, was under the proscription of Roman law.[1] Besides, Christian assemblies were still liable to the penalties against unlawful gatherings (*hetaeriae*, or *collegia illicita*).[2]

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[1] Acts xix. 25. *Plin.* epp. X. 97. Prope jam desolata templa, sacra solemnia diu intermissa, *rarissimus victimarum emtor.*

It was but natural that the Christians should meet with a very decided opposition; but, apart from this, reports were put into circulation concerning them, at once false and of a most damaging character. Because they adored the one true God, who, they affirmed, was a pure spirit, and whose very existence was on this account denied by the Polytheists, they were accused of *Atheism*, and rendered liable to all the penalties of so grave an offense.[3] The active persecution that was kept up against them, placed them under the necessity of holding their religious assemblies after night, and this circumstance was laid hold on as a pretext for charging them with the treasonable offense of conspiracy, with *incest*, and other unnatural vices. The truth of the last charge seemed borne out by the manner of salutation common among the Christians, who, by addressing each other as sister and brother, gave tokens of their mutual affection.[4] These vague and groundless reports were deemed sufficient to prove that the Coenae, or *feasts* of the Christians, differed in no way from the abominable banquet of *Thyestes*, at which the flesh and blood of infants were served as meat and drink; and the fact that Christian women took wine at the eucharistic table, was looked upon as ample evidence of their guilt of adultery. Christians, besides being accused of *adoring the wood of the Cross*, were also charged with paying *homage to an ass*, (*ὀνολατρεία*), and on this account overwhelmed with every species of contempt and ridicule.[5] The conduct of slaves who were intrepid enough to defend Christianity and its interests, was regarded as subversive of civil order, and the infliction of torture often drew from them a confession of those crimes of which Christians were falsely accused.

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[1] *Cic.* de legg. II. 8 sqq., above p. 134, note 2; and in Julius Paulus sent. V. 21, § 2, we have: "Qui novas et usu vel ratione incognitas religiones inducat, et quibus animi moveantur, *honestiores deportantur, humiliores capite puniuntur.*"

[2] *Mommsen* de collegiis et sodalitiis Romanor., Kil. 1843. †*Thiel*, Concerning the juris-prudential views of ancient Rome in reference to the political condition of the Christ. relig. (Tueb. Theol. Quart. 1855, n. 2.) *Aube*, mémoire sur la légalité du christianisme au premier siècle, Par. 1866.

[3] *Justin.* apolog. I., c. 6, 13, 17.

[4] *Athenagor.* legat. pro Christianis, c. 3. *Tertull.* apolog., c. 16, 39, 40. *Minut. Felix.* Octav., c 12.

[5] *Tertull.* apolog., c. 16, speaks of the caricature of a Jew in Carthage, with

The vulgar ascribed to this novel and impious sect *every disaster of the State*, and wars, famines, and earthquakes were evidences of the anger of gods whose worship was neglected ("*non pluit Deus, duc ad Christianos*"). The more intelligent members of the community encouraged, from interested motives, the opposition of the multitude,[1] and looked down with conscious superiority upon the Christians as a set of gloomy *fanatics*, whose doctrines were both baneful and *superstitious.* Then the State, thinking that a sect which had excited universal hatred[2] and opposition, and whose members had shown disrespect to the emperors (*irreligiosi in Caesarem*), was inimical to its own interests, felt itself called upon to step in and suppress it by force.

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the inscription: "Deus Christianorum Onocoetes, or Onocoites (according to Oehler's ed.)—asinarius sacerdos." Similarly in *Minut. Felix.* Octavius, c. 9. A derisive crucifix of our Savior was dug out on the Palatine hill on the occasion of clearing away the palaces of the ancient emperors. It represented a crucified man with the head of an ass, and a man adoring him, and bore the following inscription: "*Ἀλεξάμενος σέβετε (αι) θεόν.*"—(Alexamenos adores his God.) Copy and description of it in the Civiltà cattolica, 1856, T. IV., p. 529 sq. *Becker*, Derisive Crucifix of the Palaces of the Roman Emperors, Brsl. 1866. In *Muenz*, Archaeolog. remarks on the Cross, Monogram of Christ, the Ancient Christ. Symbols, the Crucifix, Wiesb. 1866, p. 127 sq., with the other literature on the same subject. Cf. *Austr. Quart.* for Cath. Theolog., 1869, No. 2. In *Orig.* contr. Cels. VI. 30, Celsus styles the Christ. *ὀνοκέφαλοι* (ass-heads). Cf. *Hasaeus*, diatribe de onolatria olim Judaeis (*Tac.* hist. V. 4; *Diod.* Sicul. 6 *Phot.* bibl. cod. 244) et Christianis impacta, Lps. 1716, 4to. *Muenter*, Christians in Pagan houses, p. 15. sqq. *Kraus*, The Derisive Crucifix on the Palatine Hill, Freiburg, 1872.

[1] Cf. *Tertull.* apolog., c. 40. Si Tiberis ascendit in moenia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si coelum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim Christianos ad leonem, and the commentarius *Havercampi.* Very pointed is the reply of *Arnob.* adv. gentes: "Si Alamannos, Persas, Scythas, idcirco voluerunt (dii gentilium) devinci, *quod habitarent et degerent in eorum gentibus Christiani;* quemadmodum Romanis tribuere victoriam, cum habitarent et degerent in eorum quoque gentibus Christiani?" I. 6. *Just.* apol. I., c. 12.

[2] According to *Tacit.* ann. XV. 44: Superstitio exitiabilis, odium generis humani propter flagitia invisi; *Sueton.* vita Neron., c. 6: Genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae. *Minut. Felix.*, c. 12. *Tertull.* apolog., c. 13. Cf. *Wuerzb.*, Friend of Religion, 1843, No. 64.

It is indeed true, that the Christians, from motives of conscience, frequently refused to take the military oath, or accept offices of public trust, and absolutely declined to sanction, by their presence, the idolatrous worship paid to the statues of the emperors. All these causes combined to excite against them a series of bloody persecutions, extending through a period of three centuries. These were first called forth by the clamors of the *Jews* and the Pagan populace; but, after the time of *Marcus Aurelius*, they received the sanction of *emperors* and *men of letters;* and finally, from the time of *Decius* and *Diocletian*, prejudice and hatred took the shape of a well-defined conviction, which asserted that Christianity was incompatible with both the political and religious well-being of the Roman empire. In the face of facts like these, it is quite incomprehensible how a man of *Gibbon's* acknowledged ability could have attributed the rapid progress of Christianity to merely *natural causes.*[1]

CONDITION OF THE CHRISTIANS UNDER THE EMPERORS DURING THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES.

REFERENCES.—I. Sources: The Apologists, the Christian and Pagan Historians (scriptores historiae Augustae, Eusebius, etc.); *Lactantius*, de mortibus persecutorum; *Ruinart*, acta sincera et selecta martyrum; the primitive Calendarium (Greek *μηνολόγιον*) martyrum, enlarged into the martyrologium, with biograph. notices. This is the most ancient in the Latin Church, and written most likely by *St. Jerome*, but the one in most general use is the martyrologium Rom., issued by the order of Pope Gregory XIII., edit. Baronius, 1586; auxit *Herib. Rosweid*, S. J.; last edit., Malines, 1846, Ratisb. 1847. The most celebrated *Menologium* among the Greeks is that which was commenced in the ninth century by the order of the Emperor *Basilius Macedo*, and published in the year 1727 at Albano by Cardinal *Urbini.*

II. Works: *Tillemont*, histoire des empereurs, etc. See above, p. 48, note 1. *Kortholt*, de persecution. eccl. primaev., Kilon. 1689, transl. into German under the title "Beschreibung der zehn grossen Verfolgungen," Hamburg, 1698. *Franc. Balduini*, comment. ad edicta vett. principum Roman. de Christianis, Halae, 1728. *Martini*, persecutiones Christianorum sub impp. Rom., causae

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[1] *Gibbon*, History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Lond. 1776 sq., VI. T. 1; transl. into German by *Wenk*, Lps. 1788 sqq., 19 vols. (Lps. 1837) in 1 vol., 4to. In the sixteenth chapter he makes the bold assertion that the propagation of Christianity may be explained by *natural* causes; separately translated by *Walterstern*, Hamb. 1788. Conc. the theologico-literary contest, cf. *Walch*, Newest History of Rel., Vol. VIII., p. 89–172.

earum et effectus, Rostock, 1802. *Koepke*, de statu et condit. Christianor. sub impp. Rom. alterius post Chr. saeculi, Berol. 1828. **Kritzler*, the Heroic Age of the Christians (first three centuries of the Christian Church), Leipsig, 1856. †*Spörlein*, the Persecutions of the Christians in the Roman Empire, Ratisbon, 1858. *Plehwe*, the Persecutions of the Christians during the first three centuries considered in their external causes and internal development, Posen, 1866. Cf. *Gams*, Möhler's Ch. H., Vol. I., p. 223–259.

§ 67. *During the Second Century.* (Continuation of § 50.)

The Christians enjoyed some favor under the Emperor *Nerva*, but were treated with extreme harshness during the reign of *Trajan* (A. D. 98–117), his successor.

A law passed in his reign against secret associations (Hetaeries), as well as others already existing, the scope of which was to preserve the ancient religion of the State, could at any time be invoked against the Christians, and the carrying out of these gave a pretext for *the enactment of a severe penal code, aimed directly at them.* These fresh facilities for persecution were eagerly seized by their enemies, whose hatred, though restrained for a time, was ready to burst forth upon the first occasion. Pliny the Younger, while governor of Bithynia, having been frequently importuned by persons asking for a judicial prosecution of the Christians, and having also received an anonymous letter containing bills of indictment against many of those whose names were given, sent to Rome a full report of the state of affairs, and requested an imperial decision for his future guidance.

He instituted a judicial inquiry into the manner of life of the Christians, which failed to bring to light any crime. The accordant testimony of many witnesses only proved that it was a custom among them to assemble on certain days before sunrise to sing hymns of praise in honor of *Christ their God;* that they took an oath to abstain from committing certain sins, such as stealing, robbing, leading unchaste lives, breaking their plighted word, and refusing to return a deposit when required to do so; and that they then dispersed and came together again in the evening, when they partook of a common but blameless meal. He therefore declared that the only objectionable feature of the Christian religion was its extravagant superstition, and that, on this account, it should be suppressed. Still, this open disobedience of the Christians to the laws of the State could not be allowed to go unpunished, and Pliny ordered that all those who, when a number of others wished to do so, would obstinately refuse to sacrifice to the gods, to worship before the statue of the emperor, and blaspheme Christ, should be punished with death, and that those who would abjure their faith, should be set at liberty. The instructions of the emperor to the governor were to the same effect: "The Christians," said he, "are not to be sought out, but should any of them be denounced, they must not be pardoned until they have abjured faith in Christ, and those who stubbornly refuse to do so shall be punished."[1]

These conflicting instructions, which, while apparently forbidding all unnecessary interference, were in reality a license to persecute, placed the Christians at the mercy of the Jewish and Pagan populace. *Simeon*, the holy bishop of Jerusalem and successor to James the Less, was, at the age of 120, denounced by Jews, and crucified A. D. 108; and *Ignatius*, the heroic bishop of Antioch, having persisted in professing his faith, was loaded with chains in the presence of the emperor, dragged from his see and sent to Rome, thrown into the arena of the Colosseum,[2] and torn to pieces by wild beasts, for the sport of a degenerate Roman populace (A. D. 107–114).

Although no decree of proscription was passed against the Christians during the reign of *Hadrian* (117–138), still the popular hatred against them was so violent, that Serenius Granianus, Proconsul of Asia, at a loss what course to pursue, asked that a law might be enacted by which his conduct toward them should be guided, and that the accusation should, in every instance, be brought before the ordinary tribunals. The imperial rescript was received by his successor, Minucius Fundanus.[1] It was favorable to the Christians; but this was probably owing to the representations made to the emperor by *Quadratus* and *Aristides*, the first Christian apologists, who addressed to him apologies in their behalf.

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[1] *Plin.* epp. l. X. 97 and 98; Conquirendi non sunt, says Trajan; si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt, ita tamen, ut qui negaverit, se Christianum esse—veniam ex poenitentia impetret. Cf. *Haversaat*, Defense of the Epistles of Pliny concerning the Christians, Götting. 1788. See also *Tertull.* apolog., c. 2. *Euseb.* hist. eccl. III. 33. On the often misunderstood expression of *Pliny's*, cibus promiscuus tamen et innoxius, as well as balnea promiscua (common baths for both sexes), cf. *Bonn. Periodical*, new series, year III., No. 3, p. 191–200.

[2] *Euseb.* hist. eccl. III. 32 and III. 36. The martyr acts of St. Ignatius, in *Galland.* bibl. T. I., p. 290 sq.; *Hefele*, Patres Apost., ed. IV., and in *Ruinart.* l. c.

Notwithstanding this, it is said that the emperor having pursued *Symphorosa* with all manner of cruelty, ordered her to be cast into the river Anio, and her seven children to be broken on the wheel.

Hadrian gave orders (A. D. 132) for the building of a temple of Jupiter on the site of the temple of Jerusalem. This profanation so incensed the Jews that they rose in open revolt against the government, during which six hundred thousand of their number perished, and the remainder were driven out of every part of Palestine. The temple of Jupiter was then rebuilt.

Nor were the places sacred in the eyes of the Christians free from profanation. The emperor, in order to inspire them with disgust for the scenes around which clustered their most hallowed memories, had a statue of Jupiter erected near the sepulchre of our Lord, and one of Venus on Golgotha.

The conduct of *Antoninus Pius* (138–161) toward certain cities of Greece shows that he was still more favorably inclined than Hadrian to the Christians.[2] These were so cruelly persecuted by the populace because of some earthquakes and conflagrations that occurred in Asia, and which were declared to be evidences of the anger of the gods against the Christians, that the emperor, moved by feelings of humanity, issued his famous edict to some of the *Greek communities* of Asia: "Should any one hereafter molest any of those who worship the *immortal God*, for no other reason than because such a one is a Christian, the one so accused, even though he should be clearly proven to be a Christian, shall be acquitted, and his accuser punished." The genuineness of this edict has, for very good reasons, been called in question;[1] and though it may not be supposititious, it has certainly been interpolated by some Christian.

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[1] *Justin.* apol. I., c. 69. *Rufin.* hist. eccl. IV. 9. *Euseb.* IV. 8, 9, and 26. *Sulpit. Sever.* II. 31. *Orosius*, VII. 13. *Hadrian* ordains: "Si quis igitur accusat et *probat, adversus leges quidquam agere* memoratos homines (Christianos), pro merito peccatorum etiam supplicia statues. Illud mehercule magnopere curabis, ut si quis calumniae gratia quemquam horum postulaverit reum, in hunc pro sui nequitia suppliciis severioribus vindices." This, certainly, is the original text in *Rufin.* l. c. See *Palma*, praelectiones hist. eccl. T. I., p. 68–71. Its genuineness has also been attacked by *Keim*, in Baur-Zeller's Theol. Annals, Tübing. 1856, No. 3; not, however, with convincing arguments. Cf. *Gregorovius*, Hadrian and his Times, Königsberg, 1851.

[2] According to *Eusebius* hist. eccl. IV. 26, to the cities of Larissa, Thessalonica, Athens, and all the Greeks. The original text of the Rescripts is no longer extant.

Under *Marcus Aurelius* (161–180), though a noble-minded man and a *philosopher* of merit, the condition of the Christians changed considerably for the worse. His stoic philosophy prevented him from sympathizing with them, and he regarded their buoyant enthusiasm as the effect of fanaticism, and their willingness to endure death rather than deny their convictions as an evidence of stubborn obstinacy (*κατὰ ψιλήν παράταξιν*). As he had made up his mind that the religion of the State should be maintained,[2] he was not over solicitous about suppressing those outbursts of popular violence against the Christians, which were of frequent occurrence, both in Asia Minor and in the cities of Lyons and Vienne in Southern Gaul. He even ordered that they should be sought out and arraigned upon the *charges of atheism and incest, and as participators in the feasts of Thyestes*. Before putting them to death, he had them subjected to the most severe torture, to force them, if possible, to become apostates. The laws enacted against them by this emperor became finally more severe than those against even foreign enemies. He was sustained and urged on by *Crescens*, a cynical and bitter enemy of the Christians, and still more by the infamous *Peregrinus Proteus*, who, after having professed Christianity for a time, became an apostate, and ended his life by committing suicide. *Melito*, Bishop of Sardes, wrote an apology, in which he protests against such odious discrimination against the Christians. *Polycarp*, Bishop of Smyrna, the last of the apostolic men, refusing to deny "Christ, his Master, whom he had faithfully served for eighty-six years," suffered martyrdom, A. D. 163, by being burned to death.[1] Among the martyrs of Gaul were Bishop *Pothinus*, an old man of ninety; the Deacon *Sanctus*, and *Attalus*, of Pergamus, who was called the "Pillar of the Community."

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[1] *Euseb.* IV. 13, has inadvertently attributed it to Marcus Aurelius. The ground for doubting the genuineness of this "edictum" *πρὸς τὸ κοινόν* ad commune Asiae (perhaps the assembly of the States-General of Asia Minor), lies in the fact that its language is peculiarly Christian, and hence it may probably be no more than a favorable interpretation of *Hadrian's* edict. Moreover. its tenor can not be reconciled with the religious opinions *Antoninus Puis* was known to entertain. It is therefore disputed by *Haffner*, de edicto Antonini pro Christianis, Argent. 1781. It is, on the other hand, defended by *Hegelmann*, Tübing. 1777. Cf. *Mosheim*, de reb. Christianor. ante Const. M., p. 240.

[2] Cf. *Julius Capitolinus* in vita Marc. Aurel., c. 21. Deorum cultum diligentissime restituit. The above expression in Marc. Aurel. monolog. (*εἰς ἑαυτόν*) XI. 3.

The delicate slave *Blandina* and her young son *Ponticus*, a lad of fifteen, endured martyrdom (A. D. 177) for the faith, and displayed the greatest heroism during their sufferings, the former declaring, with beaming countenance, "I am a Christian, and no evil is done among us." Even the bodies of the martyred Christians were not sacred from the fury of the populace. They were allowed to remain unburied for six days, and then cast into the Rhone.

Ptolemy, *Lucius*, and *Justin* the Apologist suffered at Rome A. D. 166. When the emperor was waging war in Pannonia against the Quadi and Marcomanni, A. D. 174, his army, unable to obtain drinking water, was threatened with imminent death, from which it was rescued by the prayers of the Christian soldiers in the Thundering Legion (*Legio Fulminatrix*). This miracle, though well attested,[2] failed to moderate the emperor's severity toward the Christians, and both it and the remarkable victory which followed were attributed to the protecting care of "*Jupiter Pluvius*."

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[1] *Meliton.* apolog. in *Euseb.* h. e. IV. 26, IV. 15, V. 1–3.

[2] *Tertull.* apol. c. 5, ad Scap. c. 4. *Euseb.* V. 5. *Greg. Nyss*, or. 11 in martyr.; *Oros.* VII. 15; *Dio-Cass.* epit; Xiphilin., lib. 71, c. 8; *Jul. Capitol.* in Marc. Antonin., c. 24. Tertullian, the earliest witness (about 198), very plainly attests the fact: Quibus illam Germanicam sitim, Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur (similarly in *Hieronymus* chronic. ad a. 174, and *Orosius* VII. 15). It is also confirmed by a representation of Jupiter in bas-relief, darting lightnings, accompanied with a shower of rain, which may still be seen on the column erected in honor of Marcus

He died at Vienna (Vindobona), and was succeeded by his son *Commodus* (180–193), whose character was the very reverse of his father. He preferred to give exhibitions of his strength and skill as a gladiator, to following the studious pursuits of a philosopher. He was under the influence of his concubine Marcia, whom he treated as his lawful wife, and, it is said, at her instance, for some time showed great favor to the Christians. Eusebius says that many of the most distinguished and wealthy citizens of Rome, encouraged by the favorable turn events had taken, together with their families, embraced Christianity. Notwithstanding all this, the learned senator Apollonius was brought to trial at Rome for his faith, judged guilty, and condemned to death. A slave who had accused him, suffered with him.[1]

Septimius Severus (193–211), who had been cured of a painful disease by a Christian, out of a feeling of gratitude treated those who professed Christianity with some lenity during the early part of his reign; but in the year 202 A. D., he published an edict forbidding all persons, under the severest penalties, to embrace either the Christian or the Jewish religion. A terrible persecution raged throughout Egypt, Africa, Gaul, and Italy, and the property of the Christians was confiscated. The edict was carried out with such merciless rigor at *Alexandria* and in *Proconsular Africa*, that it was thought the advent

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Aurelius, standing on the piazza Colonna at Rome; also by a coin of the year 174, which bears on its reverse a figure of Mercury with a water-vase, together with the legend: Relig. Aug. Imp. VII. Cos. III.—To the piety of Augustus, when imperator for the seventh and consul for the third time. *Apollinaris*, a contemporary of Marcus Aurelius, calls the legion "fulminatrix" from this fact, but it was known by that name even in the time of Augustus. Xiphilinus, a writer of the eleventh century, represents the emperor himself as calling upon that legion, composed entirely of Christians, to offer up their prayers, because he had heard that through them they could obtain anything. Hence we see a growing disposition to embellish a fact originally represented in all its simplicity. Cf. *Stolberg*, pt. 8, p. 84–90; *Rauscher*, Vol. I., p. 338 sq.

[1] *Euseb.* V. 21. *Hieronym.* catal., c. 42. *Hippolyt.* Philosophumena, lib. IX. in *Migne* ser. gr. Tom. 16, p. 3381 .Cf. *Döllinger*, Hippolytus and Callistus, p. 158–189.

of Antichrist was at hand.[1] "We behold daily," says Clement of Alexandria, "many martyrs burnt or crucified before our very eyes."

At Alexandria, *Leonides*, the father of Origen, the virgin *Potamiaena*, and her mother Marcella, the warrior *Basilides*, and many more suffered cruel deaths, with the most heroic fortitude. The two young ladies, *Perpetua* and *Felicitas*,[2] and their fellow-sufferers at Carthage, A. D. 203, are examples of the most touching and resolute courage.

Perpetua, a young lady of twenty-two, bearing her suckling infant upon her bosom, is met by her Pagan father, who prostrates himself before her to prevent her from proceeding, and begs her to listen to his entreaties. But she, resolute in her purpose and unmoved by his prayers, goes forward with firm step and serene countenance, advances into the midst of the wild beasts of the circus, and meets her death, after suffering the most appalling torments, with unshaken confidence in her faith.

The death of the Scillitan martyrs, A. D. 200, so-called from Scillite, a city in the province of Africa, was equally beautiful and heroic. Among them were three ladies—*Donata*, *Vestina*, and *Secunda*—and a man named *Separatus*, who spoke in their name when they were brought before the Proconsul Vigellius Saturninus, at Carthage.

Tertullian had a little while before (198) written his apology, in the hope of ameliorating the condition of the Christians; but his bitter and caustic style was but ill adapted to the work of conciliation. He represented to the Roman governor Scapula that other Roman officials had shown greater good-will toward the Christians, and that this was no more than just, since they honored and served the emperor next after God.

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[1] *Tertull.* ad Scapul, c. 4. *Spartianus* in vita Septim, c. 17. *Euseb.* VI. 1 and 7. *Clement of Alex.*, Strom. lib. II.

[2] The acts of these martyrs, cum notis *Holstenii* et *Possinii* (*Galland.* bibl. T. II., p. 165–197, in *Migne*, ser lat. T. III., and in *Ruinart*, acta martyrum). These two Christian heroines were not Montanistic, though, as Card. *Orsi* has shown, ancient writers may have given a Montanistic coloring to their acts. Cf. *Stolberg*, Vol. VIII., p. 285 sq. On the *Scillitan martyrs*, cf. *Ruinart* and *Stolberg*, Vol. VIII., p. 206–208; on both, cf. also *Tillemont*, Tom. III., p. 131–158.

He also warned him not to call down the anger of God by his cruelty.

b. DURING THE THIRD CENTURY.

Many isolated persecutions took place under *Caracalla* (211–217), the son and successor of Severus, who, to gain the object of his ambition, caused the assassination of his brother Geta. This emperor, though pursuing a *different* policy from his father, did not issue an edict for the protection of the Christians, and it was no more than natural that persecutions should occur here and there, as it takes time to accommodate the habits and ways of thought of a whole people to the policy and sentiments of a new ruler.[1] The attempt made by Caracalla on the life of Macrinus, the prefect of the body-guard, wrought his own ruin.

Macrinus ascended the throne, and rendered the condition of the Christians more tolerable, by forbidding any one to persecute them *on the charge of contemning the gods.*[2] But the army became discontented with his course, and having put him to death, chose as his successor *Avitus Bassianus*, surnamed *Heliogabalus*, (from the Syrian sun-god,) the grandson of Caracalla, a lad of only fourteen years of age (218–222). He endeavored to spread the worship of Heliogabalus, the Syrian god, and attempted to unite it in one religion with the tutelary deities of Rome, and with Jehovah and Christ. In the wanton excesses and debaucheries of his youth, he either forgot the Christians altogether, or spared, that he might the more readily convert them to his own Syrian worship of the sun.[3]

After his assassination, *Alexander Severus*, a man of quite different character, was raised to the throne (222–235). His mother, Mammaea, had been drawn to Christianity by the lectures of Origen, and her influence upon her son predisposed him also in its favor. He placed in his oratory, beside the statues of Orpheus and Apollonius of Tyana, those of

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[1] *Tertull.* ad Scapul., c. 4. Domitii Ulpiani, libb. X. de officio Procons., written at that time. Cf. *Lactant.* inst. div. V. 11.

[2] *Dio Cass.*, lib. 78, c. 12.

[3] *Lampridius* in Heliogab., c. 3.

Moses and Jesus Christ, and is said to have contemplated building a temple in honor of the latter.

The words of our Lord, "Whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them," made so deep an impression upon his mind that he adopted them as a rule of conduct for himself, and had them engraven upon the entrance of his palace and other public buildings.[1] He saw so much prudence in the method followed by the Christians in the selection of their bishops that he followed it as a model in the appointment of civil officers. But notwithstanding these many evidences of the good-will of the emperor toward the Christians, he permitted the jurisconsult Domitius Ulpianus to publish the rescripts of his predecessors against them. Many churches had sprung into existence during the period of peace that elapsed since the death of Caracalla, but the progress of Christianity was suddenly checked when *Maximin the Thracian*, the assassin of Alexander, assumed the purple (235–238). Knowing that the Christians had been favored by Alexander, and fearing that they might avenge his murder, he determined to begin a persecution, and though frightful earthquakes followed, they served only to provoke more and more his anger against the Church. During his short reign many confessors, principally among the clergy, suffered death for their faith. Such were the deacon *Ambrose*, the priest *Protoctetus*, and many others at Caesarea, and the bishops *Pontianus* and *Antherus* at Rome.[2] Some say that the martyrdom of St. *Ursula* and her companions took place in this reign; but it is more probable, both from the most reliable information that can be got at and from the intrinsic evidence of the legend itself, that it did not occur until the time of *Attila*.[3]

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[1] *Euseb.* VI. 21, 28. *Lamprid.* in Alex. Sever., c. 22, 28, 29, 43, 44.

[2] *Euseb.* VI. 28, 29.

[3] It has recently been asserted by many that the legend of the 11,000 virgins arose out of a mistaken reading of the following: Ursula et XI. M.(artyres) V.(irgines), i. e., Ursula et Undecimilla virg. martyr.; as if the legend ran: Ursula et XI. mill. virg. Cf. *Floss*, in *Aschbach's* Eccl. Cycloped., Vol. IV., p. 1102–1108. The Jesuit *Crombach* has thoroughly investigated this vexed question in his work "St. Ursula Vindicata," Colon, 1674. Much light is thrown on it in the Acta Sanctorum of the *Bollandists*, ad 21 Octobr., and by †*Kessel*, St. Ursula and her Companions, hist. crit. monography, Cologne, 1863; also by

This vulgar Thracian was slain by his soldiers, and Pupienus and Balbinus occupied the throne for a short interval (238).

Gordianus succeeded, through the victories obtained in the East by his friend Mesitheus, in maintaining himself until the year 244; but after the death of the latter, *Philip the Arab*, having alienated the army, deprived him of both his throne and his life.

He manifested so much kindness to the Christians throughout the whole course of his reign (244–249) that they, mindful of the horrors of former persecutions, sought to account for their changed condition by believing that the emperor himself was secretly a Christian. It was even rumored that on the Easter-eve previous to his death he expressed a wish to take part in the solemn mysteries of the Christian religion, and that, having been forbidden to do so by Babylas, Bishop of Antioch, until he should have performed canonical penance for his former cruelties, he cheerfully submitted to the public humiliation.[1] His consort, Severa, was in correspondence with Origen, who, however, does not mention, in any of his works, the emperor's supposed profession of faith.

During a long interval of peace of nearly forty years, interrupted only by the short reign of Maximin, the Christians succeeded in either altogether removing or smoothing away the worst prejudices existing against them, and, in conse-

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Friedrich, Ch. H. of Germ., Vol. I., p. 141–166. The most ancient testimony bearing on the subject is the *Clematianic* inscription of the fifth or sixth century, published in *Kessel's* Monograph, p. 10, also in *Friedrich*, p. 425, and of which the following is a translation: "A distinguished man (vir clarissimus), Clematius by name, warned by luminous signs in the heavens, and attracted by the great beauty and martyrdom of heavenly virgins, came from the East, and, in virtue of a vow, restored out of his own means and on his own land this basilica, from its foundations. Should any one, disregarding the majesty of this basilica, where holy virgins shed their blood for the name of Christ, inter the body of any other except a virgin, let him know that he shall be punished with the everlasting fire of Tartarus." See also "The Legend of St. Ursula," etc., London, 1869. (Tr.)

[1] *Euseb.* hist. eccl. VI. 34 and 36, and in his chronic. ad a. 246 (but only in a Latin transl. of *St. Jerome's*, not in the text of the Arab. version), Philip is definitely styled the *first Christian emperor*, something that *Eusebius* expressly reserves for *Constantine* the Great.

quence, their numbers greatly increased. When the profession of the Christian faith no longer demanded great sacrifices, numbers adopted without believing it, and the bad example of their lives increased the spirit of tepidity and indifference which had already begun to manifest itself in the Christian communities by the absence of that fraternal charity formerly so conspicuous among them. Hence, as Eusebius remarks, "Divine Providence sent a *fresh persecution* to chasten and try His Church. This occurred under *Decius* (249–251), and *Lactantius*[1] and *Eusebius*,[2] both of whom were almost contemporary with Decius, give detailed accounts of it.

Decius, as soon as he had entered upon his imperial duties, began to plan reforms in the army and senate, and even went so far as to restore the office of censor. These attempts to restore the former glory of the Roman empire, which was now rapidly falling to pieces and threatened by enemies on every side, by restoring her ancient religion, customs, and institutions, plainly indicated the policy of the emperor with regard to the Christians. He published penal laws against them, and in the first year of his reign an edict appeared commanding the governors and magistrates throughout the whole empire to oblige Christians to give up their religion and offer sacrifices to the gods, and, in case any should refuse, they were instructed to employ the severest tortures to compel obedidience.

Dionysius of Alexandria gives a vivid picture of the consternation caused among the Christians by the publication of this edict and of its effect upon them.[3] "All," he says, "were greatly alarmed, and many of the most distinguished, losing courage, presented themselves before the judge. Some were either summoned or waited upon, and others, who were well known, were obliged to come forward, and, when bidden to do so, took part in the impure and impious sacrifices. Pale and trembling, as if they were the victims to be offered to the idols, rather than those who were to offer sacrifice, they excited the merriment of the bystanders, who saw by their manner that they had neither the courage to die, nor the resolution to refuse to sacrifice. Some advanced confidently to the altars, and boldly asserted that they had never been Christians; some fled, and made their escape, and some were taken. Of the last, many held out till frightened by the sight of chains and prison; others, after having endured a few days confinement, abjured Christianity when about to enter the tribunal, and still others did not renounce their faith until after they had borne torture a length of time. But there were others, firm and blessed pillars of the Church, and strong in the strength of the Lord, who became glorious witnesses of His kingdom."

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[1] De Mortibus Persecutorum, c. 4–52.

[2] Hist. Eccl., lib. VI. IX.

[3] In *Euseb.* h. e. VI. 40–42.

Decius aimed at the utter destruction of the Christian Church, and the better to accomplish his purpose, directed his efforts against the clergy, and, at the very outset of his reign, decreed that all *bishops*, if apprehended, *should suffer death.*

Eusebius thinks that the persecution of the Christian Church by Decius is to be attributed to the hatred entertained by him against Philip the Arab, and the favor shown by the latter to the Christians. This is hardly correct. Neither did the policy pursued by Decius arise from his attachment to Paganism, but from his firm and clear conviction *that the genius of Christianity was directly opposed to the spirit and tendency of the Roman empire.*

Hence he made every effort to utterly annihilate Christianity, by destroying churches, extirpating bishops, and by the application of *every refinement of torture,* to persons of all classes, irrespective of age, condition, or sex. It grieved the Church to witness, during this season of trial, many of her children either wavering in their professions, dissembling their condition, or suffering total shipwreck of their faith.

Those who gave up their faith entirely were called *apostates* (*lapsi*);[1] those who had sacrificed to the gods, *sacrificers* or *offerers of incense* (*thurificati*, *sacrificati*); those who had treacherously and hypocritically procured testimonials (*libelli*), that they had offered sacrifice and denied Christ, *procurers of bills* (*libellatici*); and those who had simply registered their names, in token that they were obedient to the law, *wrong-doers* (*acta facientes*). The last two classes were regarded by the Church as guilty of a tacit denial of their faith. The Church was consoled in her grief at the defection of so many of her children by the exemplary constancy of multitudes of confessors and martyrs.

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[1] Conf. art. "Apostates," by *Hefele*, in the Freiburg Cyclopedia.

The most famous of these were *Fabian*, Bishop of Rome; *Babylas*, Bishop of Antioch; *Alexander*, Bishop of Jerusalem; *Pionius*, presbyter of Smyrna; the so-called *Seven Sleepers* of Ephesus; the angelic virgin, *Agatha* of Catania, in Sicily, and many others. Those who fled, escaped torture and saved their lives, but their property was confiscated, and they themselves obliged to remain in exile.[1]

After the death of Decius, who lost his life in a battle with the Goths, the Christians enjoyed, during the political troubles that followed between *Gallus* and *Volusianus*, a short respite from the horrors of persecution (251–253), which was confined principally to the banishment of the clergy. *Cornelius*, Bishop of Rome, his successor *Lucius*, and many more, were sent into exile, and afterward put to death.[2]

Notwithstanding the great disasters which at this time the Goths and other barbarous nations were bringing upon the empire, the capture of Antioch by the Persians, and the breaking out of a terrible pestilence, all of which were attributed to the Christians, the emperor could not be induced to employ against them the violent measures adopted by his predecessor.

Gallus was murdered in the year 253, and *Valerian*, his successor, at first manifested a favorable disposition toward the Christians. So great was the number of God-fearing people, even among those of his immediate household, that it resembled a Christian community, rather than a Pagan palace. But this lenity was soon changed, through the intrigues of Macrian, the Egyptian magician, into a rigorous and systematic persecution.

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[1] *Euseb.* VI. 39–42. *Lactant.* de mortibus persecutorum, c. 4. *Cyprian.* de lapsis et epp. illius temporis.

[2] *Dionysius Alex.* in *Euseb.* h. e. VII. 1. *Cypr.* ep. 57, p. 204, ep. 58, lib. ad Demetrian, p. 431.

The emperor published his *first* edict in the year 257, by which bishops and priests were exiled, the assemblies of Christians prohibited, and the refractory threatened with imprisonment and torture. A *second* appeared a year later, ordaining that all bishops, priests, and deacons should be beheaded; the property of senators and knights confiscated, and themselves degraded from all dignities; and if, after this, they still persisted in professing Christianity, they were to be beheaded.[1] It further directed that females of high rank should be exiled, and the Christian members of the imperial household be bound with chains, and imprisoned at the emperor's pleasure.

The Christians were stricken with grief when they beheld their holy Pope *Sixtus*, Bishop of Rome, and his deacon, *Lawrence; Cyprian*, Bishop of Carthage, and *Fructuosus*, Bishop of Tarragona, together with many others, fall victims to this cruel edict. Wherever Galerius Maximus, the Proconsul, was present, the instructions of the law were carried out in their fullest severity. He had one hundred and fifty-three Christians beheaded at Utica, who, both on account of their innocence, and because they were all heaped together and burnt with quicklime, were amphibologically called *Massa Candida*.[2]

Gallienus, the son and successor of Valerian (260–268), was very unlike his father. He published an edict which gave peace and quiet to the Church; ordered that all property that had belonged to the Church should be restored, and, in particular, all places of burial, and forbade any further molestation of the Christians.

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[1] *Euseb.* VII. 10–12. *Cyprian.* ep. 82. (Opp. edit. post Baluz. unus ex monachis congreg. S. Mauri, Venet. 1728, p. 340.

[2] The legend of the so-called *massa candida,* sung by Prudentius περὶ στεφάνων hymn. XIII. 67 sq., is based on fact. *St. Augustine,* sermo 306, also relates that one hundred and fifty-three Christians were beheaded at Utica (not three hundred, as in Prudentius), who, having to choose between sacrificing to the idols or to be thrown alive into a pit filled with quicklime, are said to have cast themselves into it without a moment's hesitation. *Tillemont,* T. IV., p. 175. sq. *Rauscher* in l. c., Vol. II., p. 97 sq.

As only such communities and corporations as were legally recognized could hold property, the Church now being acknowledged by the state as a *lawful religious body*, though the religion itself was not so regarded (*collegium licitum*, but not *religio licita*), she came into the enjoyment of this privilege.[1]

This short interval of peace, which lasted through the two years of the reign of Claudius, was interrupted after the accession of *Aurelian* (270–275), who published a new edict of proscription in the year 275, which his murder prevented him from fully carrying out.[2] He, however, respected the rights of corporate bodies to hold property, established during the reign of Gallienus, as may be shown from his decision against *Paul of Samosata*, whom he obliged to vacate the episcopal residence of that see.

The persecution against the Christians did not begin under *Diocletian* (284–305) till the year 303. He was a man of a commanding spirit and a religious mind.[3] Engaged in the early part of his reign in quelling internal seditions and repelling invasions from without, he was inclined, both from motives of policy and humanity, to leave the Christians unmolested in the exercise of their religion. The Church thus enjoyed a peace of over forty years, and she took advantage of the interval to push forward both her external growth and internal development.

In the year 288 Diocletian associated with himself, in the government of the state, the brave *Maximianus Herculeus*, under the title of the *Augustus* of the West, whom he charged with the defense of the empire against the Bagaudes of Gaul and other hostile nations. He himself assumed the *diadem*, introduced into his palace the luxurious manners of Asiatic courts, and adopted the titles of "*divinity and sacred majesty*." All these changes indicated his design of introducing *orien-*

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[1] *Euseb.* VII. 13.

[2] *Euseb.* VII. 30; *Lactant.* l. 1, c. 6.

[3] *Vogel*, the Emperor Diocletian, Gotha, 1867. †*Ritter*, de Diocletiano novarum in republica institutionum auctore, Bonn, 1862. Dr. Th. *Bernhardt*, Diocletian's Relations to the Christians, Bonn, 1862, is partial; still more so *Burckhardt*, The Times of Constantine the Great, Basle, 1853. Cf. *Gams*, Moehler's Ch. H., Vol. I., p. 256–259.

tal despotism, under the specious pretext of restoring the ancient grandeur of Rome.

Diocletian, in the year 292, called in two others to aid him in the government of the empire, to whom he gave the title of *Caesars*. These were *Constantius Chlorus*, for Britain, Gaul, and Spain, and *Galerius*, for Illyria, both of whom were united by family ties to the house of the Augusti.

Eusebius,[1] who now speaks as a contemporary, rejoices in the increasing numbers and influence of the Christians, who, not content with their ancient edifices, erected in every city more stately and spacious structures, and who were so powerful at court that their services were more valued and more acceptable to the emperor than those of their Pagan associates.

"But," he adds, in a spirit of complaint, "when, by reason of too much liberty, we had lapsed into negligence and sloth, one envying and reviling the other in various ways, till we were on the point of taking up arms, and did in fact assail each other with epithets as with darts and spears, prelates inveighing against prelates, and people rising against people; and when malignant hypocrisy and dissimulation had risen to its greatest height, and crowds of converts were still flocking into the Church, the divine judgment, whose beginnings are gentle, visited the episcopacy with mild and lenient chastisements, after it had first given evidences of its presence in the army. Besides the energy exhibited by the philosopher *Porphyrius* and the governor *Hierocles*, the most efficient cause of this persecution was the malignity of Caesar *Galerius*, whom his mother Romula had inspired with a love of Pagan superstition, and a relentless hatred against those Christians who absented themselves from the feasts at which sacrifices were offered to idols."[2]

Galerius labored to fill the mind of Diocletian with his own sentiments, and his efforts, though at first received with indifference, were gradually more favorably entertained, and finally gained a decisive influence over the emperor, when the victories gained by his associate over the Persians reminded him of the ancient glories of Rome, and left him at liberty to use his military power for his own private ends. Anxious to discover some means of giving permanence to his imperial power, he sought for this purpose an *alliance with religion*, and this course was the more agreeable to him, as it was in perfect harmony with his convictions; for he had, from the very beginning of his reign, endeavored to make his government thoroughly religious. To preserve and defend the ancient religion of the state, therefore, appeared to Diocletian the first and most important duty of a ruler; the more so, as he was impressed with a definite and settled conviction, that *the tendency of Christianity was in every sense antagonistic to the interests of the Roman empire.* He called a council of jurisconsults, generals, and governors, for consultation, that they, by their wisdom, might aid him in the prosecution of his partially matured plans. The entrails of animals were searched, Apollo of Miletus consulted, and *all declared against the Christians.*[1] Galerius knew well how to profit by this favorable moment. By a law passed in the year 298, the soldiers were obliged to participate in the sacrifices, and the enforcement of this law caused the withdrawal from the army of many Christian soldiers, and served as a warning of what was to come.

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[1] *Euseb.*, lib. VIII. and IX. *Lactant.* l. 1, c. 7–13.

[2] *Lactant.* de mortib., c. 11.

But the full weight of the blow was not felt till five years later, when, on the 23d of February, 303, which coincided with the great festival of the *Terminalia*, the harmless Christians were thunderstruck at beholding an armed band of soldiers batter in the doors of the magnificent *church of Nicomedia*, plunder it of its treasure, and then level it with the ground.

On the following day an *imperial edict* appeared, ordering that all Christian churches should be demolished to their foundations, the Sacred Scriptures publicly burned, those who held offices of honor degraded,[2] and freedmen deprived of their liberty, if they would not consent to immediately renounce Christianity. It was further enacted, by the same decree, that all church property should be confiscated, the Christians placed outside the protection of the law, full liberty given to all persons to bring accusations against them, and denied to these the privilege of complaining of any injuries they might sustain from others, and ordered that torture should be employed to overcome the perversity of those who obstinately refused to deny their faith.

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[1] *Lactant.* l. 1, c. 10 and 11. *Euseb.* de vita Const. M. II. 50.

[2] *Lactant.* l. 1, c. 13. *Euseb.* h. e. VIII. 2. The second and third edicts in *Euseb.* h. e. VIII. 6.

Soon afterward the palace of Diocletian was consumed by fire, revolts broke out in Armenia and Syria, and some Christians offered resistance to the enforcement of the laws. All these circumstances were eagerly seized and adroitly made use of to excite popular hatred against the Christians. This called forth a *second* edict (303), which enacted that all bishops and priests should be apprehended and cast into prison, and every means employed to compel them to offer sacrifice. The emperor believed that if he could overcome the constancy and fortitude of the bishops and teachers, their followers would yield a ready obedience to his will. A *third* edict appeared, ordering that all prisoners who would consent to sacrifice should be set at liberty, and those who refused be forced to comply by every refinement of torture. Then did great numbers of the prelates and the laity, crowds of men and women, bear up with noble fortitude amidst the most appalling trials, and exhibit to the world bright examples of courage, in the glorious conflicts they sustained for the faith. Some, impelled by the strength of divine impulse, threw themselves upon the pyre, or plunged headlong into the sea. Others, however, whose sprits were broken and energy relaxed, lost courage in the presence of danger, and yielded voluntarily at the first trial.

Priests and ecclesiastics, who surrendered the Sacred *Scriptures* to be publicly burned, were called traitors (*traditores*). With the purpose of openly rebuking this disgraceful act of betrayal (*crimen traditionis*), *Felix*, an African bishop, on being asked if he had any of the Sacred Books in his possession, bravely answered, that "*he had, but would not give them up*," and suffered martyrdom for his courageous fidelity.

The edicts published by Diocletian up to this time had failed to accomplish his purpose, and, in consequence, a *fourth* was issued (304), offering to the refractory the alternative of either sacrificing to the gods or suffering *capital punishment*.[1] The Pagan governors carried the instructions of this edict into effect with relentless cruelty. The Proconsul of Phrygia set fire to a church (according to Eusebius, to a whole city), in which the Christians had taken refuge, and they all perished in the flames.[2] The accounts left us of the numbers and tortures of those who fell victims to this persecution, almost challenge our credulity, so fearful are they both in vastness and atrocity; and if this be so, what multitudes must have suffered of whom no record remains? "The murderous weapon," observes *Eusebius*,[3] "was at last completely blunted, and having lost its edge broke to pieces, and the executioners themselves, wearied with slaughter, were obliged to relieve one another. . . . They (the Christians) received, indeed, the final sentence of death with gladness and exultation, so far as even to sing and send up hymns of praise and thanksgiving until they breathed their last."

The persecution raged in the East with terrible violence under Diocletian and *Galerius*. Even their wives, *Prisca* and *Valeria*, who had either already embraced Christianity or were receiving instruction as catechumens, were compelled, by fear of death, to sacrifice to idols; the imperial chamberlains *Dorotheus* and *Gorgonius* were strangled, and another named *Peter*, "who," as Eusebius remarks, "was worthy of his name," was suspended by cords and scourged until the flesh fell from his bones, then vinegar and salt were rubbed into his mangled body, and in this condition he was compelled to die a lingering death over a slow fire.

Anthimus, Bishop of Nicomedia, and *St. Dorothea* at Caesarea, in Cappadocia, were beheaded. The persecution raged with great violence in Africa, Italy, and the provinces over which *Maximian Herculeus* ruled; and it is believed that the *Thebaean Legion*, so called from its having been recruited from the Thebais of Egypt, suffered martyrdom by his order. This noble band of heroes, under the command of their gallant leader, *Mauritius*, incurred the anger of the tyrant by refusing to pursue and apprehend the Christians.[1] *Recent* research has shown that this legion was stationed along the banks of the Rhone, the Rhine, and the Moselle. The fact that many cities of Switzerland, and others lying along the banks of the Moselle and the Rhone as far as Xanten, have a special reverence for the martyrs of the Thebaean Legion, and the circumstance that in very recent times skulls have been discovered in these parts, of unmistakably Egyptian formation, accompanied by instruments known to have been used in the torture of Christians, have greatly contributed to strengthen faith in the legend.

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[1] *Euseb.* de martyrib. Palaest., c. 3, as append. to *Euseb.* hist. eccl., lib. VIII.
[2] *Lactant.* institut. V. 11. *Euseb.* hist. eccl. VIII. 4, 8, 9–13.
[3] Hist. eccl. VIII. 9.

St. Sebastian,[2] the prefect of the Praetorian cohort, suffered martyrdom at Rome by being pierced with arrows, and others gained the same crown, among whom were the tender virgin *St. Agnes*, *St. Lucy* at Syracuse, the noble Roman lady *Anastasia* in Illyria, and the penitent woman Afra,[3] at Augsburg, the last named having been burned to death (304). The conduct of *Constantius Chlorus* in Gaul, Spain, and Britain is in striking contrast with these acts, and not less so the policy of his son *Constantine*, who, in the year 306, fled from *Nicomedia*, where he was retained as a hostage by Diocletian, to his father in Britain.

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[1] It seems strange, indeed, that *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* in the East, *Sulp. Severus*, *Orosius*, and *Prudentius* in the West, should be silent on a matter of which *Eucherius*, Bp. of Lyons († 420, or a still younger Eucherius, about 529), gives testimony in the vita S. Romani (Bolland. acta Sanctor. Febr., T. III., p. 740; cf. also ad Septemb. 22 and October 4, 10, and 15). On the other hand, it is an established fact that, as early as the fifth century, there was at Agaunum (now St. Maurice, in the canton of Wallis), a temple dedicated to *St. Mauritius*, which was also visited, out of devotion, by St. Romanus. The accuracy of this narrative is questioned by *Ruinart*, *Tillemont*, Tom. IV., p. 421; *Stolberg*, pt. IX., p. 302 sq.; *Döllinger*. Others, such as *Baronius; Rauscher*, Vol. II., p. 131; *Rettberg*, Ch. H. of Germ., Vol. I., p. 101, surmise a transfer of the martyrdom, which Mauritius, tribunus militum, with seventy soldiers, suffered at *Apamea in Syria* (conf. *Theodoret.* graec. affect. curat. disput. VIII.), to Gallic soil. The truthfulness of the account is, on the contrary, defended against *Dubordieu*, diss. hist. sur le martyre de la légion Thébéene, Amst. 1712,—at first by *Jos. de l'Isle*, défense de la vérité de la lég. Théb. Nancy, 1737; recently, by *Palma*, praelect. h. e., T. I., pt. II., p. 5–7. †*J. Braun*, Contrib. to the Hist. of the Theb. Legion, Bonn, 1855. That it has an *historical foundation*—and certainly contains a large measure of truth, is proven by *Gelpke*, Ch. H. of Switzerland, Vol. I., p. 50–88; *Friedrich*, Ch. H. of Germ., Vol. I., p. 106–141.

[2] For fuller information relative to Sebastian, cf. Acta Sanct., 20 Jan. *Tillemont*, mémoires, etc., T. IV., p. 515.

[3] The martyr-acts of this sinner, converted by Bp. *Narcissus*, in *Ruinart*. *Rettberg*, Ch. H. of Germ., Vol. I., p. 144 sq., conjectures that the later legend

Diocletian suddenly resigned the imperial dignity in the year 305, at Nicomedia, and, by his order, Maximian did the same at Milan, in favor of the Caesars, Galerius and Constantius. Though the Caesars, Severus and Maximin, were but the creatures of Galerius, *Maxentius*, the tyrant of Rome, soon found means of putting aside the former of these two. He suffered death at Rome A. D. 306.

Maxentius, dissembling his real feelings from motives of policy, feigned to agree in everything with *Constantine*, who had been declared emperor by the soldiers the same year in which his father died.

Augustus Galerius and his Caesar, *Maximinus*, continued the persecution with renewed energy in the East.

He was so carried away by his implacable hatred against the Christians that he ordered all meats exposed for sale in the market-place to be sprinkled with the water or wine used in sacrifice, and on one occasion had thirty-nine confessors beheaded. *Barbara*, a virgin, remarkable for her prudence, and *Catherine*, also a virgin, and famed for her proficiency in philosophy, suffered martyrdom,—the former at Heliopolis, A. D. 306, and the latter at Alexandria, A. D. 307.

It was not till after Galerius had been stricken with a loathsome and painful distemper, and felt death rapidly approaching, that he became convinced of the uselessness of shedding so much blood, and resolved to put an end to a persecution which had proved so ineffectual. He published, on the 30th day of April, 311, an *edict* in his own name and those of Licinius and Constantine, in which he says that it was their intention to "reclaim into the way of reason and nature the deluded Christians who had renounced the religion and cer-

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is an imitation of the history of *Rahab*. of Josue's times. **Friedrich*, Ch. H. of Germ., Vol. I., p. 186–199.

emonies instituted by their fathers, . . . but that since they still persist in their impious folly, and being left destitute of any public exercise of their religion, we are disposed to extend *to those* unhappy men the effects of our wonted *clemency.* We permit them, therefore, to profess their private opinions and to assemble at their places of meeting without fear or molestation, provided always *that they preserve a due respect to the established laws and government;*[1] . . . *and* we hope that our indulgence will engage the Christians *to offer up their prayers to the Deity whom they adore, for our safety and prosperity, for their own, and for that of the republic.*"

After the death of Galerius, *Licinius,* who had succeeded the dignity of Augustus, was affianced to Constantia, sister of the Augustus, Constantine, and a new edict was published in the year 312, in the name of those two emperors, granting toleration to the Christians, and "allowing every one to exercise without restraint the religion *which he professed.*"

In the meantime, a war had broken out in the West between *Constantine* and *Maxentius,* the latter of whom maintained himself in Italy and Africa. Constantine, in this critical state of affairs, hastened to Italy, and appeared near Rome. While stationed here, he and his whole army beheld a *wonderful sign*[2] in the heavens, on which was written this legend,

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[1] *Lactant.* de mortib., c. 34. *Euseb.* VIII. 17. Even *Tertullian* declared: Precantes sumus omnes semper pro omnibus imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, et quaecunque hominis et Caesaris vota sunt (apologet., c. 20). Conf. *Keim,* The Roman Edicts of Toleration for Christianity (311–313) in *Baur-Zeller's* Theological Annuary, 1852, No. 2, p. 251 sq., and by the *same,* The Conversion of Constantine the Great to the Christian Religion, Zurich, 1862, p. 14 sq. See page 277, note 3, for a refutation of the violent attacks on the credibility of the book De Mortibus Persecutorum, made by *Keim* and *Burkhardt;* compare also *Hunzinger,* on Diocletian as a Ruler and Persecutor of the Christians, in *Büdinger's* Researches on the History of the Roman Emperors, Lps. 1868, Vol. I., p. 117 sq., and *Ebert* in the Report of the Phil. Histor. Department of the Royal Saxon Society of Sciences, Dec. 12, 1870.

[2] *Euseb.* vita Constant. I. 27–30. For the sign $\overset{\text{P}}{\times}$, with the legend Τούτῳ νίκα, undoubtedly intended for a *crown* of victory, compare *Socrat.* hist. eccl. I. 2; *Lactant.* de Mortib. Persecutor., c. 44; *Sozom.* hist. eccl. I. 3. See also *Rauscher,* Pt. II., p. 208–210 and 215 sq. †*Hug,* Justification of Constantine the Great (Eccl. Journal of the Archdiocese of Freiburg, 1830, No. 3, p. 53–70); *Die-*

"*In this thou shall conquer.*" Constantine, assured by this evidence of divine favor, placed his trust in the God of the Christians, ordered the construction of a Labarum, or standard, bearing the monogram of Christ inclosed within the imperial crown, and called in ecclesiastics to instruct him in the Christian religion. He shortly afterward (October 28, 312) gained the important, but for a time doubtful victory over the usurper Maxentius, in a battle fought at the Pons Milvius, near Rome, during which his antagonist lost his life in the waters of the Tiber.

In acknowledgment for this signal favor, Constantine gave instructions that the statue which the Roman senate had dedicated to him, and was about to be placed in the Forum to commemorate the victory, should bear in its hand, not the sceptre, but the standard of the cross, on which should be inscribed these words: "*Through this salutary sign and symbol of true strength, have I delivered your city from the yoke of the tyrant.*"

After this victory, which had made Constantine the supreme ruler of the West, he, together with Licinius, promulgated at *Milan*, in the year 313, a still more explicit and comprehensive *edict of toleration*, which brought universal joy to the Christians.[1] It not only "granted to them the same liberty of worship enjoyed by the other subjects of the empire, but also ordained *that any one who wished was free to embrace their religion;* that their churches and all other property that had been confiscated should be restored, and those who had purchased it be indemnified for their loss from the public treasury."

Maximin, now feeling that he was unequal to the work of combating single-handed the Christians of the East, and dissembling his real sentiments, addressed through Sabinus, his Praetorian prefect, a circular letter to the governors and magistrates of the provinces, in which they were instructed to cease the persecution against the Christians. He became ap-

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ringer, System of Divine Actions, Vol. I., p. 207–213; *Stolberg*, Vol. IX., p. 134 sq.

[1] *Lactant.* l. 1, c. 48. *Euseb.* h. e. X. 5.

parently still more favorably disposed toward them after he had lost the battle of Hadrianople, A. D. 313, in which he was opposed by Licinius. He then extended the privileges enjoyed by the Christians in the West to those of the East, but shortly after this act of clemency he was afflicted with a terrible disease, from the effects of which he became blind and very much disfigured. While in this state, and suffering from the agony of internal pain, he would frequently cry out, "*It was not I who did it, but others.*"

Constantine and Licinius now became the supreme rulers of the Roman empire, and the Christian religion, visibly aided by divine intervention, seemed to have triumphed forever over Paganism, notwithstanding that former emperors had proclaimed that the very name of those Christians who had been laboring to overthrow the republic was forgotten, and their superstitious belief everywhere abolished. "*Nomine Christianorum deleto, qui rempublicam evertebant; superstitione Christiana ubique deleta.*" The promise of Christ was realized. "In the world you shall have distress; but have confidence I have overcome the world;"[1] and "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."[2] The brute force of the world yielded to the spiritual power of the Church.

REMARK —The real number of the persecutions against the Christians has never been definitely fixed. It has been customary, since the fourth century, to give *ten*, but this enumeration was evidently adopted to make them correspond with the Ten Plagues of Egypt,[3] or with the ten horns of the beast in the Apocalypse.[4] But the dates of the various persecutions are given differently by different authors, the most common enumeration being that of St. Augustine,[5] according to which the first occurred under Nero, the second under Domitian, the third under Trajan, the fourth under Marcus Aurelius, the fifth under Septimius Severus, the sixth under Maximin, the seventh under Decius, the eighth under Valerian, the ninth under Aurelian, and the tenth under Diocletian and Maximian. Cf. *Hugenholtz*, Undenam et quonam fundamento nixa est vetus opinio de decem, quae dicuntur persecutionibus? Quid cum ratione statuendum est de vexationibus quas passi sunt Christiani sub Romanorum imperio, de causis earum et effectibus. Prize Essay, Ultraj. 1818.

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[1] John xvi. 33.

[2] Matt. xvi. 18.

[3] Exod. vii. 10.

[4] Apocal. xvii. 12 sq.

[5] *Augustin.* de civ. Dei XVIII. 52. *Lactant.* l. c. counts only six persecutions, *Sulp. Severus*, nine of them.

§ 68. *Attacks upon Christianity by Pagan Writers.*

See *H. Kellner*, Hellenism and Christianity, Cologne, 1866, p. 25–247.

The Pagan *philosophers* of the second century exercised no little influence in exciting the hatred of the emperors and the fury of the populace against the Christians. Their efforts, which were directed toward sustaining Paganism against the claims of Christianity, and showing that the former fully satisfied every craving of the human heart, were seconded by the following circumstances:

1. As Pagan theology, in the strict sense of the term, had ceased to claim either the respect or the belief of the people, the philosophers endeavored to introduce into it a spiritual element, by giving to the myths an *allegorical* interpretation;[1] and by attaching a moral obligation to Pagan rites and ceremonies, to abolish all idea of a God in human form, and reclaim the people from their incredulity and gross superstition.

2. The most popular system of philosophy during the first two centuries, and that which possessed the greatest number of followers, was an austere and comparatively pure Stoicism. The Stoa numbered among its most distinguished representatives such men as *Seneca*, *Epictetus* (about A. D. 100), *Marcus Cornelius Fronto*, *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Galenus*, who gave to its teachings a nobler aim, and, in opposition to its earlier tenets, held that virtue consisted not so much in conflict as in *suffering*. Though these philosophers opposed Christianity, because they thought its influence pernicious, and despised it because they believed it to be a popular delusion, their hostility and contempt were not so subversive of its interests as the eclectic indifferentism and sophistry of the *Skeptics*. These, having formerly cast ridicule upon the popular belief of the Pagans, now turned their weapons against the faith of the Christians.

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[1] Speaking of this attempt, the Apologist *Tatian* remarks: "Do not fancy that either your myths or your gods are allegories; for this supposition, if true, would at once destroy the very idea of your gods." Orat. ad Graecos, c. 21. Cf. also *Athenagoras*, Legatio pro Christo, c. 18 sq.

The principal charges against the Christians during the first century were such as to be clearly intelligible to the vulgar mind. They were accused of adoring an ass' head, of assisting at Thyestcian banquets, of being guilty of atheism, and of indulging in unrestrained licentiousness (*vaga libido*), the last of which was brought against them even in the writings of so respectable a scholar as the rhetorician *Fronto*. As time went on, Christianity and the Christians became better known; and, as it was found impossible to combat the new faith with arguments so clumsy, they were given up, and their place supplied by a more philosophical method. Those who first attempted to oppose Christianity with the instruments of philosophy, were either Greeks by birth, or spoke the language of that people. In the early half of the second century, the attack was opened by *Celsus*, a philosopher of the eclectic school, and somewhat tinged with Epicureanism, who wrote a polemical work, entitled "The Word of Truth" (λόγος ἀληθής), in which he employs principally Platonic arguments against Christianity. Origen, at the earnest solicitation of his paternal relative, Ambrosius of Alexandria, wrote, about the year 250, a refutation of the work of Celsus, in eight books, in which the greater part of the former is reproduced. Celsus proceeds, skillfully enough, to attack the Christians from a Jewish point of view, and for this purpose introduces a Jew among the interlocutors, into whose mouth he puts all the malice and vulgarity of his own. He next assails Jews and Christians alike, at one time using the arguments of the Platonist, at another indulging in the cold sarcasm of the Skeptic.

The special aim of his book is an attack on the *divinity of Christ*, whom he represents as an impostor, who, having falsely represented Himself as God, was crucified by the Jews. He further maintains that the reputed birth of Christ of a virgin, his miracles, prophecies, and resurrection, are the merest fictions.

It is very evident, from his exposition of Christianity, that Celsus had but a very imperfect knowledge of the doctrine of the Incarnation, and perhaps a still more indefinite idea of its scope and aim. He labors to demonstrate that Christ was, not only neither God nor the Son of God, but that He was not even an angel.

Other parts of the Word of Truth are taken up with *objections against* the existence of angels, death and its consequences, and the *general resurrection.* He also labors to show that whatever Christianity has of beauty or goodness, was derived from other sources, and existed in the world anterior to its establishment, and throughout his whole work there is a disposition *to heap ridicule and contempt upon the Christians, their teachers, and their writings.* The book, apart from repetitions, which sometimes become wearisome, is ably written, and, as a polemical work, was of great value and lasting influence.[1]

Lucian of Samosata, though younger than Celsus, was contemporary with him, and, as would appear, friendly relations existed between them. He is principally remarkable for his style, which is spirited and elegant, for his want of decency, and his mockery of the gods. To such a length did these carry him, that he entertained an utter contempt for all the higher and supernatural elements of human life. He accordingly regarded Christianity as one of the many follies by which the human mind is led astray, and made it the object of his satire and ridicule. Christ, in his opinion, was a crucified sophist; the Christians a well-meaning but silly people, who were easily deceived; their fortitude in bearing suffering, contempt of death, and hope of future reward, the effects of a blind superstition; their love for each other, and the sacredness with which they kept their word, without so much as taking an oath, were to his mind but the artful devices of the sectarian.[1]

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[1] *Celsus*, ἀληθὴς λόγος; its substance is contained in the refutation of Origen, ed. *de la Rue*, T. I.; translated into German, with notes, by von *Mosheim*, Hamb. 1745, in 4to. Cf. *Fenger*, de Celso Epicureo, Havniae, 1828. *Jachmann*, de Celso disputatur et fragmenta libri contra Christianos colliguntur, Regiomont., 1836, 4to. *Philippi*, de Celsi philosophandi genere, Berol. 1836. *Bindemann*, in Ilgen's Historical Review, year 1842. *Bonn* Periodical for Philosophy and Cath. Theol., No. 21. *Baur*, the Christian Church during the first three centuries, p. 368–395. **Pressensé*, Hist. of the first three centuries of the Christian Church (German by *Fabarius*), Lps. 1862 sq., Vol. IV., p. 67–92. In "The Catholic," Mentz, 1863, Nov., Dec.

During the second century, the tendency of Paganism was toward something more positive and more in harmony with the steady belief of Christians. This is particularly noticeable in the writings of *Plutarch of Chaeronea* (A. D. 50–120), and also in those of *Numenius of Apamea*, *Maximus of Tyre*, and others, and grew into definite shape in the teachings of *Neo-Pythagorism*, and, still later on, in those of *Neo-Platonism*. The object of these attempts was to revive declining Paganism, and to impart to it new life and strength, and the tendency which set in when an effort was made to give a positive character to Pagan belief, worked, at first, indirectly and silently, but for this reason afterward most effectually, against the best interests of Christianity.

In order to counteract the influence exercised by the simple, yet wonderful and prepossessing life of Jesus, *Flavius Philostratus*, a Neo-Pythagorean, opposed to it the life of the philosopher, *Apollonius of Tyana*, a theosophist and sorcerer, who lived in the first century. Apollonius, though he seems, by embracing an ascetical life and professing voluntary celibacy, according to the philosophy and discipline of Pythagoras, to rise superior to Paganism, is, nevertheless, in every sense thoroughly imbued with its spirit. He is represented as a man of great piety and of unknown origin, a benefactor and teacher of mankind, a worker of wonders, a prophet, and the restorer of Paganism. Many incidents of his life bear a striking similarity to those in the life of Jesus, and are evidently borrowed from the Gospels.[2]

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[1] *Luciani* opp. ed. *Lehmann*, Lps. 1822, 9 vols. Of these, only the following facts touch upon Christianity: *'Αλέξανδρος ὁ ψευδόμαντις*, c. 25, 28. *περὶ τῆς Περεγρίνου τελευτῆς*, c. 11–16. *ἀληθὴς ἱστορία*, I. 22, 30, II. 4, 11. Cf. *Eichstadii* progr.: Lucianus num scriptis suis adjuvare relig. christ. voluerit? *C. G. Jacob*, The Character of Lucian, Hamb. 1832. On the dialogue "Philopatris," falsely attributed to Lucian, see § 103, in the beginning.

[2] Graece edidit *Kayser* (1847), Lps. 1870. Dr. *Rieckher*, moreover, in "Studies of the Clergy of Wurtemberg, year 1847," while refuting Baur's work, "Christus and Apollonius of Tyana," Tüb. 1832, has also shown that the biography written by Philostratus, in 8 vols., is a travesty on the life of Christ and on the N. T. gospels fabricated under the influence of *Julia*, the wife of

Neo-Platonism went still further in this direction. This new system, which was a theoretical and practical revival of ancient Paganism, though often carried to extremes, gave order and method to the belief and arguments of those opposed to Christianity. *Ammonius*, of Alexandria, called *Saccas*, because of his former occupation of porter or journeyman, was the author of this system. But Ammonius having left nothing in writing, his favorite disciple, *Plotinus*,[1] may be regarded the true and scientific founder of the school. Its disciples taught that intelligence was evolved from the *Primordial Being*, from this again the first soul, and that matter is the lowest form of this evolution; that the aim and end of all philosophy is to raise the mind above all dialectic process, enable it to grasp the absolute, and thus lead man on to a union with the Primordial Being. Man while on earth may, by leading an ascetical life and constantly meditating upon God, arrive at so high a degree of contemplation as to become, as it were, continuously inspired by the Deity. There was no antagonism between Neo-Platonism and Polytheism; nor did it, like other philosophical systems, reject any of the tenets of the latter. It professed a belief in the Greco-Egyptian gods, who served as intermediate links between the Primordial Being and man, and possessed, besides these, a highly developed demonology. This latter element, in the course of time, became its most predominant feature, and philosophy proper being gradually neglected, was finally looked upon as of only secondary importance. Plotinus himself, though he never attacked Christianity directly, wrote a treatise against the

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Emperor Alexander Severus. In this way the surprising parallelism of Apollonius' wonderful birth, the plan of his improvement of the world, his miracles, driving out of the demons, ascension into heaven, etc., are explained. Cf. *Müller*, Contributions to the literat. on Apollonius (Period. for Lutheran Theol., 1855, No. 3).

[1] The various treatises of *Plotinus* were collected by Porphyry and his other disciples, and arranged, according to some mystic meaning, in six Enneades, containing fifty-four books of desultory *oracular utterances*, de abstinentia ab esu carnis; fragm. *περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας*, Plotinus' Life, by his disciple Porphyrius (opp. omnia, Porphyrii vita Plotini ed. *Creuzer*, Oxon. 1836, 3 vols., 4to.) *K. Vogt*, Neo-Platonism and Christianity, Berlin, 1836, Pt. I. *Neander*, on the place of Plotinus in the world's history (Essay of a Berlin Academician, 1816).

Gnostics. He died A. D. 261, while teaching philosophy at Rome.

Porphyrius, his pupil, born at Batanea, in Syria, although his letter to his wife Marcella[1] shows that he was imbued with the sentiments and aspirations of Christianity, nevertheless assailed it with great bitterness. His "*fifteen books against the Christians*" are incontestibly the most learned and effective of all the Pagan polemical works of antiquity, and their refutation called forth the abilities and engaged the pens of the most illustrious bishops of the time, such as Methodius of Tyre, Eusebius of Caesarea, Apollonius of Laodicea, and Philostorgius. It is to be regretted that both the work of Porphyrius and the refutation of it by the bishops have both perished, and our knowledge of them is therefore scanty and fragmentary. We only know that Porphyrius *made a special study of the Holy Scriptures* for the purpose of detecting any contradictions they might contain; and that, on the other hand, he set himself to the work of defending Paganism, and removing the objections against it, by endeavoring, through allegorical and physical interpretations, to reconcile its teachings with reason. This line of argument is fully brought out in his work "On the Image of the Gods;" while many passages in his "Philosophy of the Sentences uttered by the Oracles," are directed toward proving that the oracular utterances are in harmony with reason and sound philosophy, and, as a consequence, with the doctrines of Neo-Platonism.[2]

About the time of Diocletian, two other Pagans wrote against Christianity. The first of these in the order of time was *Hierocles*, governor of Bithynia, and later on of Egypt, who, in his "*Friend of Truth*" (Philalethes) (303), in which he takes upon himself the office of counsellor to the Christians, fills two books with objections against Christianity, drawn principally from the writings of Celsus.[1] He represents Christ as the captain of a band of robbers, and asserts that Apollonius of Tyana, who laid no claims to divine prerogatives, wrought miracles, far surpassing those of our Savior. He was ably refuted by Eusebius the historian.

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[1] Discovered and edited by *Angelo Mai*, Mediol. 1816.

[2] *Porphyrii λόγοι κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*, libb. XV. fragm. *Holstenius*, de vita et script. Porphyr., Rom. 1630. *Fabricii*, bibl. gr. T. IV., p. 207 sq. Cf. *Ullmann*, Influence of Christianity upon Porphyry (Theol. Studies and Criticisms, year 1832, No. 2). *Wolff*, Porphyrii de philosophia ex oraculis haurienda librorum reliquiae, Berol. 1856.

Another unimportant work against the Christians appeared contemporaneously with that of Hierocles, the contents and author of which have been entirely lost to posterity.[2]

Others, following the example of Hierocles, appealed to the *Orphic and Hermetic writings*, in the hope of discovering in these a divinely-revealed and supernatural truth surpassing that of Christianity. *Asclepius*, a man of unknown origin, also sought to trace Pagan mythology back to the Egyptian god, Thot or Hermes. His work contains a summary of philosophy grossly pantheistic, which he professes to regard as a "*perfect doctrine*" (*λόγος τέλειος*), and in which he defends demonology and the adoration of the images of the gods, and scatters through the book threatening warnings against the Christians.

§ 69. *The Christian Apologists.*

The Greek Apologists (Justin, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Tatian, Hermias), edit. *Prudentius Maranus*, Paris, 1742, I. T. fol., Ven. 1747. *Otto*, corpus apologetarum christianorum, saec. II., Jenae, 1847 sq., 9 vols., with literary apparatus and emendations of the text by *Nolte*, printed in *Migne's* ser. gr., T. 6. *Fabricius*, delectus argumentorum et syllabus scriptorum, qui veritatem rel. chr. asseruerunt, Hambg. 1725, 4to. Cf. *Möhler*, Patrology, 1 vol., p. 188–313. *Von Drey*, Apologetics, Vol. I. (2 edit.), p. 26 sq. † *Werner*, Hist. of Apologetical and Polemical Literature, Vol. I., Schaffhausen, 1861. *Van Senden*, Hist. of Apologetics, transl. into German by Quack and Binder, Stutt. 1846, 2 pts. (to seventeenth century.) *Alzog's* Patrology, 2 ed., p. 61 sq.

The only defense left to the early Christians was either to patiently suffer insult and endure cruel persecutions, or to refute the dishonest misrepresentations and base calumnies that were heaped upon them. Many of those who had received a liberal education, and whose knowledge of Roman jurisprudence especially fitted them for the task, adopted the latter method. Thus the author of the letter to *Diognetus*,[1] whose name has not come down to us, but who was a *disciple of the Apostles*, refutes the false charges imputed to the Christians, and justifies their conduct, by openly and candidly describing their lives, and then contrasting them with those of the Pagans. Still later on, according to the testimony of Eusebius, apologies were written by the philosopher *Aristides*, and *Quadratus*, Bishop of Athens, and addressed to the emperor Hadrian, in behalf of the misrepresented Christians, but which unfortunately have been lost, as well as three others, addressed by *Melito*, Bishop of Sardes, *Apollinaris* of Hierapolis, and *Miltiades*, to the emperor Marcus Aurelius.[2]

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[1] *Euseb.* contr. Hier. Col. 1688. *Lactant.* de mort. persec., c. 16.

[2] Conf. *Lactant.* Inst. div. V. 2.

The magnificent apology of Justin Martyr,[3] addressed to Antoninus Pius, the most perfect specimen of those simple and eloquent defenses of Christianity during the first centuries, together with another of less importance, addressed by the same author to Marcus Aurelius, has happily been preserved. This distinguished philosopher, while vainly seeking the truth in the various systems of Greek philosophy, had his attention drawn to Christianity, by the constancy and fortitude with which the Christian martyrs bore their sufferings, and having embraced the faith, merited, by his honesty and uprightness, the martyr's crown (about A. D. 166).

Tatian the Syrian,[4] a disciple of Justin, in a discourse which he addressed to the Heathens, A. D. 170, contrasts Christianity with idolatry, and shows that the former embodies all true philosophy. He also censures, with much warmth and energy, the irrational practice of the Greeks, who rejected the Christian religion because of its supposed barbarous origin, and criticises with great severity, though in general terms, the morals, pursuits, laws, religion, and philosophy of the Pagans.

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[1] Ἐπιστολὴ προς Διόγνητον (Patrolog. Apostol. opp. ed. *Hefele*) ed. *Otto*, Lps. 1852. Cf. *Möhler*, Patrology, Vol. I., p. 164–174.

[2] *Euseb.* IV. 3. *Hieronym.* de vir. ill., c. 19, 20. *Euseb.* IV. 26, 27. *Hieronym.* I. l. c. 24. *Euseb.* V. 17. *Hieronym.* I. l. c. 39. Of *Melito's* Apology, *Cureton* has lately published a Syriac version, London, 1855 (*Pitra*, spicileg. Solesm. T. II.), transl. into German by *Welte* (Tübing. Quart. 1862, p. 392–394), which, however, both as to matter and form, differs from the fragments in *Euseb.* hist. eccl. IV. 23.

[3] *Justin.* apol. I. et II. (the two may probably be regarded as one apology to Ant. Pius), edit. *Braun*, Bon. 1830. Cf. *Arendt*, Crit. inquiry into the writ. of *Justin*, in the Tübing. Quarterl., 1834, No. 2. *C. Semisch*, Justin the Martyr. A historico-dogmatical monography, Breslau, 1840 sq., 2 parts. *Otto*, de Justini Martyris scriptis et doctrina, Jenae, 1841. The *same*, Art. "Justin," in Ersch and Gruber's Cyclopedia. Cf. *Bonn Periodical*, new series, year II. (1841), No. 3, p. 171 sq. *Stieren*, on the death year of *Justin* (Illgen's Periodical, 1842, No. 1).

[4] Δόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας, edit. *Worth*, Oxon. 1700, in the VI. Vol. of the corpus apolog., ed. *Otto*. *Daniel*, Tatian the Apologist, Hal. 1838.

Athenagoras, a Christian philosopher of Athens, wrote a temperate and dignified *Address* (*πρεσβεία*) to Marcus Aurelius, in which he gives a general defense of the Christians, dwelling particularly on the charge of atheism, the eating of human flesh, and incest. He proves, in another short but masterly work, that *the doctrine of the resurrection of the body*, which the Pagans so indignantly rejected, far from being unworthy of God, is perfectly in harmony both with His designs and the nature of man, of which it constitutes an essential part. He also labors, by appealing to the lives of Christians, to convince the emperor that they are not unworthy his protection.[1]

Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, wrote shortly after (between 170–180) his Three Books to the Pagan Autolycus, in which he cleverly proves, on the one hand, that Christianity gave unity and harmony to religious belief, and, on the other, that Paganism, apart from its internal divisions, is entirely inadequate to the wants of a religious life.[2]

The work of *Hermias*, in which an attempt is made to ridicule the Pagan philosophers, by exposing their contradictions, lacks both depth and accuracy.[3]

Clement of Alexandria, a man of high culture and deep learning, adopted a plan quite the opposite of that followed by Hermias, and endeavored to attract the Pagans to Christianity by a line of argument which, without being apparently aggressive, appealed directly to the best impulses of human nature,[1] and by tracing, with all the charms of a pure diction and elegant style, the relations between Christianity and the history of the world before the coming of Christ.

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[1] *Πρεσβεία περὶ χριστιανῶν*, ed. *Lindner*, Longosalz. 1744 (*Galland.* bibl. T. II.) Cf. *le Nourry*, apparatus ad max. bibl. Patr. T. I., p. 476. *Mosheim*, de vera aetate apolog., quam Athenag., etc. (diss. Vol. I., p. 269.)

[2] *Euseb.* IV. 20. *Hieronym.* de vir. ill., c. 25. *περὶ τῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν πίστεως*, edit. *Fell*, Oxon. 1648; edit. *Wolf*, Hambg. 1724; transl. into German, with annotations, by *Thienemann*, Lps. 1834.

[3] *Διασυρμὸς τῶν ἔξω φιλοσόφων*, edit. *Dommerich*, Hal. 1764; ed. et illustr. *Menzel*, Lugd. Batav. 1840.

Origen, the most illustrious of Clement's scholars, following the example of Christ before Pilate, at first refused to break silence, because he thought it impossible that the slanderous fabrications of *Celsus* could so influence the believers as to lead them into error. At the request, however, of his friend Ambrose, he set to work to answer the attacks of Celsus, and composed at once the most pithy and most complete apology yet written.[2]

The oldest defense of Christianity written in the West, so far as known, is the Octavius of the African *Minucius Felix*, composed probably in either the reign of Marcus Aurelius or Antoninus. It is elegantly written, and in the form of a dialogue, after the manner of the Tusculan dialogues of Cicero. The interlocutors are Caecilius, a Pagan, who brings forward the current objections of the day, and Octavius, a Christian, who refutes them. Caecilius closes the dialogue by crying out: "We have both triumphed; you by vanquishing me, and I by overcoming error."[3]

Tertullian, who was more skilled than any of the other apologists in the juridical method of argument, undertook, in his *Apologeticum*, the defense of the Christians in their political relations to the State, and triumphantly vindicated their position. He also proved, by a line of argument at once logical and unanswerable, that every man's conscience is a witness to the truth of Christianity, and against the degeneracy of Paganism, and that this abiding conviction makes him in some sort a *natural Christian.*[1]

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[1] *Clem. Alex.* opp. omn. ed. *Potter*, Oxon. 1715, II. T. Pirated ed. Venet. 1755; in *Migne's* ser. gr. T. 8. 1. *λόγος προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας*; 2. *παιδαγωγός*; 3. *στρώματα*.

[2] *Orig.* contr. Cels., libb. VIII., ed. *Spencer*, Cantabrig. 1677; transl. into German by *Mosheim*, Hambg. 1745, 4to. (Orig. opp. ed. *de la Rue*, T. I.) *Migne*, ser. gr. T. II.

[3] Ed. *Lindner*, Longosalz. 1773, newly transl. and illustr. by Lübkert, Lps. 1836. See *Bonn Periodical* for Philos. and Cath. Theol., No. 18. Edit. de *Muralto*, praefatus est *Orelli*, Tur. 1836, in the last edit., p. 1–17, argumenta novem quae probent, apologeticum Minucianum non minus ante Tertullianum quam ante Cypriani librum de vanitate idolorum esse scriptum; ed. *Kayser*, Paderb. 1862; ed. **Halm*, Vindob. 1867.

St. Cyprian, the eloquent and influential Bishop of Carthage, inspired by his example, wrote a work, in which he demonstrates the vanity of adoring idols, and exhorts the Pagans to spare the Christians.[2]

Arnobius, the African rhetorician, who from a persecutor became a defender of the Christians, proved the sincerity of his convictions and of the Christian spirit which animated him, by writing, at the commencement of the Diocletian persecution, his "Disputations against the Gentiles," in seven books, in which he exposes the vices and ridicules the absurdities of Paganism, and successfully defends many of the doctrines of the Gospel.[3]

These apologies may be classed under three different *headings*, according to the drift and purpose of each:

1. Some aim both at refuting the slanderous charges of atheism,[4] unnatural lust (*vaga libido*), the eating of human flesh, treasonable practices, and the like; and at answering the objection of novelty brought against the religion of Christ, by showing the intimate connection between it and the Old Covenant, and thus vindicating for it a higher antiquity than any of the philosophical systems, from which it is carefully distinguished, could lay claim to. They also protest against the illegal judgments passed upon Christians.

2. Others undertake to show that Paganism, as compared with Christianity, is the most deplorable delusion that ever

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[1] *Tertull.* ad nation. libb. II.; ad Scap. Procons. (opp. omn. ed. *Rigaltius*); apologet. ed. *Havercamp*, c. perpetuo commentario, Lugd. Batav. 1718; ed. *Kayser*, Paderborn, 1866. *Hefele*, Tertullian as Apologist (Tübing. Quarterl., 1838, No. 1, and in his *contrib.* to Ch. H., Vol. I.)

[2] *Cypr.* ad Demetrian. de idolor. vanit. (Opp. omn.)

[3] *Arnob.* disput. adv. gent., libb. VII., ed. et recens. Heraldi cum notis aliorum. Salmasius, Lugd. Batav. 1651, 4 ed. *Orelli*, Lps. 1816; additam. 1817, ed. *Hildebrand*, Hal. 1844. (*Gallandii*, bibl. T. IV., p. 131–216, in *Migne's* ser. lat. T. III.); in German, by *Besnard*, Landshut, 1862; by *Alleker*, Treves, 1858. Conf. *Meyer*, de ratione et argumento apologetici Arnobiani, Havniae, 1815.

[4] *Justin.* apol. I., c. 6 and 13.

took possession of the mind of man; and this they prove from the numerous immoral practices tolerated in its name, under the disguise of religious worship, which, besides being at variance with every law of reason, are totally destitute of any vital and energizing moral power, and the prolific source of the universal corruption among the Pagans. "Paganism and Polytheism," they assert, "can enter the heart of man only *through* the darkening and corrupting influence of *sin*," and Paganism itself[1] is but a systematic worship of demons.[2]

3. Others prove that Christianity is quite the reverse of all this; its teachings being so conformable to reason that the soul of man, which of itself is essentially Christian (*anima naturaliter Christiana*), at once seizes and comprehends them. Its very existence is but the *fulfillment of the prophecies*, and the pure and noble lives of those who profess it so much at variance and in such striking contrast with the gross immorality of their Pagan fellow-men, are ample evidence that it imparts a supernatural and divine power. Tertullian replies to those who attributed to the Christians the disasters that came upon the empire, that "the propagation of Christianity has diminished the calamities of former times, for the number of sinners has grown less in proportion to the multitudes who have embraced the faith, and become suppliants at the throne of mercy."

It may be observed that the apologists, in their zeal to overthrow Paganism, have sometimes exaggerated its evils, and closed their eyes to any element of good it might contain; and, in the heat of controversy, have transferred to their pages, without examination, passages favorable to their cause, from works which have turned out to be wholly, or in part, supposititious. Such, for example, is the work bearing the name of *Hystaspes*, an ancient sage of Persia; the writings of the mythical *Hermes Trismegistos*, a high authority among the Egyptians; the Greek poets, whose poems are frequently interpolated; the *Sibylline oracles*, containing reputed prophecies relative to the life and office of Jesus; and particularly the famous Acrostic on the name of Christ,[1] treating of the general judgment of mankind by the Son of God.

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[1] *Justin.* apol. I., c. 9; apol. II., c. 10.

[2] Ps. xc. 5; 1 Cor. x. 20.

§ 70. *The Martyrs of the Catholic Church and their Influence.*

Lactant. de mortib. persecutor. *Tertull.*, lib. ad martyr. *Orig.* exhortatio ad martyrium. *Cypr.* ep. 11, ad martyr. *Gallonius*, de SS. martyr. cruciatibus, Rome, 1594. *Mamachii* origines et antiquitates christianae, lib. III. *Sagittarius*, de martyr. cruciatibus, Frcft. and Lps. 1696, 4to. *Prudentius* *περὶ στεφάνων*, hymni XIV. (opp. ed. Daventriae, 1492, 4to.; ed. *Faustus Arevalus*, Rome, 1798–1799, 4to; ed. *Obbarius*, Tüb. 1844; ed. **Dressel*, Lps. 1860.) †*Chateaubriand*, les martyrs ou le triomphe de la relig. chrét., 2 vols.; transl. into German by *Hassler*, 3 vols., 2 ed., Freiburg, 1816. †*Perrone*, praelect. theolog. Romae, 1835, V. I., p. 186–206, ed. 21, or Ratisb. 1, 1854, Vol. I., p. 139–156. (Tr.) *Staudenmaier*, Genius of Christianity, 4 ed., Vol. II., p. 1006 sq. *Gass*, Christian Martyrdom in the First Century (Journal of Historical Theology, years 1859 and 1860).

Behold, I send you as sheep among wolves.—*Ὑμεῖς δέ ἐστε μάρτυρες τούτων.*—Matt. x. 16; Luke xxiv. 28.

If proof were needed of the numerous and inhuman cruelties suffered by the Christians, it would be sufficient to point to *the frightful torments specially contrived* for the punishment of the disciples of Jesus Christ under the emperors Nero and Marcus Aurelius, Maximin and Decius, Valerian and Diocletian, Maximian and Galerius.

The courageous self-sacrifice which the Romans had admired in Mucius Scaevola and Regulus, Fabricius and Cato, Lucretia and others, was displayed among the Christians with a frequency which rendered it a matter of ordinary occurrence, and Christian apologists have appealed to such examples with just and honest pride.[2] The disposition which *Dodwell* evinces to diminish the number of Christian martyrs, is an evidence of a narrow and prejudiced mind,[1] and the assumption that their courage and fortitude were inspired by either a desire of ostentatious popularity or blind fanaticism, is equally deserving of reprobation. We are, however, far from denying that many of the most intelligent Doctors of the Church were frequently obliged to reprove those who, with inconsiderate zeal, threw themselves unnecessarily into the hands of their persecutors, and suffered martyrdom as the penalty of their rashness.

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[1] *Justin.* apol. I., c. 20, 44; cohortat. ad Graecos, c. 38; *Theophilus* ad Autol. II. 33, 34, 36; especially *Lactant.* instit. IV. 15, and other passages. That *Acrostichon :* *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ σταυρός*, Oraculor. Sibyll., lib. VIII., v. 217–250. For these Sibylline oracles, together with the results of modern researches, see in oracula sibyllina, etc., ed. †*Friedlieb*, Lps. 1852 (Greek text, with metrical transl. into German); ed. *Alexandre*, Orac. Sibyll., Paris, 1841–1856, 2 vols. Cf. *Ewald*, Origin, contents, and importance of the Sibylline books, Götting. 1858. *Besançon*, de l'emploi que les Pères de l'église ont fait des orac. Sib., Paris, 1851.

[2] *Minuc. Felix.* Octav., c. 37. The instruments and methods of torture in the

But, apart from all this, there was a deep-seated conviction, based upon the words of Christ, "The disciple is not above His Master,"[2] that martyrdom was necessary, as a means of keeping alive and strengthening the faith which should animate all Christians.[3] The early Christians were sustained and comforted while suffering torture and martyrdom by the assurance of our Lord, "Fear not those who kill the body and can not kill the soul, but rather fear him who can destroy both soul and body in hell;"[4] and again, "He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it,"[5] and "where I am there also shall My minister be."[6] They took still greater hope and courage from the following: "Blessed shall you be when men shall hate you . . . for the Son of Man's sake; be glad in that day and rejoice, for behold your reward is great in Heaven."[7] Again: "If we be dead with Christ, we shall live also with Him; if we suffer,

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persecution of Christians were such as iron hooks, sharp shells, boiling water, molten lead, burning of wounds. Red-hot iron nails were driven through their heads; their feet were tied to trees, bent together, and then snapped asunder; their bodies were sawed in two, etc.

[1] *Dodwell*, de paucitate martyr. (dissert. Cyprianica XII.), refuted by *Roth*, de paucitate martyr.—contra *Dodwell* et *Flaetwoon*, Wittenbg. 1697; by *Ruinart*, in his preface ad acta martyr. Conf. *Iren.* contr. haer. IV. 33, and *Euseb.* h. e. V. 1, VIII. 4, 6, 8, 9–13; de martyr. Palaest. *Lactant.* de mortibus persecutor., c. 10; the Martyrologium Romanum; *Mosheim*'s transl. of Origenes contr. Celsum, p. 271 sq. Freibg. Cycloped., Vol. XII., p. 773, Art. "Martyrs."

[2] Matt. x. 24; John xv. 20.

[3] John iii. 16, x. 11, 17, 18.

[4] Matt. x. 28.

[5] Matt. x. 39, xvi. 25; Mark viii. 35; Luke iv. 24, xvii. 33.

[6] John xii. 25, 26.

[7] Luke vi. 22, 23.

we shall also reign with Him,"[1] and be acknowledged by Him before His Heavenly Father. But the necessary condition to the enjoyment of this glory, was "to confess Him before men."[2]

Those, therefore, who confessed the true faith and sealed their convictions with their blood, were called *witnesses* (*μάρτυρες*) to the divinity of the Christian religion; while those who believed in Christ and professed their faith openly at risk of life and earthly goods, without, however, being called upon to make these sacrifices, received the name of *confessors* (confessores). Many of the Christians threw themselves spontaneously and joyfully in the way of death, which, under other circumstances, has so many terrors for the human mind, exclaiming as they did so, "For me, to live is Christ; to die, is gain."[3] Such courageous conduct, as might be expected, brought both strength and numbers to the Church of Christ. "Your ingenious cruelty," says Tertullian at the close of his apology, "serves no other purpose than to increase our numbers; we multiply under your harvest of slaughter, for *the blood of the Christians is their seed.*"

The fact that martyrdom has existed in the Church in every age, and has been universally acknowledged as her peculiar prerogative, is an evidence that the nature of the Catholic Church partakes of that of Christ, for *being made one body with Him*,[4] she also shares His martyrdom on the Cross. Hence, numbers of *her* children have at all times gone forth with joyful hearts to receive the martyr's crown, while but few heretics and schismatics have possessed sufficient courage and strength to give this test of their belief,[5] and have thus virtually confessed that they are *but withered branches of the living tree of the cross.* They excused themselves by saying that it is useless to confess one's faith before men—God sees the *heart*, and that suffices; for martyrdom is only another name for suicide. If God, they said, who knows our motives of action, despises the blood of oxen and buck-goats, how much more that of men? Christ died to save us, what need have we to die? Is it to save Him? The Catholic Church, requiring open profession of the faith and visible fellowship among her members as necessary conditions of communion with her, branded these shifts as the subterfuges and sophisms of cowardice, and placed all those who held such doctrine under the ban of her anathema.[1] What one *sincerely* believes in his heart, he will not hesitate to confess *openly* when there is a sufficient reason to do so; for to deny external communion with the Church is to forfeit interior union with Christ. The Christians, rather than expose themselves to the peril of being cut off from *the life* of the Church, cried out, "To die is our gain," and celebrated the day as *the birthday of a new life in Heaven*.[2] But what caused them more bitter grief than even death, was to be obliged to witness, without being able to prevent, the outrages put upon Christian virgins.[3]

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[1] 2 Tim. ii. 12.

[2] Matt. x. 32; Luke ix. 26.

[3] Phil. i. 21.

[4] *Ignat.* ep. ad Trall., c. 11.

[5] *Justin.* Mart. apol. I., c. 26. *Tertull.* scorpiace, c. 1: Quum igitur fides aestuat, et ecclesia exuritur de figura rubi, *tunc Gnostici erumpunt, tunc Valentiniani proserpunt,* tunc omnes martyriorum refragatores ebulliunt, calentes et ipsi offendere, figere, occidere, p. 616.

While many bad Christians were cut off from communion with the Church, those who remained steadfast in the faith were united by strong but invisible ties with their martyred brethren; gloried in proclaiming their names in the Christian assemblies; met at their tombs on every recurring anniversary of their *birthday in Heaven*, and there celebrated the mysteries of their holy religion; erected chapels and churches over their tombs, dedicated them to their honor, and paid respect and homage to their earthly remains, which had once inclosed the soul, now enjoying the eternal fruition of God's glory, and in which they too were one day to participate.[4]

The Pagans began at an early date to misrepresent the homage which the Christians paid to their martyred dead, and these calumnies drew from the Church of Smyrna a protest against such conduct. This religious community declared, in the life of Polycarp, its Apostolic bishop: "We confess Christ to be the Son of God, and we dearly love, as is fitting, the martyrs, because they were His disciples and followers, and gave proof of their great love for their King and Lord; we love *them* also because we desire to enjoy their fellowship, and to become like them disciples of Christ."[1]

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[1] Conf. *Clem. Alex.* strom. IV. 4, 7, 10.

[2] *Kortholt*, de martyr. natalitiis in prim. eccl., Francft. 1698. *Sagittarii* lib. de martyr. natalit. in primitiva eccl., Frcft. 1696.

[3] *Augustin. de civit. Dei* I. 26–29.

[4] *Euseb.* IV. 15. This practice was commenced immediately after the death of the Apostolic Fathers Ignatius and Polycarp.

It is the purpose of these few words to point out the significance of the death of Christian martyrs in its *historical*, *poetical*, and *doctrinal bearings:* for, indeed, the history of the martyrs and the examples of their heroic courage furnish one of the *most interesting and instructive portions* of Church history;[2] afford a richer theme to the genius of the true poet than any Paganism has to offer, and, in matter of fact, have been a source of poetical inspiration from the earliest days of the Church; finally, they are illustrations of the principle of *divinity* inherent in the Christian religion, and evidences that there exists on earth a *visible* and living Church of God.

NOTE.—The literature belonging to this paragraph has been arranged to correspond to these *three heads.*

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[1] In *Euseb.* IV. 15.

[2] *Möhler* says on the subject: "Verily, were we ever to become so ungrateful as to forget those who have so manfully fought for Christ, we should deserve to be, in turn, forgotten by Christ our Savior. It was by the contemplation of the martyrs and their acts that I have learnt, at the least, to call upon the Saints. I have often been crying at the perusal of their acts, sympathizing with their pains, admiring their deeds, wrapped up with their greatness." In the Catholic Church the remembrance of the martyrs is ever kept alive through their anniversary feasts; in *Rome*, especially, through the scrupulous preservation of the *Catacombs* and *relics*, the exposition of the rich shrines of the Saints on all the days of *Lent* and Easter, until Low Sunday, in the several churches where there are the *stations*, as designated in the missal. It is even accompanied by a weekly procession on *Friday*, singing of hymns, and reciting of the litany of the SS., moving to the Colosseum, where thousands of martyrs have been sacrificed. (Tr.) This subject has very recently engaged the graphic pens of Card. *Wiseman*, in his Fabiola; of Dr. *Newman*, in his Callista; of *Kritzler*, in his Heroic Age of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, Lps. 1856; of Countess *Hahn-Hahn*, the Martyrs, 2 edit., Mentz, 1862.

CHAPTER II.

HERESIES.

§ 71. *Gnosticism—Its Origin and Characteristics.* (Cf. § 59.)

Gnosis, i. e., knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth.—1 Cor. viii. 1. Non ignorantia, sed superbia facit haereticum.—Abaelard.

Sources.—*Iren.* contr. haer., libb. V., ed. *Massuet*, Paris, 1710, fol. ed. *Stieren*, Lps. 1853, 2 vols.; ed. *Harvey*, Cantabr. 1857, 2 vols. Recently discovered, *Origenis*, or rather *Hippolyti*, φιλοσοφούμενα ἢ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος, e codice Parisino nunc primum ed. *Emm. Miller*, Oxon. 1850; ed. gr. et lat. *Dunker* et *Schneidewin*, Goetting. 1856–59; ed. *Cruice*, Paris, 1860, and in *Migne's* ser. gr. T. 16. Conf. *Döllinger*, Hippolytus et Callistus, Ratisbon, 1853. *Tertull.* contr. Marcion., libb. V.; de praescript. haereticor.; adv. Valentin. (contra Gnosticos); scorpiace. *Epiphan.* adv. haeres. (ed. *Petav.*, Paris, 1622; Colon, 1682). *Theodoret.* haeret. fabb.; *Clem. Alex.* and *Orig.* passim. The Neo-Platonist, *Plotinus*, πρὸς τοὺς γνωστικούς (Ennead. II., lib. IX.), ed. *Heigl*, Ratisbon, 1832.

Works upon the Sources.—†*Massuet*, diss. praev., in his ed. opp. *Iren.* and *Stieren*, opp. St. Iren., Tom. II. *Walch*, Hist. of Heretics, Vol. I. *Lewald*, de doctrina gnostica, Heidelbg. 1818. *Neander*, Genetical Development of the Principal Gnostic Systems, Brl. 1818. *By the *same*, Ch. H., Vol. I., Pt. II. *Matter*, histoire crit. du gnosticisme, Paris, 1828, 2 vols., 2 ed., 1843–1844; translated into German by *Dörner*, Heidelbg. 1833. *Schmidt*, Connection of the Gnostic Theosophic Doctrinal Systems, with the Oriental Systems of Religion, especially Buddhism, Lps. 1828. **Gieseler*, in his Ch. H., Vol. I., and in Theolog. Studies and Criticisms, 1830, No. 2, on Matter and Schmidt. **Baur*, Christian Gnosis, in its Development, Tübg. 1835. †**Moehler*, Essay on Gnosticism, being a complimentary programme, addressed to Plank, Tübg. 1831. †**Hilgers*, Critical Analysis of Heresies, Vol. I.; on the value of the result arrived at by this process, in the *same work*, p. 127–130, note 63. †*Staudenmaier*, Philosophy of Christianity, Vol. I., p. 489–493. *Lipsius*, Gnosticism, in Ersch and Gruber's Cycloped., Ser. 1, pt. 71; separate ed., Lps. 1860. *Ritter*, Hist. of *Christian* Philosophy, Pt. I., p. 111–285, and p. 345 sq.

The Church entered upon a struggle, perhaps still more dangerous than that which she sustained against the Roman empire, when some of her own children, pushing the theological speculations of *Simon Magus*, or, more properly, of *Cerinthus*, to their last results, became the defenders of *Syrian and Egyptian Gnosticism.*

They maintained that the cardinal idea of the New Testament was not properly interpreted by the word *πίστις* or faith, and by the idea of a teaching Church (praedicatio ecclesiastica), but by the general term *γνῶσις*, i. e. a profound knowledge of the Scriptures,[1] which, not content with the plain narration of *facts* and the simple exposition of dogmas, works out new ideas, reaches back to first principles, and thus builds up a religious philosophy of Christianity.

As time went on, the partisans of Gnosticism, following the example of *Philo*, began to believe that they alone possessed all knowledge (*γνωρίζοντες*, *men of knowledge*), and were endowed with all wisdom, which, concealed as it were under the letter, were inaccessible to the multitude (*οἱ πολλοί*). A warm contest soon arose between those who admitted the plain historical and traditional Christianity and those who, laying claim to superior knowledge, *mixed up* indifferently, in one system, the *ideas of man* with the truth of God, and who wished to establish in the bosom of the Church a sort of mysterious or esoteric doctrine, without, however, interfering with the belief and authority of the party opposed to them, whom they designated *ψυχικοί*, i. e. carnal, not spiritual. Their efforts were directed toward creating an aristocratic body, consisting of *πνευματικοί*, or those under the influence of the Spirit, as opposed to the *ψυχικοί*, or those who take a practical view of life; or of the *γνωστικοί*, or scientists, as distinguished from the *πιστικοί*, or believers.

From this time forward the true *character of heresy* became manifest in its variable and ever-changing forms of thought and opinion, while the doctrine handed down by the Apostles and preserved by the Holy Ghost, remained *one and immutable.*

The scope of the system introduced by these religious innovators, embracing the whole complex plan and economy of the world, may be summed up in the five following questions: 1. *What is the origin of evil?* 2. *What is the origin of matter?*

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[1] Conf. 1 Cor. viii. 7, xii. 8. λόγος γνώσεως iii. 2; Heb. v. 13, 14, and vi. 1; 2 Petr. iii. 18; Acts xxvi. 3, γνώστης.

3. *How did the world come into existence?* 4. *How were matter and mind united? and* 5. *How is the mind set free from matter and returned to its divine source?*

The Catholic Church replied, in answer to the first four of these questions, that sin owed its origin to the *abuse of free will*, and that God created the world, and all it contains, *out of nothing*, and by a simple act of His omnipotence. This solution "was regarded *as unsatisfactory*[1] by some learned men, *who, going under the name of Gnostics*, and *starting from the παλαία φιλοσοφία*, or Hellenic philosophy, ended by embracing Christianity." They endeavored to complete their system by combining with Christianity portions of the philosophy of *Philo* and *Parseeism*,[2] a little of the *Buddhist religion*, and some *misconstrued* teachings of *Judaism*. They adopted the Pagan notion of the *origin of the world*, and the Christian idea of *redemption*, which they associated with the person of Christ. They took such liberties with the latter, however, that it became almost impossible to recognize in it any distinctly Christian feature. The Gnostics were preëminently philosophers, and can scarcely be called Christian heretics in any true sense, and their history is rather that of a philosophical school than of an heretical sect, and in matter of fact, with exception of Marcion, they founded *schools*, and not Christian communities.

A *Dualism* essentially Pagan, either coëval with the very school itself or gradually developed, was the underlying principle in the *cosmogony* of all the Gnostic systems. The two elements of this Dualism are *God* and *eternal matter*, the latter of which is either animated by and under the influence of the bad and always at war with the good principle, i. e. God, as the *Parseeists* teach, or, as the *Platonists* say, an unreal and shapeless mass (*μὴ ὄν*), and not necessarily antagonistic to God.

The Gnostics developed these and other doctrines, not according to the line of thought which would be pursued by the philosophers of the West, and consisting of logical speculation and abstract notions, but rather after the manner of Orientals, who trace in everything *a symbolical meaning* and an *allegorical explanation.* Following the philosophy of Philo, and regarding God as a being hidden and infinitely great,[1] who can not come into immediate contact with the material and sinful world, they were driven to the *theory of emanation.* Hence, from this God infinitely great, embracing in Himself all perfections and possessing all life, *proceeded*[2] a series of divine spirits (*αἰῶνες*), growing less perfect as the number of emanations increased. The world and man were created by one of these spirits, called Demiurge (*δημιουργός*). Many of the Gnostics, however, and especially those of *Syria*, began in the meantime to regard the theory which attributes to an omnipotent and infinitely holy God the origin of an evil world, as utterly impossible and inadmissible, and were thus driven to assume the existence of an *evil principle.* These followed the Persian doctrine, in which Ahriman is represented as a spirit of darkness and evil, who, by his invasion of the kingdom of light and seizure of Ormuzd, created a confusion *of light and darkness*, of things sacred and profane.

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[1] It is thus *Porphyry* relates, Ennead. II., lib. 9.

[2] The material additions to the Gnostic systems, derived from Parseeism, were particularly demonstrated by *Neander* and *Gieseler;* those from Buddhism by *Schmidt* and *Baur.*

A *third* class of Gnostics, whose doctrines have recently come to light, and who may be styled the Ebionite or Pantheistic-Jewish school, proposed to reconcile the conflicting claims of Judaism and Christianity, which had been strongly asserted by some of their brethren, and *to eliminate the distinction between the Supreme God and the Creator of the world.*

The *doctrine of redemption* was, if not the natural issue of the Gnostic system, easily harmonized with it, and, in consequence, they professed to believe that *one of the superior Eons* came into the world to liberate the spirit from the bondage of matter (*ὕλη*) and the power of the Demiurge, to whose gracious action the efforts of man should correspond. The Gnostics, and particularly Simon Magus and Cerinthus, professed to base their doctrines, not upon the divine and living authority of the Church or in the personality of Christ, but upon the words of Holy Scripture. As they could not, consistently with their theory of matter, admit that Christ had a material body, without at the same time either denying or questioning His sinlessness, they were forced to accept the teaching of the *Docetae* on this point, which became a necessary part of all Gnostic systems. But, though all agreed as to the general fact that the body of Christ was not matter, there were *three* different theories offered in explanation of so strange a phenomenon: 1. The first asserted that the Eon Christ, who came to set man free from the bondage of matter, had not really a body, and that what appeared to be one was a phantom and an optical illusion; 2. A second theory held that His body was formed of a heavenly and ethereal substance; 3. And a third that the Redeemer, by an exercise of the power with which He was endowed, might temporarily make use of a body not His own for all purposes of organic life. The *means* which the Redeemer was to employ *for the salvation of man* consisted *in communicating to him a more perfect knowledge* (γνῶσις) of the essence of God and of human nature.

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[1] See p. 119.

[2] On the Origin of the Gnostic Systems of Eons, see Tübg. Quart., p. 442–449.

But as all men were divided, according to the Platonic Trichotomy, into πνευματικοί, or the spiritual, ψυχικοί, or the animal, and ὑλικοί, or the material, as either the spirit (πνεῦμα), nature (ψυχή), or matter (ὕλη), predominates, the Gnostic system assumed that only the *spiritual* were capable of the highest knowledge (γνῶσις), the *animal* only of such knowledge as runs parallel with faith (πίστις), while the *materialists* were hopelessly under the influence and in the power of evil.

These theories had also a practical bearing, which, starting with a harsh and repulsive rigorism, and pretending to great perfection, gradually degenerated into a *false asceticism*. The axiomatic principle of the Gnostics, "Matter is the source of sin," formed the basis of their moral code, and, conformably with this doctrine, they held that *liberation from the bondage of matter and the Demiurge* was a condition of freedom from sin. Their rules of morality were often transferred from the domain of ethics to that of *physics*, and led to flagrant abuses in their conflict against matter, such as abstinence from all legitimate pleasure, a denial of the lawfulness of matrimony, and the like.

It was not long, however, till many of them went to the opposite extreme, and became *Antinomists.*[1] They rejected not only the Jewish, but every other moral code, and gave themselves up to every manner of debauchery, as they professed, for the purpose of *weakening, mortifying, and eventually destroying matter.*[2]

Grounding their doctrines on *Holy Scripture,* they explained this by a *secret tradition,* which, they said, had been committed by the Apostles to a chosen few, who preserved, in all its purity, the truth, which the Church had corrupted. They rejected entire books of the New Testament, as well as passages here and there, not in harmony with their system, and substituted in their stead the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles.[3]

Their *allegorical exegesis* was so arbitrary and unblushing that *St. Irenaeus* affirms they were capable of making believe that the image of a dog or a fox was a perfect picture of a king, by constantly asserting such to be the fact.[4]

Although we have sketched a general outline of the characteristics and principles of Gnosticism, we have not yet arrived at a knowledge of the causes of its *rapid progress* and *long continuance.* Perhaps we can not do better than to offer in this connection the view of the profound *Möhler,*[5] who says that the *contempt of the world*, so prominently set forth in the Gnostic theories, attracted many Christians, and was by them carried to a morose extravagance. This doctrine, which they pretended to derive from the words of Christ Himself,[1] was summed up in the following formula: "*The visible world is in itself essentially wicked.*" It is hardly to be regarded as a matter of surprise that the professions of piety among the early Gnostics should have deceived many of the Christians.

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[1] *Plotinus* contra Gnosticos, c. 15. *Nitzsch,* Synopsis of Antinomism (Theological Studies and Criticisms, 1846, No. 2). *Erdmann,* de notionibus ethicis Gnosticorum, Berolini, 1847.

[2] Conf. p. 226.

[3] *Tertull.* de praescript. haeretic.: Ista haeresis non recipit quasdam scripturas (sacras), et si quas recipit, non recipit integras, adjectionibus et detractionibus ad dispositionem instituti sui intervertit: et si aliquatenus integras praestat, nihilominus diversas expositiones commentata convertit., c. 17. Conf. *Irenaeus* adv. haeres. III. 1.

[4] *Iren.* contr. haer. I. 8, n. 1, p. 36.

[5] Christianity raised up again, with so much energy, to the spiritual world the human mind, which had so long been groveling in the lower region of the senses and earthly passions, that many Christians overstepped the bounds of truth, and fell into the other extreme. They took such a determined dislike of the visible world *that it became for them evil itself.* To solve the doctrinal difficulties, arising in great number, recourse was had to the ancient systems of philosophy, theosophy, and mythology; but this step outward was not *the first,* but the *second* phase in the history of Gnosis. But, according to the account given

Hellenic or *Parthian Dualism*, the starting point of the Egyptian and Syrian Gnostics, should form *the basis of any classification* of the various Gnostic systems. The different relations in which *Paganism*, *Judaism*, and *Christianity* stood to each other in these systems, as each was more or less extensively adopted, will again give rise to subdivisions under these various heads.[2]

The most fully developed of the Gnostic systems were those which went under the names of *Basilides*, *Valentinus*, *Saturninus*, and *Marcion;* the last of which adopted an ecclesiastical form of worship, and by insisting on the *ethical* rather than the theoretical phase of Gnosticism, approached nearer than any of the others to the spirit of the Church. *Manichaeism*, or the Persian form of Gnosis, gave particular attention to the *organization of an ecclesiastical body*, a feature entirely wanting in Gnosticism proper.

§ 72. *The Characteristics of the Different Forms of Gnosticism.*

A.—HELLENIC GNOSTICS. SOME ACCEPT, OTHERS REJECT THE OLD TESTAMENT.

1. Basilides.

Iren. I. 24. *Tert.* de praescr., c. 46. *Clement. Alex.* strom. in several places. *Philosophumena*, lib. VII. 14–27. *Epiphan.* haer. 24. *Theodoret.*

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us by *Porphyry* (see p.169, in the beginning), and according to the whole historical development, just the very *contrary relation took place!*

[1] In St. John xviii. 36, "My kingdom is not of this world;" 1 John v. 19, "The whole world is seated in wickedness." Cf. 2 Cor. vii. 10; John vii. 7, xv. 18, "If the world hate you, know ye that it hated me before you;" John xvi. 11, "The prince of this world is already judged;" John xvii. 9, "I pray not for the world." Cf. 1 John ii. 15.

[2] For a synopsis of the different classifications of the Gnostic systems, based upon these different foundations, see *Neander*, *Niedner*, *Baur*, *Gieseler*, *Hase*,

haeret. fabb. I. 2–4. Conf. *Tillemont*, T. II., p. 219 sq., and p. 584. *Jakobi*, Basilidis philosophi Gnostici sententiae ex libro Hippolyti illustratae, Berol. 1852. On the opposite side: *Uhlhorn*, The System of Basilides in its relation to Hippolytus, Goetting. 1855. *Baur*, The System of Basilides and the most modern views of it (Tübg. Theol. Annuary, 1856, No. 1). *Gundert*, The System of Basilides (Journal of Lutheran Theology, 1855, No. 4; 1856, No. 1). In opposition to it: *Hilgenfeld*, The Roman Exposition as a subsequent transformation (Tübg. Theol. Annuary, 1856, No. 1).

According to St. Epiphanius, *Basilides* came from Smyrna into Egypt about A. D. 125, where, assisted by his son *Isidore*, he labored with great zeal to propagate his doctrines. His system is *based on a secret tradition*, which is represented as being a prophecy of Cham, the son of Noah, and handed down through the Oriental sages Barcabas, Barcoph, and Barchor, and, after the time of Christ, through Glaucias, the interpreter of Peter, and *Matthias*, the Apostle, by whom it was committed to Basilides and his son and disciple *Isidore*. The teachings of Basilides resemble the traditions of the Persians, and contain all the principal features of Manichaeism. His system was set forth in a work of twenty-four books (ἐξηγητικά), which he pretentiously called a "Gospel." The discrepancy which exists between the history of it, as given in the *Philosophumena*,[1] and by earlier heresiographers, may possibly be explained by regarding the former as containing the fuller development of its first principles, and the later modifications introduced by *Isidore*.

The system of Basilides starts with an Incomprehensible and Supreme Being, whose name no word is capable of expressing (τὸ ἄῤῥητον)—a Deity not existing *in time* (ὁ οὐκ ὢν θεός), but eternal and before all time. He created the world, not by emanation (προβολή), but as is taught in Genesis and St. John, out of nothing (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων), by an act of His will and the power of His word; not, however, in its perfect state, but as a "*germ* (σπέρμα τοῦ κόσμου) containing within the smallest compass everything necessary to form a complete world."

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and *Lindner*, in *Kurtz's* Hand-book of Universal Ch. Hist., Vol. I., div. 1, p. 131.

[1] They imagine to see in Basilides a great affinity with *Aristotle*: *συνιδεῖν εὐκόλως τὰ ὑπὸ Βασιλείδου ὄντα Ἀριστοτελικὰ σοφιστεύματα*, p. 225.

Basilides calls this summary of all things (*πανσπερμία*) also a shapeless mass (*ἀμορφία τοῦ σωροῦ*), from which, as from an embryo, the world was evolved. Within this embryo lay a triple sonship (*υἱότης τριμερής*), upon which the Primordial Being was acting and attracting to Himself by the power of His beauty. The first son being altogether spiritual, took his flight heavenward as soon as conceived, entered *Pleroma*, and joined the Primordial Being.

The *second* son (*υἱότης μητική*), being constituted of a gross element, could not at once gain entrance into Pleroma. He, however, established a communication with it through a winged being, the *Holy Ghost*, which he created, and which, though able to aid another, could not itself, owing to the inferior substance of which it was composed, enter the Pleroma, between which and the lower world (*τὸ μεθόριον πνεῦμα*) it stands guard, as it were, defending the boundary line of both.

The *third* son, being in need of purification, remained in the embryo world. From him sprang the *Great Creator* (*ὁ μέγας ἄρχων*), who ascended to the very firmament, and imagining that this was the farthest limit, and that there was nothing beyond, thought himself the ruler of all things. He had a son, who, according to the preordained design of the Supreme God, was greatly superior to his father in wisdom. Through his agency he created the ethereal world, the *Ogdoas*, or Upper Heaven, which extended down as far as the moon, and was an exact copy of the Pleroma.

A *second Archon*, called Otill, also ascended on high from the embryo world, and having had a son wiser than himself, the two together formed the realm situated between the moon and the earth, called the *Hebdomas*, or the Planet-Heaven. The lowest world (*τὸ διάστημα τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς*) developed of itself by virtue of its latent inherent forces (*κατὰ φύσιν*), without the coöperation of an Archon.

Such is the peculiar cosmology attributed to Basilides by the author of the *Philosophumena*, consisting of a Pantheistic process of evolution, instead of the dualistic emanation, which was formerly ascribed to him.

The same authority gives the following as his system of salvation, or *soteriology:*

Desirous of making the words of St. Paul,[1] "Every creature groaneth and is in labor even till now, and not only it, but we ourselves also, . . . waiting for the adoption of the sons of God, the redemption of our body," fall in with his peculiar views, he set himself about devising a means of introducing the second and third sons into the Pleroma.

When the fullness of time came, in which a revelation should be made to the children of God, *the Gospel was given to man.* The son of the Supreme God revealed, through the medium of the Holy Ghost, the *scheme of salvation* to the son of the Great Archon.[2] The latter, being now called *Christ*, revealed the plan to his father, who *bowed in fear* before the majesty of the Ineffable and Supreme Being.[3] The news, which had come from the Ineffable Being, was now spread throughout the entire upper heaven, or *Ogdoas*, and the Blessed Son was taught by the Holy Ghost what was the origin of all things, and informed that everything would again return whence it came.

Christ next communicated the knowledge he had received to the son of the Archon of the Hebdomas, who began to announce the Gospel in this realm, where it was accepted with as much readiness as in the Ogdoas.

After all the realms, as well as the infinite *ἀρχαί*, *δυνάμεις*, *ἐξουσίαι*, and the three hundred and sixty-five heavens, whose great Archon is *Abraxas*, had been illumined by the light of the Gospel, the unknown mystery was then revealed to the son who had remained behind in the *lowest world.* The lowest Archon held sway here until the time of Moses. The latter revealed the Great Archon, who sent the Prophets into the world.

Jesus, the son of Mary, was the first man who received the light of the Gospel in the lowest world after it had been announced in the Ogdoas and the Hebdomas. Mary was overshadowed by the Most High, and Jesus became His Power.[1] His office was to purify the son who had been left behind in the lowest world, and who personifies the sonship of his race, by announcing the Gospel to him, that he too, with his whole people, might gain entrance into the Pleroma; to separate all the elements and adjust them in their proper places, for in this arrangement consists the ἀποκατάστασις, or reëstablishment of all things. Nay, more; the sole object Christ had in view in *suffering* was to separate in this way the different elements of which His person was composed. The material body, or suffering part of Him, returned to matter (ἀμορφία); the animal, or psychical parts belonging to the Hebdomas, returned again to this realm of the second Archon, and the spiritual parts entered into Pleroma, where they continue to exercise a purifying influence upon the world, the realm of the third son, who was left behind, and the elements of which being united take their flight to abodes in the regions above.

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[1] Rom. viii. 19 sq.

[2] *Εὐαγγέλιόν ἐστι κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων γνῶσις, ὡς δεδήλωται, ἣν ὁ μέγας ἄρχων οὐκ ἠπίστατο.*—The Gospel is, according to them, the revealed knowledge of things supermundane, which the Great Creator Himself did not believe.

[3] Prov. i. 5. and Ps. xxxi. 5.

When all this had been done, the Ineffable God spread a *great ignorance* (τὴν μεγάλην ἄγνοιαν), and cut off the people of one realm from all knowledge of the others, that there might be no desire in any being to seek for anything beyond that which corresponded with its own nature.

The accounts given of the system of Basilides by *St. Irenaeus* and *Epiphanius*, who till, within a very recent period, were the principal sources whence a knowledge of his teaching was derived, though differing in many particulars from that contained in the Philosophumena, also agrees with it in many points.

According to these two writers, Basilides admitted a Primitive Being, incomprehensible and ineffable (θεὸς ἄῤῥητος, or ἀκατονόμαστος). *Seven* powers (δυνάμεις) proceeded from this First Being, viz., νοῦς, Understanding; λόγος, the Word; φρόνησις, Prudence; σοφία, Wisdom; δύναμις, Power; δικαιοσύνη, Justice; and εἰρήνη, Peace; who constituted the First Heaven, or realm of spirits. From this realm a second is formed, from this again a third, and so on, each successive realm being more imperfect than that which preceded it, till finally they reach the mystic number 365, and altogether are designated by the name 'Αβραξάς. The numbers corresponding to the Greek letters of which this name is composed, if added together, will give the number 365.[1]

The last emanation brought the perfection of the Pleroma on the confines of chaos. The chaotic powers then entered the Pleroma by force, and having taken some particles of light, confined them in matter. Afterward, the first (ὁ ἄρχων) of the seven angels of the lowest order, the God of the Jews, created an imperfect world of matter and sense.

The Primitive Being sent an Eon, His First Born (νοῦς), to raise man from his imperfect state, teach him the *knowledge of the true God*, and restore him to the *Kingdom of Light* (ἀποκατάστασις). This spirit descended on the man *Jesus* at the moment of His baptism, and dwelt in Him as an Eon till the time of His death approached, when, *The Word* (νοῦς) having separated from Him, the man Jesus suffered alone. The Basilidians were very particular to celebrate the *anniversary of this baptism* (ἐπιφάνεια) with great solemnity.

After the death of Jesus, those who acknowledged and confessed the *Crucified* were regarded as the slaves of the Creator of the world and the God of the Jews; while, on the contrary, those who *confessed* the *Savior* (קו לקו, *kav lakav*[2]), were destined to be elevated above Angels and Principalities and Powers. This doctrine, the knowledge of which was confined to only a few of the elect, was capable of disengaging man from all *physical* and material restraints, so that the soul, thus brought into immediate contact with the Supreme Being, enjoyed an intuitive knowledge of the Deity, and the will, set free from the bonds of the body, naturally inclined to good without being impelled by any external law (*κατάληψις νοητική*).

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[1] The letters of the word "Mithras," the Persian sun-god, will do the same, whence it has been inferred that Basilides spent some time in Persia. The word "Abraxas" itself is Coptic, and means "Hallowed be The Name." King's Gnostics, p. 36. (Tr.) *Bellermann*, Essay on the Gems of the Ancients, with the figure of Abraxas, Berlin, 1817–19, three pieces; and *Gieseler*, in his Researches and Criticisms, No. 2. This *spiritist arithmetic* is, perhaps, founded on the astronomy of the Egyptian priests, but more certainly to be reduced to the *Pythagorean doctrine of numbers*. Conf. *Iren.* II. 14, n. 6.

[2] According to Isaias xxviii. 10.

But in order to arrive at the perfect purity characteristic of the *Realm of Light*, Basilides held, that a series of transmigrations, or a metempsychosis, was necessary, a doctrine which gave rise to a *code of morality* among his followers of an extremely severe and ascetical nature, but which, in the course of time, became very much relaxed. The causes which conduced to such relaxation were principally two: first, a desire to excuse a denial of the Crucified when persecution threatened, for the Christian martyrs were supported during their sufferings by the hope of rising again in the body, which would not be the case if the doctrine of transmigration were true; and second, a wish to gratify their unbridled passions.

These degenerate Basilidians are mentioned as late as the fourth century.

2. The Anti-Jewish Ophites.

Iren. I. 30. *Clement. Alex.* Stromata, lib. VII., c. 27. *Orig.* ctr. Cels. VI. 3. *Philosophum.*, lib. V., c. 6, and VIII., c. 20. *Epiphan.* haer. 37. *Theodoret.* haeret., fabb. I. 14. *Augustin.* de haeresib., c. 17. *Lipsius*, The Ophite Systems (Periodical of Scientific Theol., 1863, No. 4; 1864, No. 1). *Gruber*, The Ophites, Würzbg. 1864. *C. W. King*, The Gnostics and their Remains, London, 1864.

The sect of the *Ophites*, called also *Naasseni*, or serpent worshipers, from ὄφις, a serpent, or נחש—nachash—was probably derived from the Egyptian worship of animals, and particularly of the snake. They afterward adopted Christian ideas, and, in fact, based their whole system upon a distorted meaning of a passage from Genesis.[1] It so closely resembles the system of Valentinus (*vide* n. 3), that many have conjectured that both had one common origin, and that the system of Valentinus is only a more elaborate development of the simpler form of the Ophites.

According to the *Ophitic system*, there was a series of emanations, the first of which started from *Bythus*, also called the First Man (ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος), as an *image* of himself and *Silence*, ἔννοια, σιγή, and being the first creative act of man, was also called the Second Man (*ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος*), and the Son of Man (*υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, or *Ἀδάμας*). From this emanation proceeded *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, or the Holy Spirit, who became the mother of life and wisdom (*μήτηρ τῶν ζώντων, ἡ ἄνω σοφία*). The union of *Heaven* and *Wisdom* (*σοφία*) with the two former beings gave rise to two others, the first of which was a perfect male and the *Heavenly Christ* (*ὁ ἄνω Χριστός*), and the second a perfect female and the *Sophia-Achamoth* (*προύνεικος*—the violated). The latter, unable to ascend to the Deity, attempted to form an independent world of her own by imparting her own vitalizing power to matter, during which the consciousness of her former high origin and estate became obscured. The Heavenly Christ and His mother ascended into primeval light, and while there, endeavoring, with the aid of the first two Beings, to form a *Holy Church*, Sophia-Achamoth, because of her hatred of God, gave birth to the tyrannical *Jaldabaoth* (ילדא בהות—Son of Chaos), the God of the Jews. He, in turn, begot six beings, who, together with himself, became the *spirits of the seven planets*. These six beings created *man* as a crude mass of matter, without a soul, which Jaldabaoth breathed into him, but, while doing so, a ray of light passed from his mother, and, contrary to his will, into human nature. Man having got this far along, appropriated to himself all the light of creation, so that he was no longer a reflection of his Creator, but was in the image of the First Man. Jaldabaoth, envious of this superiority, gazed into the depths of the sea, and while looking upon his image, which he saw reflected there, created *Satan* under the form of a serpent (*ὀφιομόρφος*), who was at enmity with everything *above*, and even with Jaldabaoth himself, from whom, though his creator, he labored to estrange all things.

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[1] C. iii.

Sophia-Achamoth, now stricken with grief on account of her former conduct, made an attempt to frustrate the designs of the Serpent. After she had earnestly pursued her purpose for some time, she was strengthened by congenial light, and enabled to ascend to her former high estate.

At a certain intermediate point (*τόπος τῆς μεσότητος*), penetrated by a purer light, she was enabled to free herself almost entirely from the shackles of the body. She had herself suggested to Jaldabaoth the idea of creating man, that she might eventually punish the former for his rebellion; and, in order to emancipate man from his power, she conciliated the good-will of the genius *Aphis*. He was to tempt Jaldabaoth to transgress the invidious command of the Jewish God, "*Of the tree of knowledge thou shalt not eat*," that he might by tasting the fruit see from what a height he had fallen, and gain a knowledge of his great destiny.[1]

Notwithstanding all the efforts of Sophia-Achamoth, she succeeded in impressing the conviction of the truth only on a very few men, such as Seth, Noe, and the Prophets, the others remaining under the power of Jaldabaoth and the Serpent-spirit.

At length the Supreme God, giving ear to her prayer and that of her mother, sent the *Heavenly Christ* upon earth, who, entering the man *Jesus* while he was being baptized in the river Jordan, enabled him to work miracles, and announce to the world the unknown God. Jesus was the Messiah of Jaldabaoth, who, disappointed at this turn of affairs, had him crucified by the Jews. When the sufferings of Christ began, he, in company with his mother, Sophia-Achamoth, withdrew into the empyreal heaven; but they again gave life to Jesus, surrounding him with an ethereal body, so that he could not be recognized, even by his disciples. After he had communicated a more perfect knowledge to some of his *more impressible* disciples, he was assumed by the Heavenly Christ into the starry heavens, where, seated on the right hand of Jaldabaoth, who does not deign to notice him, he attracts to himself the souls which have been purified by Christianity. When all the spiritual elements have been gathered into the realm of Jaldabaoth, and all light has returned into the Pleroma, the work of redemption will have been accomplished, and all merely physical natures shall be cast, together with Jaldabaoth, into the abyss of chaos.

There were many sects of the Ophites. 1. Those who worshiped the genesis of Sophia under the form of the Serpent, whence comes the name of the whole sect.[1] 2. Those who traced the origin of the pneumatists to Seth, whom they recognized as the chief of the school, and were accordingly called *Sethites*. By assuming three principles, they divided *men* into three classes—the *hylic*, or material class; the *psychic*, or animal class, and the *pneumatical*, or spiritual class. They believed that Seth, through the agency of Sophia, reappeared in Jesus.[2] The Coptic book, "*Pistis Sophia*," preserved in the British Museum,[3] shows a later development of the Ophitic Gnostics, and an improvement in their moral code. 3. Those who were called *Cainites*, because they followed the example of Cain, Cham, the Sodomites, and all persons of Holy Writ who are branded with any distinguished note of infamy. Judas Iscariot was quite a favorite with them, probably because, having brought on the death of Jesus, he put an end to the empire of the God of the Jews, or because having, as they thought, been the most enlightened among the Apostles, he ascertained that Jesus was an imposter and betrayer of the truth.

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[1] Philosoph., lib. V., c. 6: *ἀρχὴ τελειώσεως γνῶσις ἀνθρώπου, θεοῦ δὲ γνῶσις ἀπηρτισμένη τελείωσις.*—The knowledge of man is the beginning of perfection, but the knowledge of God is complete perfection.

Some individual Ophites led strictly ascetical lives; but others, and notably the Cainites, indulged in the shameless vice of sodomy.

3. Valentinus.

Chief Source.—*Iren.* adv. haereses. and *Tertull.* de praescr. haeret.; adv. Valentin.; then in *Clem. Alex.* strom. l. c.; in the *Philosophum.*, especially lib. VI., c. 21–25; *Epiphan.* haeres. 31; *Theodoret.* haeret. fabb. I. 7. Conf. *Tillemont* T. II., p. 257 sq. et p. 603 sq. *Rossel*, The System of Valentine the Gnostic (*Neander's* Theol. paper, Berlin, 1847, p. 280 sq., and in the supplement to Vol. II. of *Neander's* Ch. H.) *Heinrici*, Valentine's Gnosis and the Holy Scriptures, Berlin, 1871.

Valentinus was an Egyptian by birth, and was most probably a student of Greek philosophy at Alexandria, where he undoubtedly gained a knowledge of Christianity from the teachings of *Philo*. Following out the general plan of the latter, he gave to the world the most complete and finished theory to be found in any of the Gnostic systems, for which he was indebted more to *Pythagorean* and *Platonic* philosophy than to the Gospels,[1] although he pretended to have received his doctrines from Theudas, a disciple of St. Paul. He set out from Alexandria, and having arrived at *Rome* A. D. 140, during the pontificate of Pope *Hyginus*, he began to disseminate his errors; but having been excommunicated, he withdrew to the island of Cyprus, where he died A. D. 160.

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[1] *Mosheim*, Hist. of the Serpent Fraternity (essay of an impartial and solid history of heretics, Helmst. 1748, Vol. I., 1748, 4to). *Fuldner*, de Ophitis, Rinteln. 1834, 4to.

[2] *Aug.* de haeres., c. 18. *Philastr.* de haeres., c. 8.

[3] Latine vertit *Schwarze*, ed. *Petermann*, Berol. 1851. Cf. *Köstlin*, The Gnostic System of Pistis Sophia (Tüb. Theol. Annals., 1854, No. 1). *Lipsius*, Gnosticism, Lps. 1860, p. 155.

In his system the Supreme Being is *Bythus* (βυθός), called also the First Father (προπάτωρ), and the Beginning (προαρχή). The life latent in the Supreme Being was brought out in *a series of duads* (σύζυγοι), which are united, as active and passive, or *male* and *female principles*, as in marriage.[2] Valentinus supposed fifteen of these duads (σύζυγοι) and thirty Eons to correspond, which were divided into parties of eight (ὀγδοάς), ten (δεκάς), and twelve (δωδεκάς).[3]

The Supreme Being was essentially one of love, but having no object upon which to exercise it, he could not give any manifestation of its presence. But possessing a dual existence, he begot of the partner of this dual nature, called ἔννοια, or χάρις (but more commonly σιγή), μονογενής or the Only Begotten, which was also a duad, consisting of the two Eons, Mind (νοῦς) and Truth (ἀλήθεια). From this emanated another duad, of which the Eons were the Word (λόγος) and Life (ζωή), and from this again came a third duad with the Eons, Man (ἄνθρωπος) and the Church (ἐκκλησία).

Taken together they formed the party of *the Eight* (ὀγδοάς), which, according to the Pythagorean system, is the Root of the universe.

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[1] *Philosophum.* VI. 21: ἡ Οὐλεντίνου αἵρεσις Πυθαγορικὴν ἔχουσα καὶ Πλατωνικὴν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν—ἀφ' ἧς Οὐαλεντῖνος οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὴν αἵρεσιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συναγαγὼν, ὡς ἐπιδείξομεν, δικαίως Πυθαγορικὸς καὶ Πλατωνικὸς, οὐ χριστιανὸς λογισθείη, c. 29.—The heresy of Valentinus did not originate with the Gospel, as we shall show, but from the principles of Platonic and Pythagorean philosophy, so that he may be justly said to be a Platonist and a Pythagorean, but not a Christian.

[2] Ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου δεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ τῆς συζυγίας μυστήριον—in *Iren.* adv. haer. I. 6. The Eons are essentially in need of the mystery of wedlock.

[3] The biblical argument for this, Valentine thought to find in Matt. xx. 1–6: "The householder went out (exiit) about the first, third, sixth, ninth, and eleventh hour=30!"

The emanations forming the parties of *the Ten* (*δεκάς*) and *the Twelve* (*δωδεκάς*), proceeded in the same way, and taken altogether they constituted the *Pleroma* (*πλήρωμα*),[1] or the perfect development of divine life.

The nonentity of the *κένωμα*, or Chaos, was opposed to Pleroma. *Ὅρος*, or Terminus, one of the Eons, forming the last link of the Spiritual Realm, watched over all the other Eons, and held each in its own sphere. Wisdom (*σοφία*), the last of the Eons, impelled by an ardent desire (*ἐνθύμησις*) to know the Supreme Being, deserting her husband (*θέλητος*), wished to go beyond the limits of her sphere. Having been prevented from carrying out her design by the Eon Terminus (*ὅρος*), and unable to resist the pleadings of her unsatisfied desire, she gave birth to the monster Achamoth (החכמות *ἡ κάτω σοφία*). Achamoth created so much disturbance and confusion in the Pleroma, that the Supreme Being gave orders to Horos to expel her. Driven out of Pleroma, she wandered about alone, till, stricken with fear and sorrow for having separated from the Supreme Wisdom (*ἡ ἄνω σοφία*), she communicated to matter the Seed of life, and gave birth to the *Demiurge*, who created the world out of Chaos. By the union of the elements with the Superior and Inferior Wisdom (*ἄνω κάι κάτω σοφία*), there arose three distinct natures—the hylic, or material; psychic, or animal; and the pneumatic, or spiritual.[2] In order that harmony might be restored to the Pleroma, and any future attempt to go beyond the limits allotted to each Eon prevented, a new duad emanated from the Word (*νοῦς*), consisting of the Eons *Christ* and the *Holy Ghost* (*Χριστός καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον*), and from all these Eons together proceeded *Jesus* the Savior (*σωτήρ*) and future spouse (*σύζυγος*) of

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[1] This is, in all probability, an imitation of Coloss. ii. 9. *τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος*, as, in fact, Valentinus purposely gave biblical names to several of the Eons.

[2] "Facta est trinitas generum," says *Tertullian*, "ex trinitate causarum: unum *materiale*, quod ex passione; aliud *animale*, quod ex conversione, tertium *spirituale*, quod ex imaginatione." (Adv. Valent., c. 17.)

Achamoth, who, because of his exalted dignity and mission, was surrounded with a choir of angels. While studiously keeping his purpose secret, he so influenced the Demiurge that the latter went on completing his work of the world, and in making it so perfect a copy of the Pleroma, that its perfection surprised even its architect. The Demiurge, still dissatisfied with the existing state of things, and believing Himself to be the Supreme God, promised to his chosen people a *Messiah*, endowed with great natural powers, and with whom the *Savior* (σωτήρ) Jesus was to be united in baptism. Whilst the material or hylic natures, irretrievably doomed to destruction, fell victims to their fate, Soter delivered the animal or *psychical* natures from the dominion of matter, and the spiritual or *pneumatical* natures from both the influence of the Demiurge and the slavish observances of the Jews. The *letter of the law* promulgated by Jesus, and the miracles that he wrought, were intended to create and strengthen, in animal or psychical men, faith in the natural powers of the Messiah; while, on the contrary, spiritual or pneumatical men gained a knowledge of the *Savior* by the inherent power of truth alone, and were thus enabled, without sensible aids, to return to the Pleroma. When all spiritual men had arrived at a perfect knowledge (γνῶσις), then followed the end of the world and the restoration of all things (ἀποκατάστασις). The *spiritual* men having divested themselves of both soul and body, were to enter the Pleroma in the company of Soter and Achamoth; the merely *animal* men, accompanied by the Demiurge, were to withdraw to an intermediate abode, situated between the Pleroma and the physical world (τόπος τῆς μεσότητος); and the *material* men to return to the nothingness of Hyle, after which a fire was to break forth in Hyle, and consume both them and itself.

This Gnostic system, which had been elaborately developed by the speeches, hymns, and letters of Valentinus—all of which, with the exception of a few fragments, are now lost—had so many followers, that Tertullian said of it (about A. D. 200): "The followers of Valentinus are undoubtedly *a very numerous body* among the heretics."[1]

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[1] Valentiniani frequentissimum plane collegium inter haereticos. Adv. Valent., c. 1.

The theosophic reveries of Valentinus were so susceptible of easy transformations, that many of his most illustrious disciples, such as *Heracleon*,[1] *Ptolemy*,[2] *Secundus*,[3] *Colobarsus*,[4] and particularly *Marcus*,[5] widely deviated from their master's teaching.

Observation.—For a more complete and thorough knowledge of the Gnostic *systems of Eons*, and particularly that of Valentinus, and the various methods of enumeration adopted in each, it will be necessary to consult the explanations of their teachings, given by the Gnostics themselves, and to be found in the works of *Irenaeus*[6] and *Tertullian*,[7] and in the Philosophumena. The system of Valentinus appears to be a *personification*, under a *mythical* form of *speculations* and *ideas*, gathered from Platonic philosophy and Christian revelation.

4. Carpocrates.

Iren. I. 25. *Clem. Alex.* strom. III. 2. *Philosophum.* VII. 32. *Euseb.* h. e. IV. 7. *Epiphan.* haer. 27 (opp. T. I., p. 102 sq.), haer. 32, c. 3 (T. I., p. 210). *Theodoret.* haeret. fabb. I. 5. Conf. *Tillem.* T. II., p. 253 sq. *Fuldner*, de Carpocratianis, Lps. 1824.

Carpocrates, of Alexandria, who lived in the reign of the emperor Hadrian, is usually numbered among the Gnostics, although he can scarcely be said to have belonged to any of the Christian sects.

He taught that the Holy Ghost did not manifest Himself (*κατ᾽ ἐξοχήν*) any more distinctly in the person of Christ than He had done before Christ came into the world, and continues to do since He left it; that the doctrine of Christ, properly understood, is neither more nor less than Platonic and Pythagorean philosophy, adapted to a new revelation; that the traditionally-received Christianity can no more claim to be a true religion than any other philosophical system or religious belief, which, like it, is destitute of all *scientific* basis; and that Christ was simply a philosopher, like Plato and Pythagoras. Hence, the Carpocratians placed the picture of Christ among those of the other great philosophers, which they set up in their sanctuaries.

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[1] *Epiphan.* haer. 36.

[2] *Iren.* I. 12, II. 4. *Epiphan.* haer. 33.

[3] *Epiphan.* haer. 32. *Tertull.* adv. Valent., c. 4 et 38. *Theodoret.* l. c. I. 8.

[4] *Iren.* I. 12. *Epiphan.* haer. 35. *Theodoret.* l. c. I. 12.

[5] *Iren.* I. 13 sq. *Epiph.* haer. 34.

[6] For further explanations concerning *ἄνθρωπος* and *ἐκκλησία*, cf. *Iren.* I. 12, n. 3, p. 57, concerning *νοῦς* as the symbol and fountain of all life. I. 8, n. 5; II. 13, n. 1; II. 14.

[7] *Tertull.* adv. Valent., c. 4. Nominibus et numeris Aeonum distinctis in *personales substantias*, sed extra Deum determinatas, quas Valentinus in ipsa summa divinitatis, ut sensus et affectus et motus incluserat. Conf. de anima, c. 14. According to *Neander* (Hist. of Christ. Ethics, edited by *Erdmann*, Berlin, 1864), by the *ὅρος* of *Valentine*, this profound idea is said to be represented: "The importance of *self-control* for all moral life may be judged from the fact that all confusion arises from a disposition in the individual to aspire to what does not belong to his individuality, instead of being content with what is properly his own."

Carpocrates asserted that the world being the work of fallen spirits (*ἄγγελοι κοσμοποιοί*), the Divinity (*ἡ μονάς*) was not to be sought there; that the spirit can arrive at a knowledge of God (*γνῶσις μοναδική*) only when disengaged from every earthly affection and influence; and that the conditions of a union with the Divinity consist in raising one's self to the moral freedom of virtue (*θεία δικαιοσύνη*), by shunning all contact with the world, and renouncing the received religion and morality, which serve indeed to give a legal status to the individual, but neither cleanse nor justify him. Only a few persons, such as Plato, Pythagoras, and Christ, whose souls had enjoyed intimate relations with the Deity before their earthly existence, are capable of reaching so elevated a height. A portion of the divine virtue which they enjoyed in a former life still clings to them, and calls up in their souls memories of the past. They have the power of transgressing the narrow and confined limit set to the life of ordinary mortals, and of thus directly paying homage to the true God. All men, he said, may reach the same exalted destiny.

In spite of theories so spiritual, Carpocrates indulged in every sort of wanton libertinism. While he himself was gathering about him numerous followers at *Rome*, and still earlier in Egypt, his son *Epiphanes* disseminated his doctrine on the island of Cephalonia, and, following the system of Plato, taught *that women and goods should be common*, this being the only true way to honor God. At the close of their feasts, they indulged in the *concubitus promiscuos.* The cognate sects of the *Antitacts* and *Prodicians* also practiced the profligate habits of the Carpocratians.

5. Hermogenes.

Tertull., lib. adv. Hermog. *Philosophum.*, lib. VIII. 17; also *Theophilus* of Antioch and *Origen* wrote against him. See *Euseb.* h. e. IV. 24. *Theodoret.* fabb. haeret. I. 9. Conf. *Walch*, Hist. of Heretics, Vol. I., p. 576 sq. *Boehmer*, Hermogenes Africanus, Lund. 1832.

The heresy that goes under the name of *Hermogenes* can lay still less claim to be classed among the Christian sects than that of the Carpocratians. Hermogenes lived in Africa in the second century, and was by trade a painter. Following the doctrine of the Platonists, he assumed that *two principles* had existed from all eternity—*God*, the creating and active principle, and a shapeless, disorderly, subjective *matter*, or conceiving substance, from which God formed the world. He said that everything in the world was continually resisting the creating principle, and that this active opposition of matter was the *source of all evil.* While he denied the possibility of the Catholic doctrine of *creation* out of nothing, he equally rejected the Gnostic theory of emanation as entirely unworthy of God. He held that the soul, as well as the body, was formed from this eternal matter. Tertullian refuted his whole theory, and for this particular doctrine refers to his work, "De Censu Animae," which has been lost.

Theodoret says that Hermogenes also taught that *Christ* during His ascension laid down his body in the sun, and that Satan and his demons (evil) would be changed into matter. There is, however, hardly any evidence to connect such a doctrine with the theory of Hermogenes.[1]

Tertullian, referring to his habit of painting mythological characters and to his incontinency and repeated marriages, says of him, "Pingit illicite, nubit assidue."

B.—THE SYRIAN GNOSTICS. SOME OF THESE, SUCH AS THOSE MENTIONED UNDER NUMBERS 7, 8, AND 9, MAKE A STILL NEARER APPROACH TO THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH THAN THOSE ALREADY TREATED.

6. Saturninus.

Iren. I. 24. *Philosophumena*, lib. VII. 28; literally copied out of Irenaeus. *Epiph.* haer, 23. *Theodoret.* haeret. fabb. I. 3. *Tillemont*, T. II., p. 217–219.

Saturninus, or Saturnilus, was a contemporary of Basilides, and taught at *Antioch* about A. D. 125, during the reign of Hadrian. His system is closely connected with those of Simon Magus and his disciple, *Menander*,[1] and its principal features are the following:

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[1] Unless it owes its origin to his belief in the inherent evil of matter.

The *Supreme Unknown* (*πατὴρ ἄγνωστος*) created angels, archangels, and powers (*δυνάμεις, ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι*). The angels, by and by, fell from their estate, and those who had sunk to the lowest depth became the spirits of the seven planets (*ἄγγελοι κοσμοκράτορες*). These created the *world;* but while doing so, a bright image of a spiritual being burst upon them, remained for an instant, and was gone. They then created *man* in the likeness of this image, which had remained fixed in their memory. Man, so formed, had not the power of speech or of standing erect, but was obliged to crawl upon the earth, till the Supreme Father, taking pity upon his condition, sent forth a spark of divine life, which enabled him to assume an erect posture, and live. One of these angels was also the God of the Jews.

There is also in his system an *evil principle* (*ὁ Σατανᾶς*), opposed to the Supreme Unknown; but it is not certain whether Saturninus ascribed his origin to an act of rebellion, or believed him coeval with the good Primaeval Being. Satan created a dark race of men, who, in many things, bore a close resemblance to himself, and whose duty it was to oppose the men of light.

Christ, the chief of the Eons, who, though uncreated and without any real body, was *to all appearance* human in form, was sent by the Father to set man free from the bondage of Satan and the God of the Jews, and to keep the divine spark aglow within him.

The sons of light, who are the allies of God, and particularly the Saturninians, are destined to salvation; but not so those men of animal nature, who are quite incapable of so high a destiny.

Saturninus ascribed the origin of animal food and marriage to Satan, and maintained that in order to be wise, like him, man should abstain from both.

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[1] *Iren.* contr. haer. I. 24.

This heretical system, though unsatisfactory and defective, contains the germ of what was more fully and consistently developed by the later Gnostics.

7. BARDESANES.

Fragments of the book περὶ εἱμαρμένης, on Fate, in *Euseb.* praep. evang. VI. 10, and *Orelli*, de fato, Tur. 1824; in a Syriac transl., ed. *Cureton*, in the Spicilegium Syriacum, Lond. 1855. *Epiphan.* haer. 56. (T. I., p. 476 sq.) *Theodoret.* haereticor. fabulae I. 22. Conf. *Tillemont*, T. II., p. 454 sq. *Merx*, Bardesanes of Edessa, and the Clementine Recognitions in their relation to the Book of the Laws of Countries, Halle, 1863. *Hilgenfeld*, Bardesanes, the last of the Gnostics, Lps. 1864.

Bardesanes was born about A. D. 154, and we find him at Edessa A. D. 174. *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome*, who derived their knowledge from a translation of his works, speak of him as a man of great learning, and some talent for poetry. *Epiphanius* says that he fell away from the Catholic Church and joined the Valentinians; while *Eusebius* and *Theodoret*, on the contrary, affirm that he was a convert from Valentinian Gnosticism, but that he never quite relinquished some of his former tenets, and ended by becoming the founder of a new sect. He is said to have held the following Gnostic theories: "Satan can not be said to have derived his origin from God," and "Our body being the prison of the soul, can never rise again." Adopting the teachings of Zoroaster and the principles of Greek philosophy, he divided all being and existence into three classes: the φύσις, or established powers of nature; the εἱμαρμένη, or those under the fatal influence of the star spirits; and the God of the Christians, the guardian of moral freedom. He held that Christ was clothed with a *celestial* and immaterial body, and that He taught man to subdue the sensual passions, and enjoined fasting, abstinence, and contemplation, as a means of shaking off the fetters of evil matter; that thus freed from grosser bonds, the body might return to Heaven after the death of the flesh, as an *ethereal substance*.[1] Bardesanes also asserted that the soul of man, *before* he was seduced by Satan,[2] had been clothed with an ethereal body, but that having, by his apostasy, fallen under the power of the material world, he was inclosed in a body of flesh (*σάρξ*).

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[1] Cor. xv.

[2] Gen. iii. 6.

The poetic beauty and charm of his hymns[1] drew to his side a great number of followers, and so great was their influence among the people that, in the fourth century, *Ephrem of Syria* was obliged to compose others of an orthodox nature to counteract it.

8. TATIAN.

Iren. I. 26. *Philosophumena*, VIII. 16. *Epiphan.* haer. 46 (T. I., p. 390). *Theodoret.* haereticor. fabulae I. 20. *Tillemont*, T. II., p. 410–418. *Daniel*, Tatian, Halle, 1837. *Freibg. Eccl. Cycloped.*, Vol. X., p. 644–661.

Tatian was born in Syria about A. D. 130, and made long journeys in search of the true religion. Dissatisfied with Paganism, he went to *Rome*, where, having embraced the Christian religion, he became a disciple of *Justin Martyr*, and, like his master, a zealous defender of Christianity.[2] After Justin's death, he quitted Rome, about A. D. 174, and fell into heresy. It is supposed that the cause of this defection was his ambitious desire of becoming the founder of a new philosophical system, and in this way acquiring distinction. There is no proof in his Apology that he departed from the teaching of the Christian Church concerning *God*, but the same can not be said of his *Anthropology*, if we may judge from his exposition of the relation between spirit and matter in man. All agree, however, in affirming that his later writings contain the following errors: 1. He invented *invisible Eons*, resembling those of Valentinus. 2. He so distorted a passage of St. Paul[3] as to find in it a sanction for the doctrine that marriage is no better than impurity and fornication; he declared the use of certain meats and drinks, such as wine, unlawful, and enjoined and practiced a severe asceticism. 3. He denied the salvation of Adam. The last-mentioned tenet is evidently a consequence of the erroneous anthropological doctrine indicated above.

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[1] *Hahn*, Bardesanes gnosticus, Syror. primus hymnologus. comm., Lps. 1819. Against misrepresentations by *Hahn*, concerning Ephrem the Syrian, conf. †*Zingerle* (in *Pletz's* Theol. Periodical, year 1834). *Kuehner*, Bardesanis Gnostici numina astralia, Hildburghausen, 1833. According to the most recent exposition by *Merx* and *Hilgenfeld*, the importance of Bardesanes is said to lie in this, that he, although still remaining within the sphere of heretical gnosis, yet overcame the characteristic doctrines of the same, viz., Dualism and Emanationism, wherefore, so they contend, he is to be looked upon as the last in the succession of Gnostic teachers in the ancient Church.

[2] See page 294.

[3] 1 Cor. vii. 5.

It is probable that *Docetism* was not first taught by Tatian, but by the encratite *Julian Cassian*, who lived some time later. His followers were called *Encratites*, *Hydroparastatae*, and *Aquarians*, and, after one of his pupils, also *Severians*. Like the Gnostics, they used only water at the eucharistic sacrifice. *St. Ignatius*[1] tells us that because of *their ideas of matter*, they abstained from the Holy Eucharist, as it is understood by the *Church*, but later on adopted its celebration in such a way as to make it conform to their own system.

9. MARCION.

Iren. contr. haer. I. 27. *Tertull.* contr. Marcion., libb. V. *Clem. Alex.* strom.: *διάλογος περὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ὀρθῆς πίστεως*, ed. *Wetstenius*, Bas. 1674; at times falsely attributed to *Origen* (*Orig.* opp. ed. *de la Rue*, T. I.) *Philosophumena*, lib. VII. 29–31. *Epiphan.* haer. 42. *Theodoret.* haereticor. fabulae I. 24, and *Esnig* (an Armenian bp. of the fifth century), Marcion's System of Belief, transl. from the Armenian by Professor *Neumann*, in *Illgen's* Journal of Historical Theology, 1834. Cf. *Tillemont*, T. II., p. 266 sq.

The Gnostic system of *Marcion*, the son of a bishop of Sinope, is something quite unique in its way. Having been excommunicated by his own father for having violated a young woman, he set out for *Rome*, where he arrived about A. D. 150, and formed an alliance with the Syrian Gnostic *Cerdo*, for the purpose of inflicting a mortal blow upon the Church from whose community he had been driven. *Polycarp*, though remarkable for mildness and amiability, meeting him one day, said, in reply to a question, that he recognized him as "the first-born of Satan." He and Cerdo formed a system, according to which revelation was considered, without any regard to the previous history of the world, as beginning with Christianity, when it was manifested to mankind in all its completeness and perfection. Unlike the philosophers who went before him, he did not start with *metaphysical speculations or with natural philosophy*, but viewed everything according to its *moral* bearing.

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[1] *Ignat.* epist. ad Smyrn., c. 7.

Misapprehending the doctrine of St. Paul on *grace*, he sought in the teaching of the Apostle an argument for his Opposition, or Antithesis, between *Justice* and *Grace*, the *Law* and the *Gospel*, *Judaism* and *Christianity*, which forms the basis of his whole system.[1] After his disciples had more rigorously defined and more fully developed his system, Marcion assumed *three Principles*[2]—the Good God (*θεὸς ἀγαθός*), the Demiurge or Creator (*δημιουργὸς δίκαιος*), and Matter (*ὕλη*). He also included an Evil One (*ὁ πονηρός* or *διάβολος*). These, however, did not include a system of Eons, arranged in pairs, consisting, each, of a male and female, or an active and passive principle (*σύζυγοι*); neither did they presuppose the Pleroma, or a suffering Sophia.

To show that his theory of revelation was correct, and that it really took place, regardless of any antecedent state of things, he drew a broad distinction between the God of the Christians and the God of the Jews, or the Creator of the world. The one is *merciful, the founder of true morality, and*, as a consequence, *of free will;* the other arbitrary and severe, and the author of the *rigorous justice of the Law*.[3]

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[1] "*Separatio legis et evangelii proprium et principale opus est Marcionis.*" *Tertull.* adv. Marcion. I. 19.

[2] Whilst the most ancient witnesses, such as *Justin M.*, *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, and the *Philosophumena*, relate that Marcion taught *two eternal principles* (*δύο ἀρχὰς τοῦ παντὸς ὑπέθετο, ἀγαθὸν τινὰ λέγων καὶ τὸ ἕτερον πονηρόν*, philosoph. VII. 29), later authorities, such as *Dionysius*, Bp. of Rome (about 260); *Cyril*, of Jerusalem; *Epiphanius*, and *Theodoret*, state that he asserted *three*. *St. Augustine*, however, who knew of the existence of both opinions, gives preference to the more ancient report. The later writers probably speak of the further development of the system as it was drawn out by *Syneros* and *Pregon*, disciples of Marcion, who sharply defined, formalized, and harmonized their otherwise self-contradictory system. These latter, according to the testimony of Rhodon and the Philosophumena, establish *three* principles, and we, with the most recent Church historians, follow this statement. Nay, *Baur*, following in the track of *Theodoret*, for the sake of a still more definite development of Marcion's ideas, assumes that he held even *four* principles: the Supreme God, Matter, the Demiurge, and *Christ*.

[3] Marcion offers reasons and further explanations for his system in his book

The Good God (*θεὸς ἀγαθός*), who as yet was entirely unknown in the world, in order to set man free from a servitude so degrading, and to release him from the cruel bondage of the God of the Jews, came forth from the *depth of his existence*, in the person of *Christ*, his consubstantial "*Son*," who, having assumed a visible body, descended to the earth at Capernaum. He prudently dissembled for a time his real character, pretending to be the Messiah of the Demiurge; but while feigning to be an emissary of the latter, he adroitly made known the unseen God to man, and suffered crucifixion and death at the hands of the Jews for his rashness. Angry at this treatment, he made the sun cease to give his light, spread darkness over the earth, and rent the veil of the temple. Christ, according to this singular doctrine, after his *apparent death*, descended into the lower regions, preached to the souls of the departed, and thus redeemed all those who were willing to *believe* in him; even Cain, the Sodomites, the Egyptians, and every Pagan people might avail themselves of the mercy of this gracious mission. Whoever had faith in Christ, and led a truly moral life, might enter into the enjoyment of God's kingdom; while the unbeliever was condemned to remain under the yoke of the God of the Jews.

A long and severe probation as catechumens was, by Marcion, exacted of all persons before being admitted to the dignity of believers, after which they were required to live strictly moral lives, to *abstain from marriage*, and all sorts of enjoyment and pleasure, and to use only such and so much nourishment as was absolutely necessary to sustain life. Marcion, believing that *criticism* was the prerogative and duty of all true Gnosis, made the freest use of his privilege. He rejected three of the Gospels, a number of the Apostolic epistles, changed the Gospel of St. Luke, garbled the Epistles of St. Paul (*ὁ ἀπόστολος*), and asserted that the Catholic Church had lapsed into Judaism.[1]

"Antitheses." Cf. *Hahn*, antitheses Marcion. Gnost., liber deperditus, nunc quoad ejus fieri potuit, restitutus, Regiom. 1823.

[1] *Hahn*, The Gospel of Marcion in its original form, Lps. 1824 (*Thilo*, codex apocryphus N. T., Lps. 1832, T. I., p. 403–486). The *same*, de canone Marcionis, Ibid. 1824. The *same*, de gnosi Marcion. antinomi., Regiom. 1820.

Contrary to the practice of all the other Gnostics, he rejected allegorical interpretation. The Gnostics discarded all liturgy; but Marcion, conscious that some sort of ritual was necessary, made an attempt to *simplify the forms of Catholic worship.* He utterly disregarded the discipline of the Church in the matter of the *Secret*, and admitted catechumens and elect alike to the celebration of the mysteries.

It is said that at the approach of death, he desired to be again received into the bosom of the Church, a favor which he had not the happiness to receive.

Marcion's most illustrious disciples were *Mark* and *Apelles*, who supplied what was wanting to his metaphysical system by propositions extracted from other Gnostic theories. This system existed under various forms, some of which enjoyed an ecclesiastical organization, down to the sixth century.

C.—EBIONITIC GNOSTICS. (PSEUDO-CLEMENT.)

SOURCES.—The Homiliae Clementinae and Recognitiones, together with numerous WORKS upon them. See above, page 218, note 2.

We have seen that in the system of Marcion, though the Eons were given up, the Demiurge was retained, and the doctrine of Dualism more explicitly set forth, and earnestly insisted upon. A still further advance was made in the unmistakably *Gnostic* system, contained in the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies.* We find in these an attempt not only to remove the distinction which makes the Demiurge and the Supreme God two distinct beings, and to abolish Dualism, but also a disposition, if not to identify, at least to harmonize Judaism and Christianity.

The founders and followers of this sect, desirous of claiming for it an *Apostolic origin*, and anxious to be recognized by the Church of *Rome*, pretended that the fabrications, known as the Homilies and Recognitions, had been written by *Clement* of Rome, the successor of *St. Peter*, and contained infor-

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Rhode, Prolegomenor. ad quaestion. de Evangelio Apostoloque Marc. denuo instituendam caput 1–11, Vratisl. 1834, 4to. *Ritschl*, The Gospel of Marcion, Tübing. 1846. *Harting*, quaestiones de Marcione Lucae evang. adulteratore, Traject. 1849. *Volkmar*, The Gospel of Marcion, Lps. 1852. *Hilgenfeld*, Marc. Apostolicon (Periodical for Hist. Theol., 1855, No. 3).

mation which had been privately communicated to Clement by the Prince of Apostles. Their real author, however, was a native of Rome, and a member of the sect of *Elkesaites*.[1] The latter, according to the Philosophumena, came to Rome about A. D. 160,[2] and by their presence and the many instruments which a dangerous heresy has always at hand, gave a powerful impulse to a religious syncretism, such as that contained in the Clementine Homilies, combining the three elements of Judaism, Paganism, and Christianity.

The *doctrine of only one God* is rigorously set forth in this system, and special emphasis is laid upon the fact that the Supreme God is also the *Creator of the world* and of man, to whom, even if He were the most wicked of beings, *man* should pay all honor and reverence, since to Him alone he owes his existence. The theory of creation contained in the Clementines does not allow that God created all things out of nothing, but asserts that everything was evolved from eternal matter, the elements of which emanated from God and form His body.

God, however, did not create the world alone, but through the agency of *Sophia*, who was united to Him as a soul, and exercised a Demiurgic vicariate.[3] Moreover, the work of evolution goes on in the world, both in the spiritual and in the physical order, through a *series of unions* (*συζυγίαι*) between the male and female sexes—the female, being inferior, always preceding the male, and the latter, as superior, finally asserting this superiority by overcoming the former. They also assert that there was both a male and a female prophecy, standing to each other in the relation of truth and error, of the present and the future world.

This world, pantheistic in its construction and androgynous in character, was divided by God into two kingdoms, the good and the bad, each of which possessed its own ruler. God gave to the *Good* Ruler (*υἱὸς θεοῦ*) the kingdom of the future (*αἰὼν μέλλων*), but to the *Evil* Ruler that of the present world (*αἰὼν οὗτος* or *παρών*).

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[1] See p. 218.

[2] Lib. IX. c. 13. Cf. § 58.

[3] *Χεὶρ δημιουργοῦσα τὸ πᾶν.*—The hand creating the Universe. Hom. XVI. 12.

The devil was not created wicked, nor did he become so of himself, but proceeded from a mixture of inferior elements, and is often called ἐκράθη. He forms a union (συζυγία) with the Son of God, and both together are the right and left hand of God, the latter of which kills and the former quickens.[1]

The *first man* created by God bears about with him the image of his Creator, and is favored with a continuous divine revelation, communicated to him by the Prophet of Truth (ἀληθὴς προφήτης, or προφήτης τῆς ἀληθείας). This revelation had been first vouchsafed to *Adam*, but the devil having corrupted it, as originally given, it was again granted to Moses; his law having likewise lost its primitive purity, the revelation appeared finally in *Christ.*

Though these three may seem to be but one and the same person in this system, such is not really the case; for Christ, though *not considered God*, is nevertheless called the "*Son of God*," a title applied neither to Adam nor to Moses.[2]

The Clementines also maintain that the *call* which Christ *extended to the Pagans*, and particularly His own *baptism*, *a necessary condition of salvation*, are evidences of an actual development beyond and outside the scope of Judaism.

They further say that, when the false prophecy of *Antichrist* will have been proclaimed at the end of the world, Christ shall once more come as the Eternal Light, before which all darkness shall disappear.

The *order of salvation* begins with a call (κλῆσις) from God, which imports a knowledge of the True Prophet, in whom man must believe (*πιστεύειν τῷ θεῷ τῷ διδασκάλῳ*), and afterward be *baptized* unto the *remission of his sins*. By this means he gains a knowledge (*γνῶσις*) of the essence and justice of God, of the immortality of the soul, and of judgment. This knowledge (*γνῶσις*) not only instructs him in the Law, but also imparts strength to fulfill it. This fulfillment consists in a number of external acts prescribed by the Law, and ranking much higher than anything similar in Christian ethics. A strict asceticism, which forbids all unnecessary contact with matter, is prescribed as obligatory; meats and wine are condemned, and only such articles of food are permitted to be taken from the earth as are necessary to sustain life. *Marriage*, however, *is recommended* as earnestly as among the Jews.

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[1] Conf. Homil. VII. 3: *αὐτὸς γὰρ μόνος διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς ἀναιρῶν, διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς ζωοποιῆσαι δύναται.*—For he alone who destroys by his left hand can quicken by his right hand.

[2] Homil. XVI. 16: *τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ μὴ γεγεννῆσθαί ἐστιν, τοῦ υἱοῦ δὲ τὸ γεγεννῆσθαι. γεννητὸν δὲ ἀγεννήτῳ ἢ καὶ αὐτογεννήτῳ οὐ συγκρίνεται.*—It is the peculiarity of the Father not to have been begotten; of the Son in turn, to have been begotten; but that which is begotten can not enter into comparison with what is unbegotten or self-begotten. But that *υἱὸς θεοῦ* in the Clementines is not identical with *σοφία* and *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, is shown by *Uhlhorn*, The Homilies and Recognitions of Clement of Rome, p. 183–185. On the other hand, it is very undetermined how the homilies regarded the *incarnation* of Christ. At all events they emphasize the human element too strongly to allow of any docetism. See in l. c., p. 209 sq.

The *church organization* and priesthood of these sectaries are closely allied to that of the Catholic Church.

Christ, the Good King of the Good Kingdom, rules the church, indeed, from His cathedra; but in the visible church, His place is filled by *bishops*, assisted by *priests* and *deacons*, subordinate to them. *Peter* first occupied the chair of Christ, and set bishops over the communities founded by himself. *James*, the brother of our Lord, held at Jerusalem the prominent position of bishop of the Holy Church (*ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας*).[1]

§ 73. *Persian Gnosis—Manichaeism.*

Sources.—*Archelai* (Bp. of Cascar about A. D. 278) acta disputat. cum Manete (*Gallandii* bibl. PP. T. III., p. 569–610, and in *Mansi*, T. I., p. 1129 sq.) *Routh*, reliq. sacr., Tom. V., ed. II. *Tit. Bostrens* (about A. D. 360), libb. III. *κατὰ τῶν Μανιχαίων* (*Canis.* lect. ant., ed. *Basnage*, T. I.); graece, by *Lagarde*, Berol. 1859, syriace, lib. IV., ed. *idem*, Berol. 1859. *Alexander*, Lycopolit. adv. Manich. placita (*Galland.* bibl. PP. T. IV., p. 73–88). *Cyrill. Hieros.* catech. VI. *Epiphan.* haer. 66 (opp. T. I., p. 657 sq.) *Augustin.* contr. epist. Manich. fundam.; ctr. Fortunat., Adimant., Faust.; de actis cum Felic. Manich., and other writings. (Collected in T. VIII., ed. Bened.) *Augustin.*, de moribus eccl. cath. et mor. Manich. (T. I.) Fragments in *Fabricii* bibl. gr. T. V., p. 284 sq. *The more modern oriental statements*, derived, however, from *more ancient sources*, differ very much from those of an earlier date. The former came originally from Persia, Syria, and Arabia. They belong to the ninth and tenth centuries, and were collected in *Herbelot's* Bibliotheca Orientalis, Paris, 1697, fol. Concerning *En-Nedin's* statements of the year 987, see the *Vienna Annuary*, Vol. XC., year 1840, and *Chwolsohn*, the Ssabians and Ssabism, St. Petersburg, 1856, Vol. I., p. 109 sq. The ancient Greek and Latin authors belong to the third and fourth centuries. Conf. *Tillemont*, T. IV., p. 367.

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[1] Conf. *Uhlhorn*, l. c., p. 221–223, and immediately after the Schema of this Esseno-Ebionitic system, executed in the form of a genealogical table, "which, to all intents and purposes, is pantheistic, and disguises under a seemingly strict Monotheism a thorough Dualism."

Works *upon the* Sources.—*Beausobre*, hist. crit. de Manichée et du Manichéism, Amst. 1734 sq., 2 T. 4to. *Alticotii, S. J.*, dissert. hist. crit. de antiquis novisque Manichaeis, Romae, 1763. *Walsh*, Hist. of Heretics, Pt. I., p. 685 sq. *Baur*, The Manichaean System of Religion, Tübg. 1831. *Colditz*, Origin of the Manichaean System of Religion, Lps. 1838. **Flügel*, Mani, his doctrine and writings, etc., Lps. 1862.

Manichaeism, which is very closely allied to Gnosticism, made an effort, when the decline of the latter seemed inevitable, to usurp the place it had occupied in the minds of men. It owes its origin to one Mani, as the Orientals write his name, but which the Europeans always give as Manes, or Manichaeus, who, according to Eastern sources, was descended from a distinguished family, and well instructed in philosophy and the arts. He is also said to have become, later on, a skillful painter, embraced Christianity, and entered the priesthood, and to have been excommunicated for his leaning toward Parseeism and his rejection of the Old Testament. En-Nedin gives quite a different version, affirming that he was brought up by his father Fonnaq, a Pagan priest of Babylon, in *Mendaeism*, the religion of the latter; but that having been warned by an angel, when he was twelve years of age, *to forsake that creed*, he put off his conversion till his twenty-fourth year, when the angel having again appeared to him, he began to proclaim *a doctrine of his own.*

Manes, according to the *Western tradition*, was a slave in the house of a widow of a certain Terebinthus or "Buddha." Through her favor he obtained possession of the books which had belonged to the Saracen merchant *Scythianus*, who, during his travels, had become intimately acquainted with Greek and Oriental philosophy. If this be true, Manes must have commenced to disseminate his doctrines about the middle of the third century. About the year 227, the Sassanidae having liberated the Persians from the yoke of the Parthians, the new dynasty resolved to establish its power upon a firm basis, and to give its attention to the religious improvement of the people. With this purpose in view, the Sassanidae set to work to restore to its former dignity the religion of Zoroaster, which, under the Arsacidae, had degenerated into a gross Dualism, whose worship consisted in external forms, destitute of both life and dignity.

The Magusaeans, being partial to this lax form of Zoroastrianism, were obliged to flee. Manes appears to have taken part in this religious movement. While thinking over the existing state of affairs, he fancied that he discovered certain points of contact in the Persian religion, Christian *Gnosticism*, Buddhism, and the religion of Mithra,[1] and that by combining and harmonizing the least offensive features of each, he might establish a religious system which would be at once popular and acceptable to all parties. His ambition singled him out as an object of hatred to the Magi, the Persian kings, and the Christians. To the last mentioned, he represented himself as the *promised Paraclete.*

He was induced, about the year 276, probably in the reign of *Baharam* (Varanes I.), to accept a public disputation with the Magi, in which, having been declared defeated, he was flayed alive for being a religious impostor, his skin stuffed, and suspended from the gate of the capital.

Manes held that there were two eternal Beings (*ῥίζαι, ἀρχαί*), *Light* and *Darkness*—a more definite form of Dualism than even that of the Syrian Gnostics. These two Principles (*ῥίζαι, ἀρχαί*) pass through a successive series of emanations of *many Eons*, and are constantly at war with each other. The Good Principle, which corresponds with the Persian Ormuzd, like the sun in the planetary system, diffuses his light upon all things; the Bad Principle, which corresponds with the Persian Ahriman, is the contrary of the former, and consists of matter and darkness, and is the author of all evil. The Good Principle, in order to counteract the powers of Darkness, forms from his own substance the *First Man*, who, like the *Logos* of Philo, is at once the soul of the world, and the source or mother of life (*ψυχὴ ἁπάντων, μήτηρ τῆς ζωῆς*). In the course of the conflict which the First Man, together with the five pure elements—light, air, fire, bright water, and gentle wind—sustains against darkness, the powers of the Demon succeed in gaining possession of a portion of light, and are on the point of completely vanquishing him, when the Good Principle, who is invoked during the contest, sends a new emanation of his power, the *Living Spirit* (*ζῶν πνεῦμα, spiritus potens*), to his timely aid. This Spirit unites with matter the ray of light, of which the powers of darkness took possession, and forms the *visible world*, in which everything ranks according to its predominant element. In this way a vivifying and luminous matter is spread throughout all nature, even plants and stones participating of it (*Jesus patibilis*). *Man* is of the same nature with other creatures, and consists of two parts, matter and mind, the latter of which is derived from the kingdom of light. The Archon of darkness begets Adam by his wife *Nebrod*. The soul of Adam is in the image of *Christ*, the god of the sun, and his body partakes of the nature of the prince of darkness. Man, according to this theory, consists of two bodies and *two souls*—of the *ψυχὴ λογική*, or the part composed of luminous particles, and of the *ψυχὴ ἄλογος*, or the part composed of the more refined matter of Hyle. The latter is the seat of all manner of sensuality and concupiscence. The Spirit of Darkness, that he may chain the affections of man down to earth, and keep from him all knowledge of his former exalted dignity, sends him Eve as his companion, and he who was before under the dominion of animal instinct, is now ensnared in the meshes of a voluptuous life.

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[1] Conf. *Gieseler* on Reichlin-Meldegg, The Theology of Manes, Francf. 1825. *Wegnern* and *Neander*, in their Ch. H. on Manichaeism (Researches and Criticisms, 1828, No. 3). *Baur* demonstrates the affinity of Buddhism to Manichaeism, but this had been done long before in *Aug. Ant. Georgi* alphabetum Tibetanum, Rom. 1762, p. 398 sq. Cf. *Döllinger*, Hdbk. of Ch. H., Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 244.

Christ appears in Judea, during the reign of Tiberius, for the purpose of rescuing the light, inclosed in this prison of matter, and goes under the various names, *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀϊδίου φωτός*, Son of Eternal Light; *δεξιὰ τοῦ φωτός*, The Right Hand of

Light; and *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, Son of Man. *His body* is one only *in appearance*, and consequently His sufferings are only a make-believe, the whole drama of the Cross being a sort of romance (*Crucis mystica fictio*). His real mission on earth is to impart *instruction* to man, whom He teaches to resist and overcome the evil inclinations of his nature, and to so cleanse his body from defilement and stain that he may prove himself worthy of true justification, which is not acquired until the spirit is completely alienated from the body. The *majority* of souls reach their final destination in pure ether (*ἀὴρ τέλειος*) after a wearisome series of transmigrations from one body to another.

So ill was the doctrine of Christ understood, that even the Apostles, and much more so their successors, quite mistook its true meaning, and gave to it a Jewish interpretation. A *Paraclete* is therefore necessary, if man will regain this lost knowledge. He appears in the person of Manes, who forthwith declares that the writings of the Old Testament are the inspiration of the Demon, and, besides these, rejects many portions of the New Testament. Even the epistles of St. Paul are set aside, as too partial to Judaism.[1] The doctrine of Manes alone contains all truth.[2]

The *Trinity* of the Manichaeans seems, at first sight, to have something in common with the Christian doctrine on that mystery; but upon closer examination, this seeming resemblance fades into vague and abstract philosophical formulae. The Manichaean notion of *Christ* and the *Holy Ghost* is, that they are divine emanations existing outside the realm of light, and carrying on a continual conflict with evil. *Faustus*, who lived still later on, speaking of the Sabellian doctrine of the Trinity, says: "God should be honored under three titles—as the *Father*, who dwells in Supreme Light; as *Christ*, who resides in Visible Light, and whose power is in the sun, and His wisdom in the moon; and finally as the *Spirit*, who resides in Pure Ether." When all the particles of light are liberated from the powers of darkness, the world will come to an end.

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[1] *Trechsel*, The Canon, Criticism, and Exegesis of the Manichaeans, Bern. 1832.

[2] It was laid down, especially, in the following writings: *ζῶν εὐαγγέλιον, βίβλος τῶν μυστηρίων, βίβλος τῶν κεφαλαίων, θησαυρὸς τῆς ζωῆς*; in several letters, especially in the epistola fundamenti, whereof fragments in *Fabricii* bibl. graec. T. V.

Manes, like many of the Gnostics, distinguished between the *perfect* or *chosen few* (*perfecti*, *electi*) and those who were merely *catechumens* (*auditores*), and who were obliged to undergo a long probation, during which they were instructed in the mysteries and allegories of religion and philosophy.

As an offset against the Catholics, who are said to be but half Christians, the Manichaeans instituted a tolerably complete *church organization;* thus, like *Marcion*, supplying a want that had been long felt by the Gnostics. Their *hierarchy* was thoroughly organized, and consisted of twelve masters or apostles, and a president, or successor to Manes, under whom were seventy-two bishops, presbyters, and deacons, in descending series, all selected from the higher rank of the perfect. Their *external worship* for the hearers was wholly spiritual. It consisted of prayers, and the reading of the epistles of their founder. They boasted that their worship of God was without temples, altars, sacrifices, incense, and statues, free from all Pagan and Jewish pomp. They fasted on Sunday, and celebrated every March the anniversary feast of their founder, which they called Bema (*βῆμα*), the festival of the seat of doctrine.[1]

Their *internal* worship for the elect was secret and mysterious. This was no more than natural, since these mysteries were of such a nature as to instinctively shrink from the light of day, and their publicity would likely have called down the severest punishment of the civil power. They probably consisted of the administration of *baptism*, which was conferred with oil instead of water, as Turibius, Bishop of Astorga, asserts, and of the celebration of the *eucharist*, at which water took the place of wine.

The Manichaean code of *morality* prescribed the most rigorous asceticism as a means of liberating mind from matter. Manes required that the perfect should observe the *three seals* of the *mouth*, the *hands*, and the *bosom* (*signaculum oris, manuum, et sinus*). The first of these forbade blasphemy, and particularly any profane utterance against the Paraclete, and enjoined abstinence from all animal food and intoxicating liquors; the second prohibited the killing of animals and the harming of vegetable life, and proscribed manual labor; the third condemned all sexual intercourse, and even marriage.

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[1] So named from the empty *chair* placed in the room where the solemnity was enacted, symbolizing the authority of the murdered founder of the heresy. (Tr.)

As burdens so onerous could not be borne by all, some were allowed to marry; but even these were forbidden to procreate children, lest the divine substance should become entangled in the meshes of the flesh, and be thereby polluted.

The *hearers*, or catechumens, not being sufficiently advanced to endure all the privations of the elect, provided for the support of the latter by tilling the land, or working at some craft. Any evidence of shame and remorse insured pardon for the faults these might have committed during their toil; but for all this, the soul was not accountable for *evil*, this being the work of another being. This drew from Ephraëm of Syria the remark, that among the Manichaeans the perfect forgave the faults of their less favored brethren, without exacting sorrow and repentance, provided only that the latter would furnish their tables abundantly.[1]

Warned by the fate of their founder, many of the Manichaeans left the Roman empire, and immigrated to India, China, Asia Minor, Egypt, Northern Africa, and other countries. Diocletian, believing them to be *dangerous sectaries*, published (A. D. 296) an edict, by which they were condemned to exile, capital punishment, and burning.[2]

Their ascetic practices, together with the fine but illusory promises which they gave of being able to unravel the most intricate mysteries, added to their popularity, and possessed a charm for men even of the best parts and most brilliant intellects, of whom *St. Augustine* is a distinguished example.

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[1] With regard to the invidious and absurd comparisons which some Protestants have made between the Catholic doctrine of the forgiveness of sin and indulgences and the Manichaean practice, conf. *Zingerle*, On the Indulgences of the Manichaeans and their Relation to those of the Catholic Church (Tübg. Quarterl., year 1841, p. 474–603).

[2] The authenticity of this edict in Ambrosiaster ad 2 Tim. iii. 7, has been doubted, but without sufficient reason.

Minds less penetrating than his remained for a long time captivated by their fascinating doctrines.

It will be seen from this brief outline that, with the exception of a few names, Manichaeism had nothing in common with Christianity.

HERESIES THAT SPRUNG UP WITHIN THE CHURCH.

§ 74. *The Montanists and the Alogi.*

Tertull. de pudicit.; de fuga in persec.; de jejun.; de monogam.; de cultu femin.; de virginib. veland.; de exhortat. castitat. *Euseb.* h. e. V. 3, 14–19. *Epiphan.* haer. 48. On the Alogi, *Iren.* III. 11. *Epiphan.* haer. 51. Conf. *Tillemont,* Tom. III., pp. 212, 213. *Wernsdorf,* commentat. de Montanistis, etc., Goth. 1751. *Kirchner,* De Montanistis specimen. I., Jen. 1832. *Schwegler,* Montanism and the Christian Church of the Second Century, Tübg. 1841. (He would fain substitute in Manichaeism a mythic and idealistic basis for the historical!) *Ritschl,* Rise of the Ancient Catholic Church, p. 476 sq. †**Hefele,* Montanus and the Montanists, in the Freibg. Eccl. Cycloped.

Montanism was the very opposite of Gnosticism, and had a very slender thread of connection with the system of *Marcion.* While Gnosticism, on the one hand, was so arbitrarily subjective and fanciful that, in total disregard of the facts and teachings of Revelation, it stripped Christianity of every objective feature; Montanism, on the other, was so strong in its assertion of the mere objectiveness of Christianity, that, by making all subjective certainty depend solely upon divine inspiration, it left no sphere either for the intellect or will of the individual. To rightly understand the true character of this sect and its rapid growth, it is necessary to study the mental peculiarities of the people among whom it originated. The ancient Phrygians were very favorable to natural religion, and, being of a dreamy disposition, inclined to believe in magic and ecstatic reveries, and withal were earnest and moral.

The priests of Cybele, their favorite goddess, who mutilated and unmanned themselves, frequently had ecstatic visions, during which they announced the oracles of the Deity to the assembled people, and their auditors, charmed by the soft and melancholy notes of the Phrygian flute, passed insensibly into a state of delirious reverie. Montanism bears unmistakable marks of these peculiarities.

Montanus, its founder, a neophyte of Ardaban, a village in Mysia, on the borders of Phrygia, had very probably been a priest of Cybele before he embraced Christianity (between 140–150), for he had hardly entered the church before he began to claim that he was inspired by the Holy Ghost, asserting that he was the *most powerful organ of the Paraclete* that had yet appeared in the world, and announcing that terrible chastisements would come upon the people in impending persecutions. Pepuza, a little town of Phrygia, first gloried in possessing this singular man, after he had begun to lay claim to prophetical gifts. His periods of inspiration were but *momentary*, short-lived ecstasies, which, he said, deprived him of all thought and feeling. "Behold God," he was accustomed to say, "it is the Holy Ghost who speaks;" and to make the farce complete, he would add, "I must take leave of my senses."

He was presently joined by the two rich and noble ladies, *Maximilla* and Prisca, or *Priscilla*, who had forsaken their husbands, and immediately imagined that they were likewise favored with ecstasies, and elevated to the rank of prophetesses. Their conduct, however, will hardly bear comparison with the pure and heavenly life of those who, during Apostolic times, were indued with the gifts of vision and prophecy.[1]

The object of their prophetic utterances was to communicate such knowledge as would elevate the standard of morality, and bring on the *full and perfect age* of the Church.

While Gnosticism started with the *beginning* of this world as the central idea of its system, Montanism, taking a directly opposite course, sought the solution of human life in the events which would accompany the dissolution of all transitory things. Hence, in their fantastic prophecies, referring to the second coming of Christ,[2] they insisted particularly:[3]

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[1] Conf. *Euseb.* V. 17. Epiphan. haer. 48, nr. 3–9. The apologist *Miltiades* even wrote a book, *περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν προφήτην ἐν ἐκστάσει λαλεῖν*—in which he maintains no prophet should speak in ecstacy, according to *Euseb.* l. c.

[2] Matt. xxiv. 34.

[3] *Μετ' ἐμὲ οὐκέτι προφῆτις ἔσται, ἀλλὰ συντέλεια.*—After me there shall be no other prophetess but the end. In *Epiphan.* haer. 48, n. 2.

1. On the *approaching end of the world*, after which their *sensuous* hopes and anticipations were to be realized. "*After me*," said the prophetess Maximilla, "*the end will come.*" The New Jerusalem of their visions was to be located in the little towns of *Pepuza* and *Timium*, in Phrygia.

2. They announced that a more pure and holy life was a necessary preparation for the coming judgment of God, who now caused the inspired prophets, Montanus and his companions, to proclaim this to man, and require from him a strict compliance with the divine injunction.

3. They asserted that the Divine Spirit, by whose power alone they were enabled to go into an ecstasy, was a sufficient guaranty of their mission and power; that as the spirit of prophecy should no more depart from the Church of the New Testament than it did from that of the Old, it was consequently to be found among the disciples of Montanus; and that the gift of prophecy passing from the Apostles to Agabus, Judas, and Silas, thence onto the daughters of the Apostle Philip of Hierapolis, thence again to Ananias of Philadelphia and Quadratus, it finally came to *Montanus* and the two holy women, *Priscilla* and *Maximilla.*

4. Montanus, by asserting that the ecclesiastical rule of faith was *one*, *immutable*, and *perfect*, seemed to cling tenaciously to the doctrine of the Catholic Church.[1] "*Christian life and discipline*," said he, "should be improved by the coming of the Paraclete and the new dispensation, and henceforth there must be a *clearer knowledge* of the Scriptures;[2] but it is

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[1] *Tertull.* de virginib. veland., c. 2: Una nobis et illis fides, unus Dominus, idem Christus, eadem spes, eadem lavacri sacramenta. Semel dixerim, una ecclesia sumus. Ita nostrum est, quodcunque nostrorum est, caeterum dividis corpus, p. 193.

[2] The fundamental principle of Montanism is thus stated by *Tertullian*, de virgin. veland., c. 1: "*Regula quidem fidei* una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis. Hac lege fidei manente, caetera jam *disciplinae* et *conversationis* admittunt novitatem correctionis, operante sc. et proficiente usque in finem gratia Dei. Propterea *Paracletum* misit Dominus, ut, quoniam humana mediocritas omnia semel capere non poterat (Joan. xvi. 12, 13), paulatim dirigerentur et ordinarentur et ad perfectum, perduceretur *disciplina* ab illo vicario Domini Spiritu sancto. Quae est ergo Paracleti administratio nisi haec, quod *disciplina* dirigitur, quod *Scripturae revelantur*, quod intellectus reformatur,

useless," he added, "to speak of improvement, unless there are some manifest signs of its progress."

5. He forbade *second marriage*, which he pronounced unlawful; enjoined longer *fasts*, during which only bread, water, and dried meats (*ξηροφαγίαι*) were to be used, and proscribed all literary pursuits. "During time of persecution," said he, "Christians must not take flight, but prefer rather to seek martyrdom. And should any one have committed a grievous sin after baptism, denied Christ, or have been stained with the guilt of impurity, murder, or like crimes, they were," according to Montanus, "to be *forever* cut off from the communion of the church."

6. Only the Montanists, and those who, like them, rose to this perfect Christian standard, were worthy of being classed among the spiritual, or *pneumatici*, and of belonging to the true church; while all Catholics were numbered among the *psychici*, as being under the influence of their animal nature.

Catholic bishops assembled in different synods offered a determined opposition to this false and delusive heresy.

After Montanus and his adherents had been cut off from the community of the Church, they formed a sect of their own, which went under the various names of *Montanist*, Pepuzian, and Cataphrygian (*οἱ κατὰ Φρύγας*), and from Phrygia, where they were most numerous, spread far to the West.

In Africa, *Tertullian*, who was naturally severe, was led astray by the moral teachings of Montanus. His strong and vigorous intellect soon threw into definite shape the principles which had existed only as vague fancies in the imagination of their author. It soon became evident, from *his denial of the coöperation of the Holy Ghost in the work of Christ*,[1] that he was infected with the dogmatic, as well as the moral errors of Montanism.

When Christ graciously consoled the Apostles, and promised them that the Holy Ghost would descend upon them, it

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quod ad meliora proficitur. Justitia primo fuit in rudimentis, . . . *nunc per Paracletum componitur in maturitatem.*"

[1] Conf. *Dieringer*, System of Divine Economy, Vol. II., p. 206. *Tillemont*, T. III., p. 211–200.

was certainly not His intention to lead them to believe that a new revelation was to be made, or that the existing one was *not complete in Him and through Him;* for He said distinctly, in speaking of the Comforter, "He will receive of *Mine*, and will declare *it* to you.[1] He will render testimony of *Me*, and *bring* all things *to your mind*, whatsoever I shall have said to you."[2] By these words, Christ clearly defined the office of the Holy Ghost in this connection, which is to explain and elucidate the doctrines He Himself had taught. Tertullian, however, overlooking this obvious circumstance, and putting a wrong interpretation upon the following words of Christ, "I have yet many things to say to you, but you can not bear them now,"[3] inferred that Christ no longer took any account of human weakness, and that His place was *supplied* by the Holy Ghost, whose *fullness* was communicated to Montanus and his two prophetesses; that the new dispensation of the Holy Ghost had raised Christian life to its perfect maturity; and that therefore all the faithful were bound by duty and conscience to observe the new commandments.

The Catholic bishops of Asia, believing that these false prophets were *possessed*, proposed to exorcise them, but the proposal was indignantly and scornfully rejected. After they had been condemned *by several synods*, and cut off from all communion with the Church, they turned for comfort and support to the confessors of *Lyons* and *Vienne*. These latter, in the hope of securing peace, wrote to their brethren in Asia, and also to *Eleutherius*, Bishop of Rome, but took the occasion to *condemn* Montanism. The sectaries then applied to *Rome* directly for readmission into the Church. The Pope, either Eleutherius or Victor, having been misinformed as to the nature of the heresy, was about to yield to their request, when the confessor *Praxeas*, who had hastened thither for the purpose, exposed their duplicity, and their suit was dismissed. Their doctrines were vigorously assailed in Rome by the presbyter *Cajus*. They became so aggressive that they rejected the authoritative office of teaching vested in the episcopacy of the Church, and claimed to be a community of *spiritual* believers, an assertion which sounds very like a pretension to an *invisible church*.[1]

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[1] John xvi. 13, 14.

[2] John xiv. 26, xv. 21.

[3] John xvi. 12.

Like all other sects, this also soon split into different parties, known under the various names of the *Artotyritae*, so called because, in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, they used cheese (τυρός) as well as bread (ἄρτος); the *Tascodrungitae*, who derived their name from the custom used in their worship of putting the forefinger (τασκός) beside the nose (δροῦγγος), as a sign for attention; and the *Quintillians*, *Tertullianists*, and others.

Their internal divisions were soon followed by persecutions from without, when *Christian emperors began to enforce against them the laws proscribing heretics.*

The teachings of the learned *Hieracas* (Hierax),[2] the Egyptian Gnostic, were closely allied to those of Montanism; the moral code of the former being, if anything, *more severe* than that of the latter. He enjoined abstinence from marriage, from flesh, and from wine, and formed a society of perfect ascetics, into which only unmarried men, virgins, and widows were admitted.

The reaction produced by the fanatical energy of the Montanists gave rise, at Thyatira, to a new sect, which, as might be expected, went to the other extreme. In their inconsiderate zeal they denied not only the gift of prophecy, the cardinal doctrine of the Montanists, but *any gift of the Spirit whatever;* and since these invoked the authority of the Gospel and Apocalypse of St. John in support of the doctrine of *their Chiliasm*, the new sect rejected these altogether, and even went the length of denying the Incarnation of the Divine Word (λόγος). On this account, Epiphanius called them ironically the *Alogists*, or *Alogi*.[3] The Alogi, though *opposing* many of the doctrines of the Montanists, directed their principal efforts against the *divinity* of the Word.

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[1] *Tertull.* de pudicitia, c. 21. Et ideo ecclesia quidem delicta donabit, sed ecclesia Spiritus per spiritualem hominem (Montanistarum), non ecclesia *numerus episcoporum* (Catholicor.). Domini enim, non famuli est jus et arbitrium; Dei ipsius, non sacerdotis, p. 744.

[2] *Epiphan.* haer. 67 (opp. T. I., p. 709 sq.)

[3] *Hefele*, The Alogi and their relation to Montanism (*Tübing.* Quarterl. 1851, p. 564 sq.) The *same*, in the Freiburg Cyclopedia, Vol. XII. See art. "*Alogi.*" *Heinichen*, de Alogis, Theodotianis atque Artemonitis, Lps. 1829.

§ 75. *Rationalistic Forms of Heresy—The Monarchians or Antitrinitarians.*

Tillemont, T. II. and III. †*Moehler*, Athanasius the Great, 1st ed., Pt. I., p. 69 sq.; 2d ed., p. 62 sq. †*Staudenmaier*, Philosophy of Christianity, Pt. I., p. 469 sq. †*Döllinger*, Hippolytus and Callistus, Ratisbon, 1843. †*Kuhn*, Cath. Dogmatics. Vol. II., Tübg. 1857, p. 303 sq. †**Schwane*, History of Dogmas in Ante-Nicene times, Münster, 1862, p. 142–156. *Dorner*, History of the Development of Christology, 2d ed., Pt. I., p. 497 sq.

Since, in the different systems of Gnosticism, and to a certain extent in Montanism also, a luxuriant imagination had usurped the place of *sound reason*, and, in many instances, denied the *unity* of God, it is not surprising that, when these theories ceased to excite interest, and their fantastic doctrines began to meet with opposition, *reason* should have asserted her legitimate rights with an energy and determination corresponding to the opposition with which she had met, and that the doctrine of the *unity of God* should have been set forth with special prominence and emphasis.

The first impulse was given to this movement by persons who, rejecting the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, aimed at putting a rationalistic interpretation upon those passages of Scripture which the Church regards as sanctioning and proving the *mystery*, and in which Christ is spoken of as the *Son of God* and the *Logos*, and the distinction of the *three Persons* of the Trinity—the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*—is mentioned; while others, adopting the Jewish doctrine, professed a belief in the abstract unity, or more properly oneness, of God (*μοναρχία*), whom they regarded a single person, and, like *Philo*, called the Godhead, *Monas*.

The former of these two classes rejected the *divinity of Christ*, and declared that to believe in it would be equivalent to a relapse into Polytheism. Their boast was "*Monarchiam tenemus*."[1] The fundamental doctrine of the *Personality of Christ* was threatened both by this school of thought and by those who, in turn, attempted to strike out new paths for themselves.

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[1] We hold Monotheism or the oneness of the Deity. Adv. Prax., c. 3.

The most prominent of those who endeavored to reconcile the apparently contradictory doctrines of the *divinity of Christ* and the *unity of God*, may be grouped under *three* classes.

A.—EBIONITES OR DYNAMIC ANTI-TRINITARIANS.

These, like the earlier *Ebionites*, altogether rejected the divinity of Christ, and asserted that He was but a *simple man.* Notwithstanding this straightforward assertion, they made an attempt to construct a theory which would reconcile the *divinity* with the *manhood* of Christ, and this they did by assuming that the *man Jesus* was temporarily indued with *divine powers* (*δύναμις*), or energies working in Him; and cited, as examples of similar phenomena, the prophets of the Old Testament and the Pagan mantics. Desirous of appearing to support their assertions by *Biblical* proof, they appealed to the following passages: Luke ii. 52; Matt. xxvii. 46; John xiv. 28, and of the Old Testament, the passage from Isaias xlv. 5, "I am the Lord, and there is none besides Me."

The following persons may be numbered among those who held this doctrine:

1. The *Alogi*, mentioned above, denied the doctrine of St. John with regard to the *Logos*, as well as the active coöperation of the Holy Ghost in all *gratuitous gifts*, but particularly in that of prophecy. Not satisfied with unwarranted denials like these, they also changed the Biblical canon to suit their own purposes.

2. *Theodotus* of Byzantium (about A. D. 192), though a tanner by trade, was a man of some ability and learning. Having denied Christ to escape the consequences of a persecution, he defended his course, and answered his accusers, by asserting that the person whom he had denied was no better than any ordinary man. And having been asked who the person was, he replied, "*Christ.*" Still he acknowledged that Christ was the Messiah promised in the Old Testament, that through the power of the Holy Ghost He was *miraculously* born of a virgin, and that He received a divine power at His baptism. He was excommunicated by Pope *Victor* about A. D. 200, and

became the founder of an heretical sect, whose members confined their studies principally to mathematics and the dialectics of Aristotle, and dealt with the Scriptures as they would with any other book, even falsifying them in several places.[1]

3. *Natalis*, who had been a confessor of the faith, but by specious representations was led into error, became the leader of a considerable party, and, being a bishop, brought to it the dignity of his episcopal office. The sectaries paid him a salary of 150 denarii per month; but the poor deluded man, never at ease in his new position, and terrified by a vision, threw himself at the feet of Pope Zephyrinus (201–219), begging to be readmitted into the bosom of the Church. His prayer was finally heard, and he again enjoyed the blessings of which he had been deprived, by the false representations of others.

4. The leaders of this sect at Rome were *Asclepiades* and *Theodotus* the Younger, surnamed the Money-changer, who somewhat modified the errors of the Elder Theodotus. He asserted that a divine power, indeed, descended upon the man Jesus at His baptism in the Jordan; but that the *supreme divine power* (*λόγος, υἱός*) had appeared in *Melchisedech*, who had been the mediator and intercessor for *angels* in the same sense in which Christ was the mediator for *man*. His followers were called *Melchisedechites*.[2] *Artemon*, or *Artemas*, was also regarded as the chief of this heretical sect.

5. The most influential representative of these opinions was *Paul*, a native of *Samosata*, who became bishop of Antioch A. D. 260. He was a man of great talents and grasping ambition, of pompous manners and suspected morality, and preferred to go under the title derived from his secular office, namely, Ducenarius, the chief of the collectors of taxes in the service of Queen Zenobia, with a salary of 200 sesterces, rather than that of bishop.[3] He taught that Christ, though *super-*

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[1] *Euseb.* V. 28; *Tertull.* de praescr., c. 53; *Philosophum.* X. 22; *Epiphan.* haer. 54 and 55; *Theodoret.* haeret. fabb. II. 5.

[2] For sources, see the foregoing note and *Philosophum.* X. 24.

[3] *Euseb.* VII. 27–30. *Epiphan.* haer. 65. *Theodoret.* haeret. fabb. II. 8. *August.* de haeresib., c. 44. *Philastrius* de haer., c. 50. Fragments in *Leontius* Byzant. in *A. Maji* vett. scriptor. nova collectio, T. VII. 1, and *Routh,* reliq. sacr. T. III. *Ehrlich,* de errorib. Pauli Samosat., Lps. 1745. *Feuerlin,*

naturally begotten (*γεννηθεὶς ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου*) and born of a *virgin* (*ἐκ παρθένου*), was nevertheless a *mere man* (*ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος*), and that the divine *Logos* was indeed united to Him, not however as a person, but simply *as a quality* or *power* (*οὐκ οὐσιωδῶς ἀλλὰ κατὰ ποιότητα*); whence he inferred that the deification of Christ was something foreordained. Paul expressed the qualified sense in which he believed in Christ, by calling Him *θεὸς ἐκ παρθένου*, and more equivocally *ὁμοούσιος τῷ θεῷ*, or a Logos whose *personality* was in God, or who constituted but one person with the Father, and being, according to the language then in use, an attribute of the Godhead (*λόγος ἐνδιάθετος*).[1]

The scope of Paul's teachings soon became evident, and three Synods, held at Antioch between A. D. 264 and 269, condemned his errors, which were said to be those of the "*devourer of the flock of Christ.*" At the last of these synods, *Malchion*, a learned priest of Antioch, clearly exposed the animus and drift of these errors, after which Paul was deposed from his see and excommunicated. These proceedings were made known to the whole Church by a Synodal letter.[2]

Paul maintained himself for some time against the authority of the bishops by the power of Queen Zenobia, of Palmyra, into whose favor he had insinuated himself; but when an end was put to her rule by the emperor *Aurelian* (A. D. 272), he was obliged to resign his position, and vacate the episcopal palace.

His followers, who went under the names of *Paulianists* and *Samosatists*, continued a distinct sect down to the fourth century.

B.—PATRIPASSIONISTS OR MODALISTS.

These, while acknowledging the *Divinity of Christ*, denied that the Father and Son are two distinct *persons*, which led

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de haeresi Pauli Samosat., Goetting. 1741, 4to. †*Schwab*, de Pauli Samosat. vita atque doctrina, Herbipoli, 1839.

[1] The double meaning of *οὐσία* = *substance* and *person* favored this equivocation; Paul took *ὁμοούσιος* applied to the Logos as one and the same *person* with the Father. This is also attested by *Epiphanius*, haer. 65, 3: *πρόσωπον ἓν τὸν θεὸν ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ, ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον.*—That God, together with the Logos, were but one person, just as man and his reason are one.

[2] *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. I., p. 109-117; Engl. transl., Vol. I., p. 118-126. *Hagemann*, The Church of Rome in the Three First Centuries, Freibg. 1864, p. 453 sq.

them to say that the One True God assumed in the womb of Mary a human *body*, though not possessing a human soul, and suffered in it, whence they were called *Patripassionists*. They referred, in proof of this, to St. John x. 30, "*I and the Father are One*," which they strengthened by parallel passages from the same Evangelist, xiv. 4–10.

Praxeas and *Epigonus*, a pupil of *Noëtus*, the first leaders of the Anti-Trinitarian heresy, came from Asia Minor to *Rome*, where the latter founded his own school of Patripassionists. This was continued by *Cleomenes* and by the famous *Sabellius*. *Hippolytus* at Rome, and *Tertullian* and *Denys* of Alexandria, vigorously opposed their tenets.

1. The earliest of these Monarchists who held the Patripassionist heresy, seems to have been *Praxeas* of Asia Minor. He enjoyed the distinction of having been a confessor during the persecution under Marcus Aurelius, and came to *Rome* in the pontificate of Pope *Victor* (192–202), with the purpose of exposing the dangerous errors of the Montanists. But having here broached and disseminated doctrines of his own equally obnoxious, he was, it is supposed, requested to leave the city, whence he withdrew to Carthage, where he continued to preach his heresy. He held that there is in the Divine Substance but *one Hypostasis;* that the names Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are used only to designate different manifestations of this Substance, or modes by which God acts externally; that God the Father having gone out from Himself, and on this account called the Son, descended into the Virgin Mary, in whom He assumed a human body, in which He suffered.[1]

Having met with a most determined opposition both at Rome and in Africa, he retracted his errors, and, according to *Tertullian*, gave a guaranty for his future orthodoxy. His influence may have been considerable in Africa; but, judging from the omission of any mention of his name in the Philosophumena, it must have been very trifling at Rome.

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[1] *Tertull.* adv. Prax., c. 1: Iste (Prax.) primus ex Asia hoc genus perversitatis intulit Romae . . . et Patrem crucifixit. Ipsum dicit patrem descendisse in virginem, ipsum ex ea natum, ipsum passum. Denique ipsum esse Jesum Christum. Ipse se sibi filium fecit; Pater compassus est Filio, c. 29. *Reiser*, Praxeas and Callistus (Tübg. Quart. 1866, p. 349–404), against *Hagemann's* (Roman Church, etc., p. 206–252) very bold assumption of the identity of both persons, viz., Praxeas and Callistus.

2. Mention, however, is made in this work of *Noëtus* of Smyrna, who is there styled the Father of the Patripassionist heresy. It also states that he first became notorious toward the close of the second century, and this date is probably more correct than that of Epiphanius, who places him in the middle of the third. For even in the pontificate of Pope *Victor*, *Epigonus*, a disciple of Noëtus, came to Rome, and began to spread the errors of the latter.[1] He was joined, later on, by *Cleomenes* the Novatian, who continued to be the head of both the Patripassionist and the Ebionitic-Monarchist schools during the pontificates of the Popes Zephyrinus and Callistus (202–223).

3. *Sabellius*, a Libyan from the Pentapolis in Africa, is probably the best representative of the Patripassionist heresy. Until quite recently he has been represented as having first preached his doctrine in the Pentapolis about the middle of the third century; but, according to the Philosophumena, he had become famous at Rome, by his attempts to spread his errors, as early as the pontificate of Zephyrinus (202–218). His doctrine was identical with that of Noëtus and Praxeas.

Sabellius being a man of great intellectual endowments, was at first treated with considerate kindness by Zephyrinus, who entertained hopes of bringing him back to the Church, and by *Hippolytus*, who also made an attempt to draw him from his errors; but unfortunately his zeal carried him to the opposite extreme of making the Son inferior to the Father, and both he and Sabellius were excommunicated by *Callistus*, the succeeding pope.[2] Hippolytus was afterward reconciled to the Church.

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[1] *Hippolyt.* contra haeres. Noëti (opp. ed. *Fabric.*, Hambg. 1716, T. II., and in *Galland.* bibl. T. II.) *Philosophumena* IX. 7 sq. *Epiphan.* haer. 57. *Theodoret.* haeret. fabb. III. 7. Conf. *Natal. Alex.* h. e. saec. III., dissert. 25. *Döllinger*, Hippolytus and Callistus, p. 197 sq.

[2] *Euseb.* VII. 6. *Philosophumena* IX. 11 sq. *Athanas.* ctr. Arian. or. IV. de synod., c. 16. *Epiphan.* haer. 62. *Theodoret.* haeret. fabb. II. 9. *Basil. M.* ep 210. *Dorner*, The Doctrine of the Personality of Christ, Vol. I., p. 696 sq.

Sabellius, in introducing his *system*, professed to be influenced by the conviction that the doctrine of the Church, which distinguished three persons or hypostases in God—the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*—would inevitably lead to a belief in a plurality of Gods; whereas, if there was one dogma above another specially emphasized by both Judaism and Christianity, it was that of the *unity* of God: and that, moreover, the doctrine of the Trinity was intended only for illiterate and uncultivated persons, but that the learned and perfect were able to know God in the *unity of His substance.* He put his doctrine briefly thus: "The Father is identical with the Son, and the Son identical with the Holy Ghost. These three terms are but three different names of one hypostasis." It was in this sense that Sabellius used the term *υἱοπατώρ*, signifying that the Father and the Son are not different and distinct persons. There is a striking similarity to the *Stoic* doctrine in the way in which Sabellius spoke of God's relation to the world as a *dilatation* (*ἐκτείνεσθαι* or *πλατύνεσθαι*) and a *contraction* (*συστέλλεσθαι*), the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost being, according to the doctrine of modalism, but three modes of manifestations or three different operations (*πρόςωπα*) of the *one* Divine Substance. In the beginning, God was the hidden and unrevealed Monas, who afterward manifested Himself by the differing operations of three Divine energies, thus constituting a Trinity. For, when God, coming forth from His hidden and primeval state, revealed Himself to the world by the work of creation, took upon Himself the office of Ruler and Preserver of the world, He was called the *Father;* when again He went forth to the work of redemption and united Himself in the might of His power to the man Christ, who had been formed in the womb of the Virgin Mary, He was called, by reason of this union, and while he remained in it, the *Son;* when, finally, he went forth to the work of sanctification, enlightening and regenerating the faithful of the Church and perfecting their re-

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†*Frohschammer*, The Doctrine of Sabellius (Tübg. Quart. 1849, p. 439–488). *Döllinger*, Hippolytus, etc., p. 197 sq. The Defense of the Orthodoxy of Callistus against Hippolytus, in the *same work*, p. 115–196.

demption, He was called the *Holy Ghost*. After the Divine Monas had thus dilated into a Trinity, and put Himself into a *threefold* relation with creatures as the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, He again contracted into unity, or, more properly, oneness, and, as *St. Athanasius* caustically remarks, there was an end of the whole drama.

Although the Trinity of Sabellius was not one of distinct persons, but only of office and external manifestations, by which God established relations with the world and the Church, he nevertheless adopted, for the sake of perverting it, the orthodox ecclesiastical formula expressive of the mystery of the Trinity (*εἷς θεὸς ἐν τρισὶ προςώποις*), and went even so far as to pronounce anathema against *those* who did not believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. By thus dissembling his real purpose under cover of a zealous orthodoxy, he had succeeded in deceiving many, and would probably have deceived many more, had not Hippolytus exposed the drift of his teachings and Pope Callistus excommunicated him. His dishonesty and deceit were favored by the etymological meaning of the *πρόςωπον*, which signifies a person, an outward appearance, a countenance, a mask.

When, in the middle of the third century, the errors of Sabellius had spread through the Libyan Pentapolis, and gained many followers, *Dionysius* the Great, of *Alexandria*, came forth as the champion of orthodoxy, and wrote, about A. D. 260, three dogmatical epistles in refutation of the heresy, In his zeal for the truth, he went to the other extreme, and was betrayed into unorthodox expressions. Wishing to bring out as prominently and clearly as possible the distinction between the Father and the Son, he designated the latter as the *ποίημα τοῦ θεοῦ*. This faulty expression was at once objected to, and complaints against its author were forwarded to *Dionysius*, the *Roman Pontiff*. Dionysius of Alexandria was accused of asserting that there exists an *inequality* between the *substance* of the Father and that of the Son, and that using the term *ποίημα*, he necessarily implied that the latter had been created.

The Bishop of Alexandria, having been requested by the Pope to state his precise meaning and belief on this subject, wrote four books, both in refutation of the Sabellian heresy and of that which was ascribed to himself, in the course of which he said: "The Son has His being from the Father, but is consubstantial (*ὁμοούσιος*) with Him, and is the splendor of the Eternal Light, and coeternal with the Father, as the brilliancy of the sun is both inseparable from it, and simultaneous with it. *Thus do we extend the Unity into the Trinity, yet confine the Trinity undiminished within the Unity.*"[1]

C.—COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE DYNAMISTS AND MODALISTS.

It would seem that *Beryllus*, Bishop of Bostra, in Arabia, was aiming at some such a compromise between these two opposing classes when he assumed that the Divine Logos was, for a time at least, united with the Person of Christ. According to *Eusebius*, Beryllus taught that "Our Lord and Savior did not exist, previously to His Incarnation, *in the proper sense of subsistence* (*κατ' ἰδίαν οὐσίας περιγραφήν*), i. e. in the distinction of His own Person; neither had He a proper Divinity (*θεότητα ἰδίαν*), but only that Divinity which dwelt in Him from the Father."

This passage, interpreted by the well-known *tendency* of Beryllus, means that there is in God *no distinction* of persons; that the Logos was, *previously* to the Incarnation, the Reason of God, and, as such, had no more claim to a distinct personality than has the reason of man; but that, after the (divisible) Divine Reason went forth from the Father and united with the man Jesus, the Divine Logos became, *in human nature*, a *Person* really different and distinct from the Father. It is, however, very difficult to find any rational explanation of such a theory. *Origen* triumphantly refuted these errors at the *synod of Bostra* (A. D. 244), in a disputation with Beryllus, at the close of which the latter, of his own accord, yielded to the reasoning of his adversary, acknowledged a human soul in Christ, and returned to the Church.

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[1] For fragments of the apology of Dionysius, see *Galland.* bibl. T. III., p. 494 sq.; T. XIV. in the appendix, p. 118 sq.; in *Routh.* relig. sacr. T. II.; in *Migne*, ser. gr. T. X. *Athanas.* ep. de sent. Dionysii (opp. ed. Bened. T. I.) Conf. *Hefele*, History of Councils, Vol. I., p. 222 sq. Engl. transl. of the *same*, p. 234 sq. *Förster*, de doctrina Dionysii Magni, Berolini, 1865. *_Dittrich_, Dionysius the Great, Freiburg, 1867.

It is supposed, and the opinion is not entirely destitute of foundation, that Beryllus suggested the theory, afterward defended by *Apollinaris*, that the Divine Logos, by uniting itself to the human body, temporarily supplied the place of a soul, and that after the work of redemption had been accomplished, It again returned to the Father.[1]

Observation.—As the persecutions which the Church endured from her external foes were not without their blessings, so also the internal conflicts she was obliged to sustain against *heresy*, though productive of much evil, were accompanied by *many advantages*. 1. They were a test of orthodoxy; 2. They brought out more fully and demonstrated more clearly the doctrine of the Church, and were a means of adding fresh energy to the spiritual life of the faithful; 3. They gave occasion for the separation of the sound from the unsound members of the flock of Christ, according to 1 John ii. 19; Luke ii. 34, 35.[2]

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[1] *Euseb.* VI. 33. *Hieronym.* de vir. illustr., c. 60. *Ullmann*, de Beryllo Bostrensi ejusque doctrina, Hambg. 1835, 4to. *Fock*, dissert. de christologia Berylli Bostr., Kil. 1843. †*Kober*, Beryllus of Bostra (Tübg. Theol. Quart. 1848, No. 1). *Dorner*, The Doctrine of the Personality of Christ, Vol. I., p. 545 sq.

[2] These advantages of heresies are pointed out by *Tertull.*: Ad hoc enim sunt (haereses), ut fides habendo tentationem haberet etiam probationem. Vane ergo et inconsiderate plerique hoc ipso scandalizantur, quod *tantum* haereses valeant, *quantum* si non fuissent. De praescr., c. 1. *Origen.*: Nam si doctrina ecclesiastica simplex esset, et nullis intrinsecus haereticorum dogmatum assertionibus cingeretur, *non poterat tam clara, et tam examinata* videri fides nostra. Sed idcirco doctrinam catholicam contradicentium obsidet oppugnatio, ut fides nostra *non otio torpescat*, sed *exercitiis elimetur*. Homil. IX. in Num. (opp. T. II., p. 296.) *Augustin.* de vera relig., c. 8: Prosunt enim ecclesiae haereses non verum docendo, *sed ad verum quaerendum catholicos excitando.* Conf. also the allusions to this subject in *Augustin.* de civit. Dei XVIII. 51, with reference to Ps. lxxxxiii. 19: Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo, consolationes tuae jucundaverunt animam meam; and Rom viii. 29: Spe gaudentes, in tribulatione patientes. Conf. *Schultz*, de haeresium in ecclesia utilitate, Lps. 1724; *Staudenmaier*, Christian Dogmatics, Vol. I., p. 107.

CHAPTER III.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AS DISTINGUISHED FROM DEFECTIVE HERETICAL TEACHING.

§ 76. *Tradition, or the Principle by which Christian Doctrine is Handed down in the Catholic Church.*

Iren. contr. haer.: *Tertull.* de praescr. introduced in many passages collected in †*Lumper* hist. theologico-critica de vita, scriptis, etc., Pt. III., p. 318 sq. (*Iren.*) Pt. VI., p. 271 sq. (*Tertull.*) *Natal. Alex.* h. e. saec. II., dissert. XVI. †*Permaneder*, biblioth. patristica (s. patrologia general.), Landish. 1841, T. I., p. 160 sq. Conf. †*E. Kluepfel* in ed. commonitorii Vincent. Lerinens., Viennae, 1809. *Grabe*, spicileg. SS. Patr. T. I., in the praefatio.

The early Fathers of the Church,[1] with their usual depth of thought and breadth of view, were in the habit of comparing heresy to the sin of our first parents, and of calling it the second great fall of man, committed after he had been once redeemed by Christ. Heresy, like the sin of the head of the human family, bursts asunder the bonds of unity, mars the harmony of man's intellectual faculties, and splits the great community of Christians which constitutes the *one* true Church into numerous sects, each of which represents, after its own fashion and according to its own idea of Christianity, *some one* of the spiritual powers of the human soul. Imagination and sentiment were the predominant features of the Gnostic heresy and rationalism of the Ebionites and the principal sects of the Antitrinitarians. Such partial conceptions of the truth, so contrary to the true spirit of Christianity, which regenerates man, renews his strength, and harmonizes *all* his powers—such vain *egotism* and ungovernable *pride*—have ever been the true causes and inspiring motives that drove persons to separate from the Church, whose only guaranty of stability, life, power, and permanence is the *unity of the faith*. The various attacks made upon the doctrine of the Church gave her frequent opportunity of bringing out more fully and asserting more positively, according to the circumstances of *time* and *place*, her principle of unity, the essential and characteristic doctrine by which she is distinguished. Heresies, therefore, were, in a sense, an advantage[1] to that Church, which alone, of all others, has ever proven herself to be the *Church Catholic*,[2] and to which alone that title has ever been conceded.

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[1] Conf. *Ignat.* ep. ad Trallian, c. 11. Conf. Gen. iii. 3, 4. *Euseb.* h. e. IV. 7.

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[1] Cor. xi. 19.

[2] The denomination *καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία* (Catholic Church) occurs first in the writings of the Apostolic Father *Ignatius*: *ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία* (wherever Christ Jesus is, there also is the Catholic Church), ep. ad. Smyr., c. 8; afterward in the formula of salutation of the ep. eccl. Smyrn. de martyr. Polycarp., in *Euseb.* IV. 15; and in the ep. *Dionys. Alexandr.* ad Hermammonem, in *Euseb.* VII. 10.

The word "catholic" is used, not only to express the idea of universality of time and place, but also of organic unity in contradistinction to heresy, which can lay no claim to this note of the Church. In the same sense, *ὅλος* denotes those things which are organically united, and *ἅπας* such as are cut off from the main body and exist by themselves. (Rom. xvi. 5, *τῆς ἐπκλησίας ὅλης*.) Examples of both may be found in the following passages of Scripture: Matt. xxviii. 20: *All* the world, *all* times. Cf. Mark xvi. 15, and John xvii. 21: Ut *unum sitis* sicut Ego et Pater unum sumus; cf. 1 Cor. xii. 12. Many members *ἓν σῶμα.* Eph. iv. 13.

Αἵρεσις, secta, schola, is the term opposed to this organic unity, taken as meaning universality of doctrine. This word is derived etymologically from *αἱρέω*, capio, eligo, censeo. In its primary meaning it corresponds to capio, but includes the accessory idea of taking sides or forming parties. In its other meaning of eligo, it denotes the choosing of a determinate state of life (vocation), or more particularly the adopting of a certain form of doctrine. Thus we find that *Polybius* calls the political parties of whom he treats *αἱρέσεις*. Similarly, *Philo* uses it to designate religious parties, that is, the judaizing sects. The same may be seen in Acts v. 11, xv. 5, and xxvi. 5, concerning the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, and in this same signification the word was received throughout Christendom. Accordingly, *St. Athanasius* says that *αἵρεσις* signifies *αἱρεῖσθαί τι ἴδιον καὶ τούτῳ ἐξακολουθεῖν* (to choose one's own opinion and follow it out), and St. Jerome similarly: *Haeresis* graece ab electione dicitur, quod scilicet eam sibi unusquisque eligat disciplinam, quam putat esse meliorem (commentar. in Galat., c. 6). According to these, then "*Heresy*" is a body of *Christians* and their associates, who do not acknowledge the divinely revealed, universal one doctrine of Christ, guarded as it is by the Holy Ghost, and therefore immutable, but who have changed it to suit their own caprice and fancy, or to make it fall in with the theories of the schools, and given to it a development *at variance with the truth*, and opposed to the common life of the faithful. Hence *Clem. Alex.* says: *ὅτι τῶν αἱρέσεων ἀνάγκη τὴν ὀνομασίαν πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τῆς ἀληθείας λέγεσθαι γιγνώσκομεν—αὐχοῦσι προΐστασθαι διατριβῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκκλησίας.* Strom. VII. 15, This catholicity, or *universality of faith*, the same at all times and in all places, this principle *of tradition*, based upon the interpretation of the Church (*ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φρόνημα*), and serving as an infallible guide of doctrine,[1] was always regarded by the Holy Fathers as the strongest argument they could advance in the refutation of heretics and schismatics, and as the most potent means they could employ to oppose the spirit of singularity and isolation, which is the natural outgrowth of partial conceptions of the truth. *Tertullian* and *St. Irenaeus* give the following *resumé* of the Church's teaching on this point:

1. In order to properly understand any question, it is necessary to go back to its origin. The same treatment should be observed in examining the doctrine of Christ, and hence, the best witnesses to its character are *the teachings of the Apostles*, whom Christ Himself chose to be its exponents. They alone possessed the whole truth, and as they possessed it, so did they commit it, in all its richness and *fullness*, to the churches which they founded.[2]

2. The Apostles being men, were obliged to pay the common penalty of their race; but, though they passed out of the world in body, they continued to live in it through the *bishops* of the Church, their successors, who preserved, with the most jealous care, the Holy Scriptures and *the Apostolic Traditions*. Even at this day the successors of the Apostles may be traced back, in unbroken succession, *in every church of their own founding*.[3]

3. All the churches founded by the Apostles throughout Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, agree as perfectly in doctrine

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p. 359. (We know that the appellation of heresies was introduced by necessity to distinguish them from the truth. They boast that they choose as their guide their own school of philosophy, rather than the Church.) The antitheses established between *those in union* with the Catholic Church and those *dissenting* from her and outside of her pale (*οἱ ἔξω*, 1 Cor. v. 12, 13; 1 Joan. ii. 19, *ταὐτά μοι δόξαντες—ἑτεροδοξοῦντες*) are found in the earliest monuments of Christian literature. *Ignat.* ep. ad Smyrn., c. 6. *Justin.* dial. c. Tryph., c. 48.

[1] Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 14, 15, *στήκετε καὶ κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις κ. τ. λ.*—"Stand fast and hold the traditions." *Polycarpi* ep. ad. Philipp., c. 7.

[2] *Tertull.* de praescr., c. 20 et 27. *Iren.* contr. haer. III. 4, n. 1.

[3] *Iren.* contr. haer. III. 3, n. 2 and 3. *Tertull.* loco laudato, c. 32.

as if they all existed within the limits of *a single city*, and this oneness of faith is an evidence that they are warmed and animated by *but one heart and one soul*—an irrefragable proof that they have faithfully and scrupulously preserved the Apostolic Traditions. On no other hypothesis is it possible to account for the striking unity of doctrine existing among peoples so far separated from each other, and differing in national customs, habits of thought, and ways of life, than by taking for granted that no one of the churches established among them ever deviated from the clearly marked line of orthodoxy. Another proof that the Apostolic doctrine has remained pure and entire in the churches founded by the Apostles, is the spirit of peace and fraternal charity which has ever existed and been a bond of union among these communities.[1]

4. Whenever a dispute arose on a point of doctrine, it was always regarded as a matter of necessity to refer the question for decision to some one of the Apostolic or Mother Churches, among which that of Rome enjoyed a preëminence, and *to whose teaching all other churches were obliged to conform.*[2] Moreover, all those churches founded after the Apostolic age, and even those founded in Apostolic times, but not by the Apostles themselves, were not regarded as of *Apostolic* origin, until they had given proof that their faith was one with that of the Mother Churches and of the Church of Rome.[3]

5. Nay, more; the universal Church, united with the Church of Rome, possesses, in the promise made her by our Savior, that she should enjoy the continuous superintendence and assistance of the *Holy Ghost*, a still safer assurance that in her the body of Apostolic Tradition shall remain intact and unmarred. The life of the Church is ever being renewed; she neither feels the weight of years nor shows the symptoms of decay. She is, in the language of the Apostle, "*the pillar and ground of truth*," the only infallible guide of religious life, and

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[1] *Iren.* contr. haer. I. 10, n. 2. *Tertull.* loc. laud., c. 20; sub fin., c. 28.

[2] *Iren.* contr. haer. III. 4, n. 1, and III. 3, n. 2.

[3] *Tertull.* loc. laud., c. 32. Ut multo posteriores (ecclesiae), quae quotidie instituuntur, tamen in eadem fide conspirantes, non minus apostolicae deputantur pro consanguinitate doctrinae, p. 243.

the safeguard and protection against the arbitrary opinions and the wild vagaries of the human mind. Union with this Church is a necessary condition to salvation;[1] "for," says St. Cyprian, "he has not God for his Father who has not the Church for his Mother."[2]

While, therefore, it was proved by positive arguments, that the Catholic religion was of heavenly origin, and that, beginning with its birth during the lifetime of Christ, it had come down *unchanged* to the age in which the Fathers wrote, and was the same everywhere, thus explaining the indefectibility of the Church by attributing it to the *element of Divinity within her*, the same line of reasoning was also sustained in a negative way.

6. It was argued that the teachings of heretics could always be shown to have been of a *date later* than those of the true faith, and that on this account they were but the inventions of man, and, as such, their real animus became evident as soon as they appeared, by their antagonism to the *one* faith of the true Church, and by the *divisions* to which they gave *rise* among those who held them; and, further, that they were the prolific source of many other heresies, and of a shameless profligacy of life.[3]

7. It was further argued that the appeal which heretics made to the authority of *Scriptures* could not be admitted, and that their rejection of Tradition was entirely unwarranted,[4] for the following reasons:

1. Tradition, the living voice of the Church, is older than the Scriptures, these having been called forth at different times to meet some special exigency.

2. The Scriptures having been written for the Church, are not the property of heretics.

3. Tradition, being the only *adequate exponent of the doctrine of Christ*, is, therefore, the only competent and legitimate interpreter of the Scriptures. The dead letter has need of the living voice of tradition for its explanation. Moreover, the

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[1] *Iren.* contr. haeres. III. 24, n. 1. *Tertull.* loc. laud., c. 19.

[2] *Cypr.* de unit. eccles.: habere jam non protest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem. Cf. *Ignat.* ep. ad Polycarp., c. 6.

[3] *Iren.* contr. haer. III. 4, n. 3. *Tertull.* loc. laud., c. 29 and 30; *idem.* adv. Prax., c. 2.

[4] *Tertull.* de praescr., c. 17, 19, 38. *Iren.* l. l. IV. 23, n. 8.

Church alone preserves the Scriptures and defends their *integrity*, because she believes them to be the orally revealed doctrine of Christ, the utterances of the *same* Holy Ghost who inspired them (*γραφαὶ θεόπνευστοι, κανονικαί*), and because she alone puts upon them their true meaning and interpretation,[1] while heretics garble many passages, entirely reject others, and explain all to suit their own whim and fancy.[2]

Tradition, however, is not only oral; it may also become fixed, and gain permanence when committed to writing. These writings, again, may be of a very different character: the works of the *Fathers of the Church*, the *Decrees of Councils*, and the *Symbols of Faith* will serve as examples of our meaning. A special signification and importance are to be attached to the different *Symbols of Faith*, such as the *Symbol* of the *Apostles*, *those of Rome*, of *Aquileia*, *of Ravenna*, *several belonging to the East*,[3] and many others drawn up by different churches, and to be found scattered through the works of *Irenaeus*,[4] *Tertullian*,[5] *Novatian*,[6] *Origen*,[7] and *Gregory Thaumaturgus*;[8] for each of these is thrown into some peculiar form, giving prominence to one idea above others, and determined by the particular phase of heretical opinion which each Symbol was intended to oppose.

§ 77. *Doctrine of the Church Regarding the Unity of God.*

†*Ginoulhiac*, histoire du dogme chrétien pendant les trois premiers siècles de l'église, Par. (1852), ed. 2, 1855, 3 vols. †*Schwane*, History of Dogmas, Münster, 1862, Vol. I., p. 49–187. † *Werner*, Hist. of Apologet. and Polem. Lit., Vol. I.

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[1] *Clem Alex.* strom. VII. 16, p. 894. *Orig.* Prolog. in cant. canticor. (T. III., p. 36.) The New Test. divided in *εὐαγγέλιον* and *ἀποστολικόν* (*ὁ ἀπόστολος*). *Ignat.* ep. ad Philad., c. 5. *Tertull.* adv. Prax., c. 15. *Iren.* contr. haeres. I. 3, n. 6. *Clem. Alex.* strom. V. 5, p. 664.

[2] Cf. page 309, note 3. †*Friedlieb*, Scripture, Tradition, and Ecclesiastical Exposition, according to the Testimonies of the First Five Centuries. Breslau, 1854.

[3] Collected in *Denzinger* enchirid. symbolor. in the begin.

[4] *Iren.* contr. haeres. I. 10, n. 1, p. 48.

[5] *Tertull.* de virg. veland., c. 1; adv. Prax., c. 2; de praescr., c. 13.

[6] *Novat.* de trinitate, c. 1, 9, and 29.

[7] *Orig.* de princip. praef., n. 4 sq. (opp. T. I., p. 47 sqq.)

[8] *Greg. Thaumat.* expos. fid. (opp. Par. 1622.) *Galland.* bibl. T. III., p. 385 sq.

The Catholic Church was obliged to give the most explicit and precise explanation of her doctrine on God, and this for two reasons: *first*, to refute the Polytheism and Fatalism of the Pagans, and the Gnostic and Manichaean theories of Dualism and Emanation; and, *second*, to repel the charge of Atheism, a crime of which her members stood accused. She clearly established the *unity of God* against the Pagans, triumphantly refuted the Dualism of the Gnostics, rejected the false theory which asserted that the world was created by a *Demiurge* or *Archon*, and, while proving the *unity* of God, showed that the world was created, not out of preëxisting matter and by successive emanations, but *out of nothing*, and that the existence of *good* was in perfect harmony with her teaching on God.[1] She taught, moreover, that evil does not owe its origin to matter, but that it is the natural product of human liberty when not properly used.[2] Her doctrine on this point led necessarily to the rejection of the Gnostic classification of men into the spiritual, the animal, and the material; for she very clearly established that the different degrees of elevation in the intellectual and moral condition of man, depend entirely on the use he makes of his liberty.[3]

§ 78. *Doctrine of the Church on Christ as the Redeemer—His Divinity—His Humanity—Rejection of Chiliasm.*

Petavius, theolog. dogmat. *Bull*, defensio fidei Nicaenae, and especially †*Prudent. Maranus* (opp. Justin. and the other Greek apologists of the second century). *Prudent. M.* divinitas Dom. N. J. Chr. manifesta in scripturis et tradit. 1746), Wirceb. 1859. †*Klee*, History of Dogmas, Vol. I., p. 184 sqq. †*Schwane*, Hist. of Dogmas, Vol. I., p. 266–344. † *Werner*, Apologet. and Polem. Lit., Vol. I. †*Moehler*, Athanas. the Gr., Mentz, 1827, 2d ed., p. 1–105. †*Kuhn*, Catholic Dogma, Vol. II., Tüb. 1857. *Hefele*, Hist. of Counc., Vol. I., p. 219–226; Engl. transl., p. 231–239. *Dorner*, doctrine conc. the pers. of Christ, Pt. I., p. 563 sqq.

The teaching of the Catholic Church on Christ was brought out with tolerable exactness in her rejection of the doctrine of Simon Magus, of the Ebionites and Anti-Trinitarians, and in her answers to those Pagans who charged her members with inconsistency, and accused them of being Polytheists because they adored Christ *as God*. She asserted this truth still more emphatically, by declaring that Christ suffered as a victim that He might reconcile man with God; that through His merits, and them alone, the faithful Christian obtains remission of his sins;[1] that He is *the principle of all virtue* and *the source of all spiritual life*, and that only through Him is man *really* united with God.

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[1] *Tertull.* adv. Hermog., c. 5. *Hermas*, Past. (s. v. scriptura cited) in *Iren.* contr. haer. IV. 20, n. 2, p. 253 sqq. *Theophil.* adv. Autolyc. I. 3, 5.

[2] *Iren.* ctr. haer. III. 22, V. 20. *Tertull.* de anima, c. 40.

[3] *Iren.* ctr. haer. IV. 37, V. 6. *Justin.* apol. II., c. 7.

These doctrinal teachings necessarily imply a belief in the Divinity of Christ, and affirm that He is *truly God*, a doctrine which has been held and explicitly taught at all times and in circumstances the most diverse.[2]

Difficulties increased in number and gravity, and the contest between truth and error grew more earnest and exciting when the human mind, ever restless and active, began to inquire into the relations between God the Father and God the Son, and required of the Church an *exact and pointed statement* of the doctrine. The necessity of this will be seen when it is recollected that even in writers of great name, such as Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Methodius, may be found vague and indefinite *expressions*, which, though they give substantially the doctrine of the Catholic Church, do not express it with sufficient clearness and precision. The expressions *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* and *προφορικός*, borrowed from the *Alexandrians* by *Theophilus* of Antioch,[3] were poor enough at best; but they were very far from adequately expressing the doctrine of the Church on Christ, viz., that He is *truly God*, *one with the Father*, yet *personally distinct* from Him, the Substantial *Manifestation* of the Father, and also the *Creator of the world.*

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[1] *Clem.* Rom. ep. I. ad Corinth., c. 12. *Justin. M.* dial. c. Tryph., c. 95. *Iren.* ctr. haer. V. I, V. 17, n. 1–3, p. 313 sqq. *Tertull.* de fuga, c. 12; *idem*, adv. Jud., c. 10 and 13; he uses already the expression "satisfactio." *Orig.* in Numer. homil. XXIV., n. 1 (opp. T. II., p. 362), in Levit. homil. III. 8 (T. II., p. 198).

[2] *Clem. Alex.* speaks of him as the *ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ὁ φανερώτατος ὄντως θεός, ὁ τῷ δεσπότῃ τῶν ὅλων ἐξισωθείς.*—The divine Word, God in truth most evident, the one made equal to the Lord of all things. Cohort., c. 10, T. I., p. 86. Very important is this sentence of *Iren.* contr. haer. III. 19: Ipse proprie praeter omnes, qui fuerunt tunc, homines Deus et Dominus et Rex aeternus et Unigenitus et Verbum incarnatum praedicatur, etc., p. 212.

[3] *Theophil.* adv. Autolyc. II. 10, 22.

The Alexandrian formula was very justly objected to.[1] The *Word*, it was argued, is not a word that is spoken, and then dies away (*προφορικός*), nor a passing thought of the mind, which exists only to be succeeded by another, but something *substantial.* Neither is the departure of the Word from the Father a lessening of His Substance, or a separation from Him.

The term *λόγος*, therefore, and others used by St. John, were more strictly adhered to, as best expressing the relations between Father and Son. The Son was called the manifestation of the Father, and the Father was said to contemplate Himself in His Son.[2]

The Son, said *Athanagoras*, employing an expression far from felicitous, is the *λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν ἰδέα καὶ ἐνεργεία*; that is, the Son is the Word of the Father in thought and in very deed.[3]

The expression used by *Tertullian* was apposite and striking. "The Father," said he, "and the Son are only *one Divine Substance*, but two distinct Persons."[4]

The heresy of *Beryllus* gave rise in the Greek Church to frequent and protracted discussions relative to the true meaning of the terms *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*, which, signifying both *substance* and *person*, rendered the formula obnoxious to a double sense—one of which was, *the Father and the Son are of the same Substance* (*μιᾶς οὐσίας*), and the other, *The Father and the Son are the same Person.*[5] To obviate this difficulty, it was proposed to substitute the following formula: *ἑτέρας οὐσίας καὶ ἑτέρου ὑποκειμένου*. But Paul of Samosata, who used the word *ὁμοούσιος* in defending his own errors, put a *wrong interpre-*

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[1] *Iren.* contr. haer. II. 28. *Klee*, History of Dogmas, Vol. I., p. 186.

[2] *Iren.* contr. haer. IV. 6, n. 6.

[3] *Athenagor.* legat. pro Christian., c. 10. *Kuhn*, Dogma, Vol. II., p. 160.

[4] *Tertull.* adv. Prax., c. 3, 4, 8, 16.

[5] Cf. *Petavius*, de Trinit. IV. 5, de vocabulo *τοῦ ὁμοουσίου*, etc. (theolog. dogm., T. II., p. 179.

tation upon these words, and, in consequence, they *seem* to have been rejected by the Council of Antioch, A. D. 269.[1]

Notwithstanding this, the word ὁμοούσιος was frequently used by all parties, and was finally sanctioned as expressing the faith of the Church. The sense in which it is to be received may be gathered from *Dionysius of Alexandria*, who used it in his discussion with the heretic Sabellius, and from *Dionysius of Rome*, who gave this explanation of the sense in which it should be understood:

"*The wonderful and holy unity (of God) can not, therefore, be divided into three Divinities; nor can the dignity and all-surpassing greatness of the Lord be lowered by applying to Him the appellation proper to creatures; but we must believe in God the Almighty Father, and in Christ Jesus His Son, and in the Holy Ghost, and that the Logos is one with the God of the universe.*"

But if the Church took special pains to guard and defend the *Divinity* of Christ, she was not less jealous of His humanity. She declared, in answer to every form of Docetism, that He possessed a human body and a rational soul, *a perfect human nature*, without which He could not have been set up as a pattern for men.[2] Attacks upon the Divinity of Christ called also for detailed and exhaustive explanations of His human nature. By way of instance, reference may be made to the answer given to Celsus, in which the human affections are particularly dwelt upon. Not only is Christ God, it was said, but He is man also, with a human soul capable of human affections. But in all these expositions, special care was always taken to draw a sharp line of distinction between His human and His Divine natures, and to point out that they were both *hypostatically* united in Him.[1]

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[1] A letter of the Semi-Arians, written about 358, contains the first mention of the fact that the Council of Antioch (269) rejected the term ὁμοούσιος. *Hilarius* de synod., c. 86, and *Athanas.* de synod. Arimin. et Seleuc., c. 43, do not call the fact in question. However, the silence of other contemporaries, even of *Eusebius*, an opponent of ὁμοούσιος, has caused great surprise. Cf. *Prudentius Maranus* diss. sur les Semi-Ariens (*Voigtii* bibl. hist. haeresiologicae, T. II., p. 159). *Feuerlini* diss. Dei filium patri esse ὁμοούσιον, antiqui eccl. doctores in Concil. Antioch. utrum negarint., Goett. 1755, 4to. *Liberat. Fassonius*, de voce "homousios," etc., Rom. 1755. *Döllinger*, Compend. of C. H., p. 269 sqq. (Tüb. Quarterly, 1850, p. 3–23.) *Nottebaum*, de personae vel hypostasis apud Patres theologosque notione et usu, Soest. 1853.

[2] *Ignat.* ep. ad Smyrn., c. 1, 2. *Iren.* contr. haer. III. 19, n. 3. *Origen.* in Joann. Tom. I., n. 30 (opp. T. IV., p. 32). *Orig.* contr. Cels. l. III., n. 28 (T. I., p. 346).

Dionysius the Great, Bishop of Alexandria, following the example of *Clement* of Alexandria and *Origen*, rose against the teaching of *Cerinthus*, who maintained that Christ would shortly return to earth, and establish a *millennium*. This doctrine had been cautiously insinuated by *Nepos*, an Egyptian bishop, and had attracted many by its speciousness, particularly in the province of Arsinoe. Its progress was, however, checked by Dionysius, who also brought back *Korakion*, the leader of the sect, to the orthodox belief. Still later on, *Lactantius* made an effort in favor of Chiliasm, perhaps with the purpose of comforting those Christians who suffered severely during the rigorous persecution of Diocletian; but his labors met with little encouragement, and were far from being crowned with success.

When, shortly after, the auspicious reign of Constantine encouraged the Christians to look forward to the prospect of *earthly* peace and prosperity, they abandoned all thought of a future millennium

§ 79. *Doctrine of the Church on the Holy Ghost and the Divine Trinity*

Petavius, de Trinit., lib. I., c. 1–6 (theol. dogmata, T. II., p. 1–35). *Möhler*, Athanas. the Great, etc. *Kuhn*, Cath. Dogma, Vol. II., p. 286 sq. *Kahnis*, The Doctrine of the Holy Ghost, Halle, 1847.

If the Fathers and Apostolical writers of this period were careful to insist on the *unity* of God, and were precise in their language with regard to it, they were not less so in putting forward and establishing the *triple Personality* of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Although the doctrine on the *Holy Ghost* had not yet been earnestly discussed, the writings of the period contain many passages in which pointed and emphatic allusions are made to the divine prerogatives of the third Person of the Trinity, and to the divine honor which is His due. The scrupulous observance of the form prescribed by Christ to be used in conferring baptism—in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost—is the most striking proof of the existing belief in the three Divine Persons of the Trinity.[1]

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[1] *Orig.* contr. Cels. III., n. 41, VI. 47. *Δύο τῇ ἑαυτῶν φύσει τυγχάνοντα, εἷς ἐν ἀλλήλοις εἶναι λελογισμένα καὶ ὄντα.*—They were two in their nature, acting and existing one in the other. (T. I., p. 669.)

Others, however, are not wanting. *Ignatius* Martyr compared the different ranks of the hierarchy to the different persons of the Trinity.[2] *Justin* Martyr made the recognition of the Divinity of the three Divine Persons a test of orthodoxy, by which Christians might be distinguished from Pagans.[3] *Athanagoras*, in repelling the accusation of Atheism brought against Christians, declared that they adored the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, who are powerful because they are one (*τὴν ἐν τῇ ἑνώσει δύναμιν*), and who are distinguished by the order of their existence (*τὴν ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν*).[4] *Theophilus* of Antioch thought the first three days of the creation typical of the Divine Trinity (*Τριάς*), a term which he *introduced* among the Greeks,[5] and among the Latins, Tertullian was the first, as it appears, to employ the term *Trinitas*.[6]

The Apostolical Symbol is more definite and pointed than any of the others in giving full expression to the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, the *same* form precisely being used for each of the three Persons. "I believe in the Holy Ghost," "I believe in God the Father, . . and in Jesus Christ His only Son," being the words of the text—a clear proof that the Holy Ghost is truly God in exactly the same sense that the Father and the Son are God. *Clement* of Alexandria[7] exhorts the faithful to give praise to the Father, to the Son, and to the

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[1] *Justin. M.* apol. I., c. 79. *Tert.* adv. Prax., c. 26.
[2] *Ignat.* ep. ad Magn., c. 13.
[3] *Justin.* apol. I., c. 6, 13, 61, et 63.
[4] *Athenag.* leg. pro Christian., c. 10; conf. c. 12.
[5] *Theophil.* adv. Autolyc. I. 15.
[6] *Tertull.* adv. Prax., c. 4; conf. c. 12.
[7] *Clem. Alex.* paed. III. 12, p. 311 (ed. *Potter*, Venet. 1757).

Holy Ghost, as *one* God. Finally, *Origen*[1] speaks of the all-ruling and adorable Trinity (*τρίας*).

Some writers attempted to demonstrate the doctrine of the Trinity by strictly speculative and ontological arguments, but the greater number treated it simply in its practical bearing (*vide* § 61). "You ask me," writes *Hippolytus*,[2] "how the Son of God was begotten? Is it not enough that the Son of God came down for your salvation? Must you also know the manner in which He was begotten as God?"

NOTE.—Other teachings of the Catholic Church will come more properly under the history of her Organization, Worship, and Discipline.

§ 80. *Principles of Theological Science.*

Möhler, Unity, etc., p. 129–161. The *same*, Patrology, Vol. I., p. 464–470. †*Kuhn*, Principle and Method of Speculative Theology (Tübg. Quart., year 1841, p. 1–33). *Kling*, Influence of Clement of Alexandria on the Rise of Christian Theology (Studies and Criticisms, 1841, p. 857 sq.)

The origin of nearly every heresy we have thus far had occasion to mention, may be traced to the instinctive efforts made by the reflective faculties of the human mind to clearly comprehend the teachings of the Church; for the desire of knowledge being an imprescriptible law of human reason, is felt as keenly by the children of the Catholic Church as by others.

Christians, in the early days of the Church, received their teachings with all the earnestness of a simple and strong faith, and never thought of scientifically accounting to themselves for their belief; but about the close of the second century it was manifest that there existed a very decided inclination to throw into scientific form doctrines which, up to this time, had been regarded as historical facts, and to give to this empirical knowledge all the dignity of a science. A sad and an instructive experience had already demonstrated that this tendency, when allowed to go on unchecked and without guide, would inevitably lead to many and gross errors. The Catholic Church, on this account, was solicitous to establish *science* on a firm basis. Following the teaching of St. Paul (1 Cor. xii. 8), she held, contrary to the doctrine of the Gnostics, that a scientific training is the privilege of *but a few*,[1] for even in the college of Apostles it was possessed by only *Peter* and *James*, and *John* and *Paul*. She, therefore, denied the assumption of those who pretended that the supposed defects in the doctrine handed down by Christ and His Apostles, should be supplied by science, the *only* reliable basis of which is the teaching of the Church.

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[1] *τριὰς ἀρχική*, in Matt. tom. xv., n. 31 (T. III., p. 698). *τριὰς προςκυνητή*, in Ps. cxlvii. 13 (T. II., p. 815). Conf. in Jerem. hom. viii., n. 1 (T. III., p. 170).

[2] *Hippolyt.* adv. Noët., nr. 16 (*Migne*, ser. gr. T. 10, p. 825).

Neither the most learned nor the most eloquent of the Church's members can either take from or add to her doctrine, which is unchangeably one and the same for all.[2]

It should not be imagined, therefore, that science gives a greater degree of certitude than faith. Moreover, the majority of men, as Origen remarks, have neither the time nor the capacity to investigate for themselves; and were this necessary, the greater part of the human race would be deprived of God's most gracious blessings.

That which distinguishes the cultivated from the unlettered Christian is not the *body of the* knowledge itself possessed by each, but the *way* in which each apprehends that knowledge. What the simple Christian accepts as a *fact* and without question, the man of trained mind receives after he has viewed it in all its bearings, and become convinced that it is *necessarily true*.[3]

Clement of Alexandria showed that one common *faith* is the basis of all true knowledge, and very pertinently remarked that *if the Divinity of Christ were once conceded*, it would be absurd to make a scientific demonstration a condition before accepting the Christian religion. "It is enough," says he, "that *God* has deigned to lay open to us those hidden secrets. He who knows the Word, knows also the Truth, for the Word is the Truth, and can not deceive; but whosoever does not believe the Word, neither does he believe God."[1]

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[1] *Orig.* de princip. praef., n. 3 (T. I., p. 47). Conf. above, p. 183, note 1.

[2] *Iren.* contr. haer. I. 3, n. 6; I. 10, n. 2.

[3] Thus *Clem.* of *Alex.*, in an important passage, marks the distinction between faith and the so-called Gnosis quite in the same spirit: Ἡ *μὲν οὖν πίστις σύντομός ἐστιν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τῶν κατεπειγόντων γνῶσις* (faith is a sufficient knowledge of the essential doctrines), *ἡ γνῶσις δὲ ἀπόδειξις τῶν διὰ πίστεως παρειλημμένων ἰσχυρὰ καὶ βέβαιος* (but the Gnosis is a convincing and incontrovertible demonstration of what has been received by faith), *διὰ τῆς κυριακῆς διδασκαλίας ἐποικοδομουμένη τῇ πίστει, εἰς τὸ ἀμετάπτωτον καὶ μετ' ἐπιστήμης καὶ καταληπτὸν παραπέμπουσα*, and becomes reliable, intelligible, and comprehensible, through the doctrine of the Church, itself the very ground of faith. Strom. VII., p. 865.

It is not, however, the exclusive characteristic of theology to ground itself on *faith*—quite the contrary; for every sort of knowledge finally converges to, and centers in, faith. Nor can it be said that every question that comes within the scope of science, is capable of being fully demonstrated, and that every particular of its detail may be firmly grasped and clearly understood; for every such question starts by assuming principles and axioms which, of their very nature, are absolutely incapable of being demonstrated. Hence, even the Greek philosophers admitted, some in one form and some in another, that *faith* is necessarily the groundwork of all science. Aristotle teaches this most positively,[2] verifying the general truth contained in the words of the Prophet: "*Nisi credideritis non intelligetis.*"[3]

Conscious that all true science begins and ends with faith, the great theologians of the Church assumed this as an axiomatic truth, and laying down the rule that *faith in the teachings of the Church should be the basis and guide of all their scientific investigations*,[4] they established the truths of faith by grounding themselves on faith. In their eyes, faith and science were inseparable companions,[5] science presupposing faith, and faith informing science. St. Paul[1] himself has declared that an acquaintance with the fundamental doctrines of the Church (*στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ*) is the basis (*θεμέλιον*) of a more profound knowledge of Christian doctrine.[2]

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[1] Strom. II., 21, pp. 433 and 441. Ibid. II. 4, p. 434.

[2] Strom. II. 4, p. 435: *εἰ δέ τις λέγοι τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀποδεικτικὴν εἶναι μετὰ λόγου ἀκουσάτω ὅτι καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἀναπόδεικτοι· οὔτε γὰρ τέχνῃ οὔτε μὴν φρονήσει γνωσταί.*—If any one say that only such tenets as are capable of demonstration are to be accepted as reasonable, he should bear in mind that principles, too, can not be demonstrated, since they can neither be seized by art nor by any effort of thought. Conf. *Aristotel.* metaphys. III. 4: *ὅλως μὴν γὰρ ἁπάντων ἀδύνατον ἀπόδειξιν εἶναι.*—He says that it is quite impossible to demonstrate everything.

[3] Isaias vii. 9.

[4] For these symbols of faith, see *Iren.* contr. haeres. I. 10, n. 1; *Orig.* de princip. praef., n. 4 (T. I., p. 47).

[5] *Clem. Alex.*: *Ἤδη δὲ, οὔτε ἡ γνῶσις ἄνευ πίστεως, οὐθ' ἡ πίστις ἄνευ γνώσεως.*—

Ecclesiastical science thus constituted, and grounded upon faith, necessarily exercised a salutary and purifying influence within the bosom of the Church, and particularly when there was a question of opinions which were either of doubtful orthodoxy, or out and out heretical. It also exercised a beneficial influence outside the Church when it came into contact with the pride and egotism of Pagan science.[3] Hence it is that men of the greatest intellect and learning have hailed the Church as the very *rampart of* divine *faith*, as the *immutable form of truth*, which, while elevating her followers, shields them against all error, and, in giving them the truth, gives them also the unspeakable joys and divine consolations which they alone can enjoy who possess it.[4]

§ 81. *The Various Forms of Ecclesiastical Science.*

Möhler's Patrology, Vol. I. *Alzog*, Outlines of Patrology, 2d ed., p. 110–184.

There existed a *wide distinction* between the two methods of treating theology, followed respectively by the *East* and the *West*. The schools of the former preferred the speculative and theoretical branch of theological science, and labored to bring it into harmony with, and strengthen it by, the teachings

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Truly, there is neither science without faith, nor faith without science. Strom. Vol. 1, p. 643. *Orig.* ep. ad Gregor. Thaumat. (Orig. opp. T. I., p. 30.) The same in *Theophil.* ad Autolyc. I. 8.

[1] Heb. v. 12, and vi. 2, 3.

[2] We should not omit to mention here that *Clement*, in his discourses on faith, considers it alternately in a *subjective* and in an *objective* sense; subjectively, indeed, as the willing acceptance of things revealed, or the yielding of a free and firm assent to them; and objectively, as the body of doctrine taught by the Church. (Conf. strom. II. 6, p. 444: *ἡ μὲν πίστις ὑπόληψις ἑκούσιος καὶ πρόληψις εὐγνώμονος προκαταλήψεως.*) Conf. *Bonn. Periodical* of Philosophy and Cath. Theolog. on *γνῶσις* and *πίστις*, and their mutual relations, as explained by *Clement* of Alex., year 1844, Nos. 2 and 3.

[3] 1 Pet. iii. 15.

[4] *Clem. Alex.* strom. I. 2, p. 327; I. 20, p. 377; II. 2, p. 433: *ἕξιν ἀμετάπτωτον ὑπὸ λόγου.*—The Word produces an imperturbable peace of mind.

of philosophy; while those of the latter seemed more inclined to develop the science in its practical bearing, and to bring out the legitimate consequences of traditional Christianity. The former tendency was especially prominent at Alexandria.

CATECHETICAL SCHOOLS OF ALEXANDRIA—CLEMENT AND ORIGEN.[1]

The condition of the Church, when brought into intimate relations with Paganism, required that those who were at once theologians and skillful philosophers, should assume some definite position with regard to the philosophy of the day, and particularly with regard to Platonism. It was expected that they, possessing the scientific culture of Greece, would employ it in the service of the Church, and thus become mediators between her and the educated Pagan world; and that they would demonstrate that Christianity could engage the highest capacities, call forth the best exertions of the most trained intellects, meet every requirement of the reason, and supply every want of the heart of man.

This design was favored by the "*Catechetical School*," established at Alexandria about the middle of the second century. It was modeled after the philosophical schools of Greece, and placed under the supervision of the bishop.

Alexandria was then the metropolis of the educated world, and being, as it were, the great university of the age, seemed admirably fitted for the establishment of a Christian seat of learning. And in matter of fact it had been, ever since *Philo* attempted to harmonize Plato and Moses, the great battle-ground, on which conflicting schools of thought met and asserted the claims of their respective systems.

Pantaenus, who was converted from Stoicism[2] by one of the disciples of the Apostles, was the first head of this school (about A. D. 180). He gave abundant proof of the depth and extent of his learning, of his intellectual powers, and talent and capacity as a lecturer, in his expositions of Holy Scripture, by which he converted to the truth the most celebrated of his disciples, who, as his immediate successor, rendered the school so justly celebrated—*Titus Flavius Clement.*

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[1] *Euseb.* h. e. V. 10. *Guericke*, de schola, quae Alexandriae floruit, catechetica, Hal. 1824 sq., 2 P. *Hasselbach*, de schola, quae Alex. flor. catechet., Stett. 1826, 1 P. *Jul. Simon*, histoire de l'école d'Alexandrie, Par. 1845. *Vacherot*, hist. critique de l'école d'Alex., Paris, 1846–1851, 3 vols., whom *Gratry* criticises rather severely. *Ritter*, History of *Christian* Philosophy, Pt. I., p. 419–564. *Böhringer*, The History of the Church in Biographies, Vol. I., Pt. 1, p. 79 sq.

[2] *Hieronym.* catal., c. 36. *Euseb.* h. e. V. 10. *Photius*, cod. 180. *Clem. Alex.* strom. I. 1, p. 322 sq.

This celebrated man, probably born at Athens, of Pagan parents, and undoubtedly brought up in the principles of Paganism, had not the happiness of knowing the truth till after he had arrived at a mature age. He made extensive travels through Greece, Italy, Palestine, and the East, and in this way had an opportunity of hearing the great masters of philosophy, and of acquiring accurate and varied information on every branch of Pagan literature. But his thirst for knowledge, too great to be content with the teachings of man, was at length satiated, when, sitting among the auditors of Pantaenus, he drank in the wisdom of Christ.

Clement, having been appointed the successor (191–202) of Pantaenus by Bishop *Demetrius*, acquired a great reputation as a lecturer, and had among his auditors a number of Pagans, many of whom were converted to the true faith. These were generally persons of rank and distinction, who, admiring the extent and variety of his knowledge of Greek literature, and charmed by the graces of his style, were subdued by the power of his eloquence, and yielded to the strength of his philosophical reasoning, which, illumined by the light of Christian faith, and becoming more aggressive from the consciousness of power, was now absolutely irresistible. In addition to his other gifts, he possessed a rare talent for teaching, and skillfully accommodated his words to the individual wants and temperaments of the vast numbers who flocked to hear his lectures. Each brought away something suited to his particular frame of mind, and was thus led on from the most elementary teachings to the most profound doctrines of Christianity.[1]

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[1] Concerning the controverted question, whether Alexandria or Athens was his birthplace, consult *Epiphan.* haer XXXII. 6. Conf. *Euseb.* praepar. evangel. II. 3, VI. 1, 3, 11, 14. *Hieronym.* catal., c. 38. See *Tillemont*, T. III.,

The persecution of Septimius Severus interrupted his sphere of usefulness at Alexandria (202). Following the counsel of our Lord,[1] he fled to Flaviad, in Cappadocia, of which *Alexander*, one of his former disciples, was bishop, and still later on, when his friend was set over the church of Jerusalem, he accompanied him to that city. He died at an advanced age, A. D. 217, but it is not known whether he ever again returned to Alexandria.

Clement, in his lectures, adhered closely to the general principles and methods of Philosophy, and seemed specially favorable to Platonism, a plan quite the contrary of that pursued by Tatian, Hermias, and other Christian writers, whose decided hostility to the science and culture of Greece contributed little to either the external growth or internal development of Christianity. The analogy between human nature and the Divine Word—the universal, absolute, and Divine reason—(*συμπάθεια, σπέρμα τοῦ λόγου* or *λόγος σπεματικός*), had already been admitted, and in part drawn out, by *Justin Martyr* and *Athenagoras*, who thus virtually acknowledged that Pagan philosophers had a partial acquaintance with religious and moral truths.[2] *Clement*, following in the wake of Justin, asserted that *philosophy was to the Greeks what the Law had been to the Jews, that it was the aim and purpose of both to lead the nations respectively under their influence to Jesus Christ*, and that both were but fragments of the one great body of truth in the deposit

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p. 181–196. CLEMENTIS OPERA: *λόγος προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας*, Apology for the Pagans; *παιδαγωγός*, morals of Christians; *στρώματα*, philosophical demonstration of the doctrine of faith, libb. VIII.; *τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος*, or practical exposition of the Scriptures; ed. *Sylburg*, Heidelbg, 1592, c. not. *Heinsii*, Lugd. Batav. 1616, and oft.; ed. *Potter*, Oxon. 1715, 2 T. f. Pirated impressions from these, Venet. 1755, Wirceb. 1788, etc., 3 T. in *Migne* ser. gr. T. 8, 9. Conf. *Tillemont*, T. III. *Ceillier*, T. II. †*Reinkens*, de Clemente presbytero Alexandrino, homine, scriptore, philosopho, theologo, Vrastisl. 1851. *Cognac*, Clément d'Alexandrie, sa doctrine et sa polémique, Paris, 1859. **Möhler*, Patrology, Vol. I., p. 430–486.

[1] Matt. x. 23.

[2] *Justin.* apol. II. 8. Conf. also Apol. II. 13. *Οὐκ ἀλλότριά ἐστι τὰ Πλάτωνος διδάγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἔστι πάντη ὅμοια, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, Στωϊκῶν τε καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων. ἕκαστος γάρ τις ἀπὸ μέρους τοῦ σπερματικοῦ θείου λόγου τὸ συγγενὲς ὁρῶν καλῶς ἐφθέγξατο.—Ὅσα οὖν παρὰ πᾶσι καλῶς εἴρηται, ἡμῶν τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐστι.* Apol. I. 46. *Οἱ μετὰ Λόγου βιώσαντες χριστιανοί εἰσιν, κἂν ἄθεοι ἐνο-*

of the Church.[1] He also defended philosophy as a valuable *instrument of knowledge*, inasmuch as it serves to cultivate the mind, sharpen the intellect, strengthen the reasoning powers, and thus fit the man to distinguish between truth and error.[2] Fearful, however, that he might appear to sanction the extravagant pretensions of some philosophers, he laid down the general and comprehensive principle, as has been already remarked, that *the guide and rule of every Christian scholar*, in pursuing his studies and investigations, *should be the faith and doctrine of the Church.* He alone, said he, is truly wise, who, growing gray in the study of Holy Scripture, is careful, while passing through the sinuous ways of science, to keep in view *the guiding line of Apostolic and ecclesiastical doctrine;* who conforms his life with the precepts of the Gospel, and who bases his demonstrations upon the words of Him who is the Master of the Law and of the Prophets. While thus adhering to the traditions of the Church, it will be found that true knowledge consists in the harmony of faith and science (*ἐπιστημονικὴ πίστις*).

His three works, entitled "An *Exhortation* to the Gentiles," "The *Pedagogue*," and "*Stromata*," while possessing the merit of methodical arrangement, formed a complete body of moral and scientific instruction, admirably adapted both to the work of converting Pagans and of strengthening the faith of newly made converts and Christian Gnostics. These works contain ample evidence of the deep and extensive learning of Clem-

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μίσθησαν, οἷον ἐν Ἕλλησι μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς.—The doctrines of Plato, though not at variance with those of Christ, are, like those of other teachers, such as the Stoics, poets, and historians, not altogether similar. These recognized the truths of the Word only partially, and, as it were, as seminal principles, and each spoke according to his light. Whatever was well said by any of them, is the property of us Christians. Those who lived according to the teachings of the Word, were Christians, although they were even called Godless. Such were Socrates and Heraclitus among the Greeks, and others like them.

[1] Conf. Rom. i. 19, 20, ii. 14.

[2] *Clem. Alex.* strom. I. 20, p. 375-377, and I. 6, p. 366: *Ἀλλὰ καθάπερ καὶ ἄνευ γραμμάτων πιστὸν εἶναι δύνατόν φαμεν· οὕτως συνεῖναι τὰ ἐν τῇ πίστει λεγόμενα οὐχ οἷόντε, μὴ μαθόντα, ὁμολογοῦμεν.*—Since we say that faith is possible without written documents, we thereby imply that it is impossible to preserve its teachings without having learned them.

ent, and also show that he sometimes forsook the rigorous method of the philosopher to indulge in the eloquence of the orator. It is to be regretted that in the Stromata, his principal work, the line of demarcation between philosophy and theology is *not sufficiently distinct.* "These books (the Stromata)," says he, "contain truth mingled with the doctrines of philosophy, or concealed and inclosed within them, as the seed and the fruit are inclosed within the rind."

His allegorical interpretations, though always ingenious and pleasing, are frequently not apposite; and in judging of them, the spirit of the Alexandrian school of philosophy, which it was his purpose to conciliate as far as possible, should never be lost sight of. He not unfrequently brings together a great number of Scripture texts, which are very little to the point.

Origen[1] was a man much more remarkable than Clement, and possessed an influence much more extensive. Born at Alexandria, A. D. 185, he seemed, from his tenderest age, to be gifted with a wisdom beyond his years, and entertained a wish to share with his father Leonides the glory of martyrdom. Disappointed in this, he wrote to his father, who was in prison, exhorting him to "be of good heart, and not to allow the affection he bore his relatives to weaken his purpose."

He was piously brought up, and had for his masters in theology Pantaenus and Clement. The lectures of the Neo-Platonist, *Ammonius Saccas*, on philosophy, which he attended in company with *Plotinus* and *Longinus*, exercised unfortunately a too decided influence upon his subsequent life and opinions. When eighteen years of age (A. D. 203), he was appointed the successor to Clement as the head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria. Possessing a thoroughly Greek culture and refinement of manners, and a mind purified by the sanctifying graces of Christianity, he laid open to his disciples the hidden truths of Holy Writ with so much clearness and ease, that "he appeared, while speaking, to be under the influence of Divine inspiration, and to gain a clear meaning of the Sacred text through the assistance of the Spirit of Prophecy." His words possessed so great a charm for his disciples, that they were accustomed to say of him: "His is the soul of David united with that of Jonathan."[1] His elaborate work on First Principles (*περὶ ἀρχῶν*) entitled him to the honor of being the first who reduced the teachings of Christianity to method and *system*.[2] *A thorough knowledge of science and classic literature enabled him* to give to his lectures a vitality and freshness, which, while attracting young Pagans and winning their good-will, stimulated the Christians to a study of philosophy. It was in this way that he hoped finally to overcome the active and aggressive spirit of Gnosticism. While many persons of distinction were converted to Christianity by his efforts, the number of those who, through his writings, have gained an insight into the profound mysteries of Christian doctrine, and have been animated with the spirit of the Gospel, may be said to be beyond computation. His efforts to bring back heretics to the Church were frequently rewarded with success.

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[1] *Euseb.* h. e. VI. 2, 3, 4, 8, 15, 18, 19. *Hieronym.* de vir. illustr., c. 54. *Photius*, cod. 180. *Orig.* opp. omn. quae supers. *de la Rue*, Par. 1733, sq., 4 T. f. ed. *Lommatzsch*, Berol. 1832 sq. *Huetius*, Origenianor., libb. III., before his ed. of the Comment. of Orig., Par. 1679, and opp. ed. *de la Rue*, T. IV., in Appendix, p. 79–323, in *Migne* Gr. Fath., T. XI–XVII. Conf. *Tillemont*, T. III., p. 494–595. *Ceillier*, T. II., p. 584 sq. *Thomasius*, Origen, a Contribution to the History of Dogmas in the Third Century, Nüremb. 1837. *Redepenning*, Origen, a Sketch of his Life and his Doctrine, Bonn, 1841 sq., 2 vols. **Möhler*, Patrolog., Vol. I., p. 485–576. *Hefele*, Origen, in the Freiburg Eccl. Cycloped., Vol. VII., p. 825–844.

In his desire to carry out literally the counsels of perfection contained in the Gospel, and thus to take Heaven by violence,[3] he went to the extreme of mutilating himself. This fault, the note of irregularity incurred by afterward taking orders at Caesarea A. D. 228, and the errors contained in his work on "*First Principles*," made him the object of a determined persecution, and caused his deposition (A. D. 231) from his office as head of the Catechetical School. He was succeeded by *Heraclas*, *Dionysius the Great*, *Pierius*, *Theognostus*, and *Peter* Martyr, with whom this epoch closes. To these, *Macarius* the Townsman, *Didymus* the Blind, and *Rhodon* succeeded in the following epoch.

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[1] Conf. the orat. panegyr. ad. Origenem of *Greg. Thaumat.*

[2] Περὶ ἀρχῶν, libb. IV., only in some parts written in Greek (opp. T. I.), ed. *Redepenning*, Lps. 1836. *Schnitzer*, Origen on the Princ. of the Science of Faith—Attempted Restoration, Stuttg. 1835. Conf. *Bonn Periodical* for Philos. and Cath. Theolog., No. 16, p. 205 sq.

[3] Matt. xix. 12. This mistake he corrected himself at a later date, when he interpreted 2 Cor. iii. 6, littera occidit, etc., tom. xv., in Matt. xix. 12 (opp. T. III.)

Origen, though in exile, was still great; he met with sympathy wherever he went, and at *Caesarea* (Stratonis) began again those intellectual pursuits, in which he found so much pleasure and consolation. In the new school which he opened at Caesarea, and which for a time threatened to eclipse the glory of the one at Alexandria, he soon saw himself surrounded by a numerous and constantly increasing auditory. It was here that *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, afterward bishop of Neocaesarea, and his brother Athenodorus first became his disciples.

During the persecution of Maximin, Origen took refuge with *Firmilian*, Bishop of Caesarea, in Cappadocia; but after that emperor's dethronement, he again returned to Caesarea, in Palestine, and resumed his exegetical labors. He now applied himself with special ardor to the study of Holy Scripture, and, although so entirely devoted to the allegorizing method of interpretation that he declared the *allegorical* to be the one *supreme* and *essential* sense,[1] he may still be justly regarded, so numerous are his works on Holy Scripture, as the Father of *philological* and *grammatical* exegesis.[2]

His influence, however, was not confined to the limits of the schools, or within the domain of science; it was also very sensibly felt in the great events of the Church.

When the winter of old age and the decline of life had come upon him, his mind still retained all the vigorous warmth and freshness of youth, and he gave to the world his incomparable Refutation of Celsus, and his Commentaries of St. Matthew and on the Minor Prophets, the most important and faultless of all his works. He was cast into prison in the persecution of Decius, and so cruelly tortured by his persecutor, who had him loaded with chains and collars of iron put about his neck, that he afterward died, at Tyre, A. D. 254, at the age of sixty-nine, from the effects of this treatment, and thus, by becoming a fearless confessor of the faith of Jesus Christ, obtained the honor which had been the ambition of his life. He was buried in the cathedral of that city.

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[1] Conf. *Möhler*, Patrol., Vol. I., p. 522–527.

[2] His exgetical writings are: 1. τὰ ἑξαπλᾶ. A contribution to the critical investigation of the text of the Old and New Test., and the Greek version. Conf. Hexaplorum, quae supersunt, ed. *Bern. de Montfaucon*, Paris, 1713, II. T. f.; ed. *Bahrdt*, Lps. 1769 sq., II. T. in *Migne* ser. gr. T. 15 and 16; ed. *Field*, Oxon. 1867 sq. 2. σημειώσεις, Scholia. 3. τόμοι, Comment.; and 4. ὁμιλίαι, practical interpretations. Conf. *J. A. Ernesti*, de Orig. interpret. gramm. auctore (opusc. crit., Lugd. 1764, p. 288 sq.) *Hagenbach*, observat. circa Origen. method. interpret. sacr. script., Basle, 1823.

Notwithstanding the startling boldness of some of his propositions, which excited the apprehensions of his contemporaries, his name was held in honor and reverence by the age in which he lived; and the breadth and acuteness of his mind, his purity of soul and great application to study, won for him the honorable and distinguishing titles of the Adamantine (*ἀδαμάντιος*) and the Brazen-brained (*χαλκέντερος*). He was ably defended by his eloquent panegyrist *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, and by *Pamphilus* of Caesarea (Martyr A. D. 309), and *Eusebius;*[1] while his most determined opponent was *Methodius*, Bishop of Tyre[2] (Martyr A. D. 311).

If Clement endeavored, by the eclectic method, to reconcile Pagan philosophy in general with the Gospel, Origen and other distinguished Alexandrians labored no less assiduously to harmonize the particular teachings of Plato with Christianity. The aim of the so-called *Platonism of the Fathers of the Church*, which has been so frequently represented, even by so grave a writer as *Petavius*, as having been *carried to excess*,[3] was to discover and establish points of agreement between the dogmas of Christianity and the purest and most rational teachings of Platonic philosophy; that thus, using the one to explain and illustrate the other, a common ground might be furnished where both parties would meet, and Pagans pass thence, by easy stages of transition, to the true faith of Christ. The Christian theologians of this age were very far from regarding the Platonic system of philosophy as anything like a *criterion* of doctrine, or from making Christianity in any sense subordinate to it; on the contrary, with an exception here and there, they were unanimous in their belief in Christianity as a *divinely revealed religion*, incomparably superior to every system of human philosophy,[1] and in declaring that the teaching of the Church was the rule of faith (*regula fidei*), the measure of truth and error, and the supreme standard by which all controversies, whether of faith or morals, should be decided.

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[1] *Gregorii Thaumat: εἰς Ὠριγένην προσφωνητικὸς καὶ πανηγυρικὸς λόγος*, in ejusd. opp. ed. gr. et lat. c. notis *Gerh. Vossii*, Mogunt. 1604, in *Migne's* ser. gr. T. 10; a separate edition by *Bengel*, Stuttg. 1722. *Pamphili* et *Euseb.* apologiae pro Origene, libb. VI., only fragm. in Greek; lib. I., in *Rufinus*' Latin translation in Origen. opp. ed. *Ben.* T. IV., and *Galland.* bibl. T. IV., in *Migne's* ser. gr. T. 10.

[2] *Methodius: περὶ ἀναστάσεως, περὶ τῶν γεννητῶν, περὶ αὐτεξουσίου*, with his other writings, in *Galland.* bibl. T. III., and in *Migne's* ser. gr. T. 18. Conf. *Möhler*, Patrol., Vol. I., p. 681–700.

[3] *Petav.* de Trinit. I. 3: Nunc illud ipsum—expendamus—quemadmodum

Origen, though professing to accept this rule of faith, fell into very serious errors in his work on First Principles. The

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Platonis in christianam religionem commentum de Trinitate paullatim ab iis introductum sit, qui ex illius secta institutioneque transierunt in Christi professionem, vel utcunque doctrina ipsius afflati excultique sunt, etc. (theolog. dogm. T. II., p. 19 sq.) Then followed (*Souverain*) le Platonisme dévoilé, Colog. 1700; translated by *Loeffler*, Platonism of the Fathers, Zuell. (2d ed.), 1792. Advocates for mediation are *Moshem.* de turbata per recent. Platon. eccl., Helmst. 1725. Decided opponents are †*Baltus*, défense des SS. Pères accusés de Platonisme, Par. 1711. †*Kuhn*, Vindication of Dionysius Petavius, and the Catholic View of the History of Dogmas (Tüb. Quart., 1850, p. 249–293). Freibg. Eccl. Cycloped., Vol. VIII., p. 498 sq.

[1] *Justin Mart.*, apol. II., c. 10: *Μεγαλειότερα μὲν οὖν πάσης ἀνθρωπείου διδασκαλίας φαίνεται τὰ ἡμέτερα· διὰ τὸ λογικὸν τὸ ὅλον τὸν φανέντα δἰ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸν γεγονέναι, καὶ σῶμα, καὶ λόγον, καὶ ψυχήν.* *Clem. Alex*: *Χωρίζεταί τε ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ἀλήθεια τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς, εἰ καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μετείληφεν ὀνόματος, καὶ μεγέθει γνώσεως καὶ ἀποδείξει κυριωτέρᾳ καὶ θείᾳ δυνάμει, καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις, θεοδίδακτοι γὰρ ἡμεῖς, ἱερὰ ὄντως γράμματα παρὰ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ παιδευόμενοι κ. τ. λ.* Strom. I. 20, p. 376.—There is more majesty in our faith than in the teachings of any human creed, because Christ, who appeared among us in body and soul and in His divinity, has Himself become the Revealing Word. Even should the truth existing among us and among the Greeks go under a common name, they, too, are nevertheless quite different; for our knowledge is incomparably higher, is based on the proofs of our Master, and possesses a divine power, and for other similar reasons. We are, moreover, divinely taught, because the Son of God instructs us by means of Holy Writ.

opinions which he was charged with holding, and which those called Origenists professed to draw from his works, were chiefly these: 1. *That there is an inequality between the Persons of the Holy Trinity;* 2. *That human souls preëxisted before the creation of Adam;* 3. *That the soul of Christ preëxisted with other human souls;* 4. *That the resurrection nature of mankind will not include material bodies, but that the resuscitated body will be a refined and spiritual substance;* 5. *That the punishments of the wicked and of evil spirits will not be eternal;* 6. *That all intelligent beings tend toward reabsorption into the One Fountain of Being, from which they sprung.*[1] These doctrines are certainly far from conformable with the teachings of the Church. Still it should be borne in mind that Origen, while *simultaneously* teaching theology and philosophy in the Catechetical School, applied himself with great ardor to the study of Greek philosophy and literature at an age when his mind was not fully developed, and when it was impossible for him to grasp the manifold relations and mutual bearings of studies so different in both their origin and scope. In his zeal for the truth, and in his desire to successfully oppose the Gnostic system, which might be moulded into scientific shape according to either the will or the fancy of its authors, he wished to so combine the order and method of philosophy with the truths of Christianity, as to form one compact and rigorous *system.* The difficulty of such a task, as compared with that of his adversaries, will be appreciated, when it is considered that he was obliged to start with principles which do not form part of the furniture of the human mind, but are something entirely external to it, and that upon such a foundation he was to raise an edifice whose *matter-of-*

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[1] See *Blunt's* Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, etc., art. "Origenists." (Tr.) As regards his *teaching on the Trinity,* he maintained there was a kind of subordination existing between the Father and the Son, yet not one of *substance* (οὐσία) or divine nature, but rather of *origin* (ἀρχή). He said that, in a speculative point of view, the Father appeared as the *unbegotten* cause, and as such was *above* the Son, the *begotten* cause. *Hippolyt.* has almost the same doctrine. Concerning his *teaching on the Resurrection,* conf. †*Ramers,* Doctrine of Origen on the Resurrection, Treves, 1851. *Al. Vincenzi* has attempted to vindicate the orthodoxy of Origen in all points in the work "In Gregorii Nysseni et Origenis scripta et doctrinam nova recensio," Rom. 1864–65, 4 Partes; but, on the whole, it can not be said that he has succeeded.

fact materials consisted of mysteries the most profound and truths the most rigorous. It should not, therefore, astonish us if, in the infancy of Christian *science*, even Origen did not completely succeed in a task, undertaken from the most laudable motives, but surrounded with almost insuperable difficulties.

While the school of Alexandria was laboring to construct a theological system upon the framework of philosophy, and thus show that the Christians possessed not only the *πίστις*, or the simple belief in Christian doctrine, but also the true *γνῶσις*, the most sublime of all knowledge, the tendency was vigorously opposed by the theologians of the *positive school.* They asserted, and sometimes with truth, though frequently without any just ground, that such attempts to harmonize philosophy and Christianity (*γνῶσις*), were contrary to the very spirit of the latter.[1] The leader of this school was *Irenaeus*, a native of Asia Minor, and the bishop of Lyons (177–202). Endowed with a philosophical mind, a clear and precise judgment, he assailed the fantastic notions of the Christian Gnostics with all the power of his genius and the bitterness of his irony.[2]

Quintus Septimius Tertullian,[3] a priest of Carthage, protested still more energetically against this union of theology and philosophy. He was a man of great originality of thought and remarkable purity of life; was gifted with a quick perception and a warm imagination, and had, from the very beginning of his career, drawn a broad line of distinction between the literature of the Latin Church of the West and all profane science, which he formulated, in his own vigorous language, in the well-known expression: "*What is there in common between Athens and Jerusalem, between the Academy and the Church?*" Distinguished among the Pagans as an advocate and rhetorician, he became, after he embraced Christianity, the most eloquent apologist of the Western Church (since A. D. 170).

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[1] *Iren.* contr. haer. II. 28, n. 1, 2, n. 6. *Tertull.* de praescr., c. 14. Fides, inquit, tua te salvum fecit: non exercitatio scripturarum. Fides in regula posita est, habens, legem et salutem de observatione legis; exercitatio autem in curiositate consistit, habens gloriam solam de scientiae studio. Cedat curiositas fidei, p. 236 and c. 8. *Nobis curiositate opus non est post Christum Jesum nec inquisitione post evangelium.* Quum credimus, nihil desideramus ultra credere. In a preceding passage, c. 7: Ipsae denique haereses a philosophia subornantur.

[2] Conf. references at § 71 and p. 290, note 1. *Tillemont*, T. III., p. 77–99. *Prat*, History of St. Irenaeus; translated into German by *Oischinger*, Ratisbon, 1846.

[3] Opp. omn. ed. *Rigaltius*, Paris, 1635, f. ed. II. 1641; ed. *Semler* and *Schuetz*, Halle, 1770 sq., VI. Tom. ed. *Oehler*, Lps. 1853 sq. *Neander*, Antignosticus, Genius of Tertullian and Introduc. to his Writ., Berlin (1825), 1849. As to the chronological order of his writings, see *Hesselberg*, Tertullian's Life and Writings, Dorpat, 1848. *Uhlhorn*, fundamenta chronolog. Tertull., Götting. 1852. *Böhringer*, Ch. H., in Biogr., 2d ed., Vol. I., c. 2. Conf. *Tillemont*, T. III., p. 196–236. *Ceillier*, T. II., p. 374 sq.

Notwithstanding the sometimes strange, but always vigorous structure of his axiomatic sentences—the perfect expression of the strength and originality of his mind—his language has formed the basis of the severe and precise phraseology of the Christian dogmas.[1] Captivated by the high and severe standard of virtue practiced by Montanists, he had the misfortune of being drawn into their heresy (about A. D. 203); "but," as St. Jerome remarks, "while condemning his errors, we should admire his genius."[2] He is believed to have been the master of *St. Cyprian*, Bishop of Carthage, a theologian of the same school of thought, and remarkable for the clearness and vigor of his style, and the strength and brilliancy of his mind.

These master-minds of the African Church were succeeded by *Arnobius* and *Lactantius*,[3] the latter of whom has been surnamed the Christian Cicero.

The opposition between these schools, which turned on the

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[1] He is the first who uses *Substantia, trinitas, satisfactio, sacramentum*. An idea of his peculiar and forcible combinations of words may be gained from *Ritter*, A View of the Style of Early Christian Writing in Africa, Bonn Period. for Philos. and Cath. Theolog., No. 8.

[2] The relation which Cyprian bears to Tertull. becomes very evident when the "de oratione dominica" of the one is compared with a work bearing the same title belonging to the other, and also *Tertullian's* "apologeticum" and "ad nationes," with the "de vanitate idolorum" of Cyprian. Conf. § 87, at close.

[3] *Lactantii* institution. divin., libb. VII.; de mortibus persecutorum. (*Galland.* bibl. T. IV.) opp. ed. *Bünemann*, Lps. 1739. *Le Brun* et *Dufresnoy*, Par. 1748, 2 T., 4 ed. *Fritzsche*, Lps. 1853 sq., ed. *Halm*, Vindob. 1871.

proper use of philosophy in connection with Christianity, involving the parallel question of what constituted *a true and a false gnosis*,[1] though frequently carried on with great asperity of language, was more apparent than real. Tertullian himself, while he inveighed with warmth against the use of dialectics, frequently employed it more extensively than its most ardent defenders. But if, on the one hand, the rejection of philosophical science was fatal to speculation among the theologians of the West; on the other, it obviated the difficulties which arose from *confounding* philosophy and theology in one system, and favored a conservative prudence.

Still, as time went on, the Western theologians, while opposing the speculative tendency of the East, insensibly ingrafted its best elements on their own system. In this way each system became the complement of the other, and their union, equilibrium, and harmony constitute the true basis of Christian development.

There were many men of eminent ability among the disciples of these two schools, some of whom adopted the method marked out and defended by Irenaeus and Tertullian; while others pursued a middle course between these and the Alexandrian theologians. In *Rome* were to be found the representatives of each school, busily engaged in writing works in both the Greek and Latin languages, according to the nationality of the writers. Of these, *Caius* of Asia Minor merits special notice. He was a disciple of St. Irenaeus, and went to Rome in the pontificate of Pope Zephyrinus, where he was ordained priest. He engaged in controversies against Montanists, Monarchians, and other sects of heretics.

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[1] Conf. *Iren.* adv. haeres. II. 14, n. 7: Utrum hi omnes, qui praedicti sunt (Plato, the Stoics, of whom the Valentinians borrowed their dogmas), cum quibus eadem dicentes arguimini, cognoverunt veritatem, aut non cognoverunt? Et si quidem cognoverunt, superflua est Salvatoris in hunc mundum descensio. Ut quid enim descendebat? Numquid ut eam, quae cognoscebatur veritas, in agnitionem adduceret his, qui cognoscunt eam, hominibus? Si autem non cognoverunt, quemadmodum eadem cum his, qui veritatem non cognoscebant, dicentes, solos ipsos eam quae est super omnia cognitio, habere gloriamini, quam etiam, qui ignorant Deum, habent? Secundum antiphrasin ergo veritatis ignorantiam agnitionem vocant. A similar passage is found in *Tertull.* de anima, c. 1: Cui veritas comperta sine Deo, cui Deus cognitus sine Christo, cui Christus exploratus sine Spiritu Sancto, cui Spiritus Sanctus accommodatus sine fidei sacramento? Sane Socrates facilius diverso spiritu agebatur.

Hippolytus, who was probably a native of Asia Minor, and is known as the bishop of Portus Romanus (a title belonging perhaps to the Roman antipopes), became famous for his ability as an interpreter of Scripture and a teacher of the Christian dogmas, was a skillful polemical writer, and possessed an accurate knowledge of chronology. His merits were appreciated, and signally rewarded. A marble statue, on which were inscribed the titles of all his works, was erected, for the twofold purpose of celebrating his labors and perpetuating his memory—an honor of which he was certainly worthy, and which no *Christian* before him had enjoyed. Having advanced heretical opinions on the doctrine of the Trinity, he was excommunicated by Pope Callistus. He was, however, shortly after reconciled to the Church, and died a martyr, about A. D. 235.

The stern and insubordinate *Novatian*, who afterward assumed the title of Bishop of Rome, and became antipope, wrote against the heretics. His principal work, "De Trinitate," was written against the Anti-Trinitarians, and contains (c. 29) an exposition on the doctrine of the *Holy Ghost*.

Cornelius, *Stephen*, and *Dionysius*, bishops of Rome, wrote extensively on a number of subjects.[1]

REMARKS.—*Dorotheus*, who flourished about A. D. 290, and *Lucian*,[2] who was martyred A. D. 311, both priests of *Antioch*, were at this time the only precursors of the theological school of that city. They labored earnestly to effect a reconciliation between the advocates and opponents of science, and proposed to substitute for the allegorizing of the Alexandrian school a principle of exegesis based on *historical* and *grammatical criticism.* (Cf. § 114.)

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[1] Fragments of the writings of *Cajus* in *Galland* bibl. T. II., and *Routh*, reliq. sacr. T. II.—the preserved writings of *Hippolytus* in ejusd. opp. ed. *Fabricius*, Hambg. 1718, 2 T., and in *Galland.* bibl. T. II. *Migne*, ser. gr. T. 10. Besides his *φιλοσοφούμενα*, attributed to him by most critics, see above, p. 253, note 1. *Döllinger*, Hippolytus and Callistus, Ratisbon, 1853, who also treats with great ability the question of the identification of these authors, with many *saints of the same name.* On the works "De Trinitate," "De Cibis Judaicis," etc., usually attributed to *Novatian*, see *Galland.* bibl., ed. *Jackson*, London, 1728. On the three Bishops of Rome, viz., *Cornelius*, *Stephanus*, and *Dionysius*, conf. *Möhler's* Patrology, Vol. I. *Hagemann*, The Roman Church, etc., p. 371 sq.

[2] *Euseb.* h. e. VII. 32. *Hieronym.*, c. 77. Lucianus, vir disertissimus, Antiochenae ecclesiae presbyter, tantum in scripturarum studio laboravit, ut usque nunc quaedam exemplaria scripturarum Lucianea nuncupentur, etc. *Routh*, reliq. sacr. Tom. III., ed. 2.

CHAPTER IV.

CONSTITUTION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

SOURCES.—*Apost. Canons* and *Constitutions*, vide supra, p. 234. Obs. many of the *Synodal Canons* of this epoch. *St. Cyprian*, Epistles and de Unitate Ecclesie. *Petavius*, de Hierarchia Eccles. Works of *Thomassini* and *de Marca*, vide supra, p. 8, note 4, and p. 23, note 3. *Du Pin*, Dissert. de Antiquitate Eccl. Discipl., Col. 1691. *Scholliner*, de Hierarchia Eccl. Cath. Dissertatio, Ratisb. 1651, 4to.

§ 82. *The Definite Recognition of Episcopal Supremacy.*

There has always existed from the earliest Apostolic times a broad distinction between the *laity* and the *clergy*,[1] and the various divisions of the latter body into *bishops*, *priests*, and *deacons* have been clearly defined. This division of the members of the Church into different classes and grades must be regarded as an *essential element* in her constitution; an element which, because of its divine origin, has remained *fundamental* and unchanged amid the various modifications it has undergone, according to the circumstances of time and place, and the development of the human mind. For, although the episcopacy is *of divine institution*, its relations were, in part, determined by external circumstances, and heresies contributed much to call forth and give definite shape to its prerogatives. The laity were warned and exhorted to prove themselves free from any suspicion of heresy by maintaining a close bond of union with their *bishops*, the legitimate successors of the Apostles, who alone enjoyed the privilege and possessed the right of interpreting and guarding the deposit of Christian doctrine intrusted to their keeping. *St. Ignatius* of Antioch, in an exhortation, gives much importance to this mode of dealing with heresies, and professes it as his belief that these can be more effectually rendered abortive by a close union between the bishop and his flock, than by any dogmatical refutation.[1] *Tertullian* and *Irenaeus* also affirm that bishops possess in the Church the offices of magistrate, priest, and pastor.[2] They were, it is true, like the Apostles, sometimes called *priests*,[3] but though so called, there was no intention either to depreciate the dignity of their office or to abridge their prerogatives;[4] on the contrary, the catalogues of bishops, preserved with great care in every church, and in which their names were given in the *order of succession*, beginning from the earliest times, are indubitable proof of their acknowledged preeminence, and of the honor in which they were held. The life and writings of *St. Cyprian* are perhaps a still more striking evidence of the same truth.[1] Bishops alone, in virtue of *their* plenary power, preached, conferred *orders*, and administered the other sacraments; while priests and deacons exercised the functions of their respective offices only in the name and by the authority of the bishop.

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[1] Objections have been advanced against this distinction, drawn from a misinterpretation of the following words of *Tertullian:* De exhort. castit., c. 7. Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit ecclesiae *auctoritas* et *honor* per ordinis consessum *sanctificatus a Deo.* Ubi ecclesiastici ordinis *non est consessus*, et offers et tinguis, *sacerdos tibi solus.* Sed ubi tres, ecclesia est, licet laici, unusquisque enim "de sua fide" vivit nec est "personarum acceptio apud Deum." For a clearer understanding of these three marks of distinction between the clergy and the laity, here somewhat obscurely pointed out, the reader is referred to the three clearer expressions used by *St. Cyprian.* Vide infra, note 3 (post *divinum judicium, populi suffragium, coëpiscoporum consensum*). It may be remarked that Tertullian here really begins by stating the *distinction* between both, and afterward speaks only of a *case of necessity.* When he distinctly treats of the relation between the laity and the clergy, he expresses himself entirely in agreement with our opinion. Cf. de praescr., c. 41, where Tertullian censures the heretics, because they sacerdotalia munera *laicis* injungant. And de virg. velandis, c. 9, he distinguishes between those functions, which may be performed by *laics*, and those which presuppose the *priestly office.* Finally, he rebukes those laics who boast of their universal priesthood: de monog. c. 10. Sed quum extollimur et inflamur adversus Clerum, tunc unum omnes sumus, tunc omnes sacerdotes, quia "sacerdotes nos Deo et Patri fecit:" *quum ad peraequationem, disciplinae sacerdotalis provocamur, . . . deponimus infulas, impares sumus!*

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[1] *Ignat.* ep. ad Ephes., c. 6; ad Smyrn., c. 8, p. 199, note 5.

[2] Ep. ad Smyrn., c. 8. *Tertull.* de baptismo, c. 17. Dandi baptismi habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est *Episcopus*, dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, *non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate.* Here we find expressed the Catholic doctrine on the *necessity of jurisdiction* over and above ordination. Conc. Trid. sess. XIV. de poenit.

[3] *Iren.* IV. 26, n. 2, p. 262. This was the case, even in the times of *St. Cyprian*, ex. gr. ep. 55: "Neque enim aliunde haereses obortae sunt aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde, quod Sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur nec *unus* in ecclesia ad tempus *Sacerdos* et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur; cui si secundum magisteria obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversus sacerdotum collegium quidquam moveret, nemo post *divinum judicium*, post *populi suffragium*, post *coëpiscoporum consensum*, judicem se jam non *Episcopi*, sed Dei faceret."

[4] Praeses presbyterorum, summus sacerdos, benedictus papa, etc.

Bishops presided at synods; decided, in the last appeal, upon the admission or non-admission of any one into the Church; gave letters commendatory (litterae formatae or communicatoriae), and were the bond of union by which the parishes in their respective dioceses were held together.

The priests constituted an advisory council for the bishops, who, conscious of the weakness of human nature, should not undertake any matter of importance without having first consulted them.[2]

§ 83. *Increase in the Number of Ecclesiastical Functions.*

Ecclesiastical functions, and particularly such as were of a nature not compatible with the duties and office of priests and bishops, were increased to meet the wants and facilitate the government of the rapidly growing numbers of the Church. The number of deacons was augmented, and their powers enlarged. Besides preaching, baptizing, and caring for the sick, they were admitted to serve at the altar during Mass, allowed to distribute Holy Communion, and carry it to the sick, and appointed to receive the offerings of the faithful.[3] But on account of their arrogant conduct toward priests and bishops, to whom the Council of Arles (A. D. 314) declared them subordinate,[1] they were called *levites* and *ministers*, that the two orders might thereafter be separated by a sharp line of distinction. The character of their duties and the prerogatives of their office prove that they held an intermediate place between the bishops and the body of the faithful. One of their number, to whom the bishop intrusted special duties, was distinguished above the others, both by his rank and title, and from the importance of his office was called an *Archdeacon*.[2]

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[1] Ep. 52, ad Antonian. de Cornelio et Novatiano: Ac si minus sufficiens *episcoporum* in Africa numerus videbitur, etiam Romam super hac re scripsimus ad Cornelium collegam nostrum, etc., p. 150. Ep. 55 ad Cornelium de Fortunato et Felicissimo: Actum est de episcopatus vigore et de ecclesiæ gubernandae sublimi ac divina potestate, p. 175. Compare also Ep. 66, ad clerum et plebem Furnis consistentem de Victore; ep. 69, ad Florentium Pupianum.

[2] *Ignat.* ep. ad Ephes., c. 2; ad Magnes., c. 2. *Cypr.* ep. 5, ad presbyteros et diaconos: Ad id—solus rescribere nihil potui, quando a primordio episcopatus mei statuerim, *nihil sine consilio vestro* et sine consensu plebis mea privatim sententia gerere, p. 34.

[3] *Just. M.* apol., n. 65, sub fine. *Cypr.*, lib. de lapsis, p. 381.

But this augmentation of the number and enlargement of the powers of deacons being found still inadequate to supply the increasing wants of the Church, the orders of *subdeacon* (*hypodiaconi*, *ὑπηρέται*), *lector* (*ἀναγνῶσται*), *acolyth* (*ἀκόλουθοι*), *janitor* (*πυλωροί*), and *exorcist* were also added to the hierarchy about the beginning of the third century, and perhaps even at an earlier date. A letter, written by Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, to Fabion, Bishop of Antioch, about A. D. 250, enumerates all these inferior ranks of the hierarchy as then existing in the Western Church,[3] and states, particularly, that there were at that time in the Church of Rome forty-four priests, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two acolyths, and altogether fifty-two exorcists, lectors, and janitors. These subordinate functions became also a school of probation, in which those who discharged them prepared themselves for the more important offices of the higher clergy, and in order the better to distinguish them from the latter, their orders were conferred, not in presence of an assemblage of priests and by the laying on of hands, but in private, and by prayer.[4] Even subdeacons, of whom we find the first mention in the writings of *St. Cyprian*, and whose services he employed to keep up a communication with his Church during his exile,[1] but who had no existence in the Eastern Church till the fourth century, did not *at first* enjoy the privilege of taking any direct part in the celebration of the divine mysteries, their office having been confined to the duty of guarding the church-doors during religious service.[2] The *lectors*, who are undoubtedly of earlier origin than any of the other minor orders,[3] were intrusted with the custody of the Sacred Books, and with the office of reading appropriate passages from them to the people. The *acolyths*, of whom we find mention only in the records of the *Western* Church, accompanied and served bishops and priests. The *exorcists*, who, that the Church might glory in their ministry, were selected with great care from among Christians of the most manly and sturdy faith, had the care of the energumens, from whom, by the laying on of hands, they had the power of expelling the evil spirit. The *janitors* were charged with the duty of keeping the door during divine service, and enjoined not to allow any to enter, except such as were entitled to that privilege. Although there were at this time other and *inferior offices* of the ministry, and even in the episcopate different ranks of varying jurisdiction, it is nevertheless true

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[1] *Conc. Arelaten.* can. 15; cf. can. 18. *Hard.*, T. I., p. 266. *Mansi*, T. II., p. 473.

[2] The institution of *Deaconesses* and Priestesses continued, in spite of many prohibitions, in the West, down to the fifth century, and in the East even longer. *Conc. Laod.* (about 364) can. 11. *Mansi*, T. II., p. 566. Non oportere eas, quae dicuntur presbyterae et praesidentes, in ecclesiis constitui. Cf. *Hefele*, History of the Councils, Vol. I., p. 731, etc.

[3] *Euseb.* h. e. VI. 43.

[4] The Constitution. Apost. VIII. 21, seem to contradict this statement. *ὑποδιάκονον χειροτονῶν, ὦ ἐπίσποπε, ἐπιθήσεις ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὰς χεῖρας κ. τ. λ.*—When ordaining the subdeacon, O bishop, do thou impose hands on him. But this is

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again contradicted by can. 51 of *Basil* and can. 5 of the fourth synod of Carthage. However, as *v. Drey* surmises (in his "New Inquiry into the Constitutions and Canons of the Apostles," p. 140, etc.), a distinction must probably be made between *χειροτονία* and *χειροϑεσία*. This latter expression is used in an ordination, in which there is really no question of a formal imposition of hands; as, for instance, cap. 22, it is used in the ordination of lectors: *'Αναγνώστην προχείρισαι, ἐπιϑεὶς αὐτῷ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐπευξάμενος πρὸς τὸν ϑεόν λέγε· ὁ ϑεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος κ. τ. λ.*—Choose the lector, impose hands on him, and, praying to God, say, "O, eternal God," etc.

[1] *Cyprian.* Didicimus a Crementio *subdiacono*, ep. 2, ep. 3, ep. 29, 30. Litterae tuae quas per Herennianum *hypodiaconum*, etc., ep. 79.

[2] *Constitutiones Apost.* VIII. 11. From a faulty reading of the thirty-third canon of the synod of Elvira (305), *v. Drey* wished to conclude that, as early as the beginning of the fourth century, the subdeacons enjoyed the privilege of serving at the altar; but the correct reading does not mention the *subdeacons:* Placuit in totum prohiberi episcopis, presbyteris et diaconibus vel omnibus clericis positis in ministerio abstinere se, etc. (*Mansi*, T. II., p. 11. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 254.)

[3] *Tertull.* de praescr., c. 41, p. 247.

that the divinely appointed orders of the hierarchy suffered neither increase nor change.

Christian communities in the neighborhood of cities were always anxious to connect themselves with those of whom the urban bishop had the immediate care (*παροικία*);[1] while those who lived at a distance, were provided for by the bishop, who gave them into the care of a priest or deacon,[2] whose appointment was sometimes permanent, and sometimes only temporary. The Council of Antioch, held in the latter half of the third century (A. D. 269), makes mention of the sees of bishops lying very close to each other,[3] and the Council of Ancyra (A. D. 314) passed special decrees relative to the jurisdiction of *chorepiscopi* (*ἐπίσκοποι τῆς χώρας*).[4] These, though frequently having the care of several parishes, were always subject to the bishop of the city, from whom they derived their present jurisdiction. The canons of the Church, moreover, provided but *one* bishop for every diocese, who should *receive consecration* at the hands *of two or three bishops of the same province*, and was under obligation of residing in a *city* within his jurisdiction; while, on the other hand, the *chorepiscopi* could not confer any *but the minor orders*. We may fairly and justly conclude from what has been said, that most of these chorepiscopi *were but simple priests*, in the enjoyment of extensive faculties, although in particular cases they may have been recognized, and have actually assumed the functions and authority of regularly appointed bishops.

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[1] *Justin.* apol. I. 67.

[2] *Cyprian.*: Et credideram quidem *presbyteros* et *diaconos*, qui illic praesentes sunt, monere vos et instruere plenissime circa evangelii legem. ep. 10, p. 51. *Concil. Illiberit.* (306), can. 77. Si quis diaconus regens plebem sine episcopo vel presbytero aliquos baptizaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debebit. *Mansi*, T. II., p. 18. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 258. The latter places this council in the year 313.

[3] In the ep. Synodi Antioch, quoted by *Euseb.* h. e. VIII. 30, n. 6: *ἐπισκόπους τῶν ὁμόρων ἀγρῶν τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους κ. τ. λ.*—The bishops also and priests of the neighboring districts, etc.

[4] *Concil. Ancyran.*, can 13: *χωρεπισκόπους μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν.*—Chorepiscopis non licere presbyteros aut diaconos ordinare. (*Mansi*, T. II., p. 517. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 275.) The Conc. Neocaesar., can. 13, compared them to the seventy assistants of Moses. Cf. *Mansi*, T. II., p. 546. Later, in the synod of Laodicaea (between 343–381), can. 57, it was ordained that each bishop should have his see in a city. Cf. *Hefele*, Hist. of the Councils, Vol. I., p. 747. When *Phillips* (Canon Law, Vol. II., p. 95 sq.) attributes to all the episcopal character, he does so without sufficient ground. Cf. *Natalis Alexander*, appendix to dissertat. 44 of his h. e., saec. IV.

§ 84. *Education, Election, Ordination, and Support of the Clergy.*

In the early days of the Church, the clergy were fitted for their office, not by a regular course of studies, but by exercise in those ecclesiastical functions which they would hereafter be called upon to discharge. An acquaintance with the history of the life and mission of the Son of God, and an ability to explain to the people the truths these implied, and their consequences, and awake in their hearts a lively faith in the coming of Christ, were deemed sufficient qualifications, if accompanied with exemplary conduct, for entering upon the discharge of ecclesiastical duties. In the first teachers of Christianity, the gifts of supernatural grace supplied many defects of theological training. It would seem that, of all the Apostles, St. Paul and St. John had the largest number of followers. Those of the former are mentioned in the New Testament.

Polycarp, Ignatius, and Papias were instructed at Ephesus by St. John, and these, in turn, trained others, principally by exercising them in the functions of the sacred ministry, as they themselves had been schooled. The early Christian writers, and particularly the apologists, were perfectly conversant with the doctrine of Christ previously to their reception into the Church. At this period, also, the Christian youth enjoyed the advantages afforded by the *Catechetical School* of Alexandria, and of the schools established at *Caesarea*, *Antioch*, and *Rome*, in which they might prepare themselves for the work of the sacred ministry. Even the Apostles saw the need, and suggested the propriety, of a thorough training for those destined to hold the offices of bishop, priest, and deacon, and recommended great prudence in their *selection*. And, in matter of fact, such as were raised to these high dignities, had been long known, both to the higher clergy and to the people, by long residence, and by having passed through the lower orders of the ministry. The people had a voice in the choice, not only of priests and deacons, but also in that of the inferior orders of the clergy—such, for example, as the lectors.[1] The *election of bishops*, as became the importance of so great a dignity, was surrounded with circumstances of great formality and jealous precaution, and, we may add, only those of advanced age, of proved virtue—ascetics and confessors of tried courage and strong faith having been usually preferred—were selected to fill so responsible an office. They received their appointment, comformably to the example of the Apostles in the case of Matthias,[2] through the *suffrages of the clergy of the episcopal city*, which, however, required the *concurrence of the provincial bishops* and the *consent of the people*.[3] The people continued to take part in the election of bishops, though the mode of procedure varied to suit the circumstances of time and place,[4] as long as the great majority of Christians was composed of persons who had embraced Christianity with a single-minded earnestness and purity of purpose, whose highest ambition was to behold the Church prosperous and glorious, and who, therefore, had no interested or selfish ends to serve.

But the privilege which the people enjoyed of participating in the election of the bishop and in other affairs of the community, gave them no right to assume either that he derived his authority from them, or that they could depose him. The episcopal order, on the contrary, was always regarded as having been established by direct appointment of Christ, while the grace of ordination was conferred by the Holy Ghost. Bishops, therefore, being the successors of the Apostles, and enjoying the fullness of Apostolic authority, claimed, and always received, the perfect obedience of the faithful in all things within the province of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It was, moreover, prescribed that the consecration of a bishop should be performed by *two* or *three bishops* of the province,[1] and that his elevation to the episcopal office should be proclaimed to all the Christian communities within the limits of his jurisdiction, by special letters communicating the fact (*litterae communicatoriae*).

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[1] *Cyprian.* ep. 34, ad clerum et plebem de Celerino lectore ordinato, p. 108.

[2] Acts i. 15–26.

[3] *St. Clement. of Rome* (ep. I. ad. Corinth., c. 44) already says of the election of the bishop: *συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης.*—Comprobante universa ecclesia (with the approval of the whole Church). And *Cyprian* writes, ep. 68: Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina et apostolica observatione servandum est et tenendum, quod apud nos quoque et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui praepositus ordinatur, Episcopi ejusdem provinciae proximi quique conveniant, *et Episcopus eligatur plebe praesente.* Cf. *Staudenmaier*, Hist. of Episcopal Elections, p. 1–24.

[4] The people in this case especially testified to the *worthiness* of him who was to be chosen; and on this account *Cyprian* says: Episcopus eligatur plebe praesente, quae singulorum *vitam plenissime novit*, et uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit, etc. Similarly in *constitutt. Apost.* VIII. 4: Ordinandum esse Episcopum inculpatum in omnibus, electum a populo ut *praestantissimum.* (*Galland.* T. III., p. 203. *Mansi*, T. I., p. 538.) Therefore, *St. Cyprian* says: Referimus ad vos Celerinum fratrem nostrum virtutibus pariter et moribus gloriosum, clero vestro *non humana suffragatione*, sed divina dignatione conjunctum, ep. 34.

The selection of other ecclesiastics was principally confined to the *bishops*, who, however, availed themselves of the advice of the clergy, and consulted the wishes of the people.[2]

In the early ages of the Church, no special provision was made for the support of the clergy. Many ecclesiastics, imitating the example of St. Paul, worked at some craft, or followed some profession, and thus lived by the labor of their own hands. But many of the faithful, following the example of the Jews, who gave the tithes of all their goods and produce for the support of the priests and levites,[3] and wishing to comply with the precepts of Christ and His Apostles,[1] provided for the bodily support of the clergy, in return for the spiritual gifts received at their hands and through their ministry.[2] The *offerings* of the people and the contributions received on Sundays, and on other occasions, were also, in part, intended for the maintenance of the clergy, that they might not be under the necessity of engaging in pursuits either derogatory to, or incompatible with, the spiritual functions of their office. Such pursuits were frequently forbidden by direct law.[3]

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[1] *Canon Apost.*, can. 1: *'Επίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τρίων.*—Let a bishop be ordained (consecrated) by two or three bishops. *Mansi*, T. I., p. 30. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 10. *Concil. Arelat.*, can. 20: Infra tres (Episcopos) non audeat ordinare (Episcopum). *Mansi*, T. II., p. 473. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 266.

[2] On this point *Cyprian* says, in his 33d ep., directed to the priests, deacons, and faithful of Carthage: "In ordinationibus clericis, fratres carissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare." In the *Constitutiones Apost.* VIII. 16, we read in a prayer to be said at the ordination of a *priest: ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τοῦτον τὸν ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει τοῦ κλήρου παντὸς πρεσβυτέριον ἐπιδοθέντα.*—Look down upon thy servant, chosen for the priesthood by the suffrage and judgment of the whole clergy.

[3] Levit. xxvii. 30 sq.; Num. xviii. 23 sq.; Deut. xiv. 22 sq.; 2 Chron. xxxi. 4 sq.

§ 85. *The Celibacy of the Clergy.*

Möhler, Exam. of the Memorial (to the Second Chamber of Deputies of Baden) for the Abolition of Celibacy, prescribed to the Cath. Clergy, with acts. (Miscell. Papers, Vol. I., p. 177–267.) (*Clarus*) **Celibacy*, with the motto, *δοκῶ κἀγὼ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἔχειν.*—I think that I also have the spirit of God. 1 Cor. vii. 40, in two parts, Ratisbon, 1841. Cf. *Celibacy*, in the Freiburg Eccl. Cycloped., Vol. II., p. 656–663. *Hefele*, Contrib. to Ch. Hist., Vol. I., p. 122–135. *Pavy*, évêque d'Alger, du célibat ecclésiastique, ed. 2, Par. 1857.

The great importance attached by the Church from earliest times to the dignity of the priestly office, and the exalted idea entertained of its character, may be inferred from the care and formality with which the election and ordination of the higher orders of the clergy were conducted, but principally from the practice of *celibacy*—an institution which has always been regarded by the Catholic Church as the most efficient and powerful engine for good, and as conferring a character the most holy and sublime. The *fundamental idea of the Christian priesthood* is that of representatives of Christ, the second and *spiritual* Adam, whose work they continue, and in whose unmarried state they early recognized the *prototype and pattern* of their own. Even the Pagans could not conceive of a *perfect* priesthood without the accompanying state of *virginity*.

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[1] Matt. x. 10; Luke x. 7; 1 Cor. ix. 13; 1 Tim. v. 17.

[2] *Cyprian*, Clerici in honore sportulantium fratrum tanquam *decimas* ex fructibus accipientes ab altari et sacrificiis non recedant, sed die ac nocte coelestibus rebus et spiritualibus serviant, ep. 66, p. 246.

[3] *Canon Apost.*, can. 6. Episcopus vel presbyter vel diaconus saeculares curas non suscipiat: alioqui deponatur. (*Mansi*, T. I., p. 30. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 10.)

The honor and reverence paid to the Vestal virgins and Sibyls are examples of this universal feeling, and another, perhaps still more striking, was the rule prescribed to the high-priest of Eleusinian mysteries, forbidding him to enter into the married state after he had assumed his office, or, if already married, enjoining abstinence from all intercourse with his wife. The Jewish priests were also forbidden to have intercourse while engaged in their ministrations at the temple.

The following *reasons* have always been regarded as sufficient to justify and commend the practice of celibacy: 1. It is fitting that he who would worthily celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, an office destined to continue till the end of time, should be distinguished by *eminent purity of body;*[1] 2. No one who does not enjoy this freedom, can give his *life undivided* to Christ and His Church, and labor with the *single purpose* of advancing His interests and glory,[2] since the married state necessarily implies a divided heart and pursuits directed to other ends;[3] 3. The married state would limit that *absolute independence* so necessary to the successful ministry of the priest.

The *realization of an ideal*, at once so spiritual and so exalted, was possible only when a living and energetic faith in the divinity of Christ took such fast hold and complete possession of man, that his whole being was renewed and transformed by the influence of the Holy Ghost. Our Divine Savior spoke of some who are born *eunuchs*, and of others

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[1] Even Paganism prescribed: Ad Divos adeunto caste! (*Cicero* de legibus II. 8.) The words of *Lampridius*, in his vita *Alex. Severi*, c. 29, are worthy of notice: Usus vivendi eidem (Alex. Severo) hic fuit: *primum ut, si facultas esset*, i. e. *si non cum uxore cubuisset, matutinis horis in larario suo*, in quo et divos Principes, sed optimos et electos et animas sanctiores, in queis et Apollonium et quantum scriptor suorum temporum dicit, *Christum, Abraham* et Orpheum et hujusmodi caeteros habebat ac majorum effigies, *rem divinam faciebat.* (Historiae Augustae, ed. Bipont, 1787, Vol. I., p. 278.)

[2] *Creuzer*, in his Mythology and Symbolism, 3 ed., Pt. I., p. 600, relates the following Indian legend: "But Brahma, created by Birmah, complained that he alone, among his brothers, was without a partner, and Birmah answered that he, as a priest, should not suffer himself to be distracted, but should give himself wholly to prayer and to the divine service."

[3] 1 Cor. vii. 33.

who make themselves so for the sake of gaining Heaven;[1] and the Apostle of the Gentiles, inspired with the sentiments of his Divine Master, declared to the faithful: "He that giveth his virgin in marriage, doeth well: and he that giveth her not, doeth better;" and "It is good for man not to touch a woman, and I would that all men were even as myself;" at least *those to whom it hath been given.*[2]

The Apostles, catching the spirit and following the inspiration of such exhortations, relinquished *all* things, and forsook even their wives, to follow their Divine Master, and be able to serve Him with single-minded earnestness.[3] Even among the laity there were to be found many *ascetics*, who, desirous of being free from distractions, that they might lead more holy and perfect Christian lives,[4] observed perpetual continence.[5] These were chosen in preference to married men for the work of the ministry, as being by their manner of life most fitted and best qualified for the exercise of sacerdotal functions. As, however, those who voluntarily took upon themselves a life of continence and chastity, were not in sufficient numbers to supply the Church with clerics, the Apostle St. Paul permitted also married men to enter the ministry, yet only such as had been married once, marriage after the death of the first wife being regarded as an evidence of incontinence. He therefore gave the following instructions to Timothy and Titus: "It behooveth, therefore, a bishop . . . to be the husband of *one* wife. Let deacons be the husbands of *one* wife;"[6] and speaking of *deaconesses*, he says: "Let a widow be chosen not under threescore years of age, who hath been the wife of *one* husband,"[1] i. e. who has been but once married. The opposition to married priests began to manifest itself at a very early date.[2] The practice of celibacy, at first voluntarily entered upon by the clergy in Apostolic times, became, later on, an element in the very life of the Church; so much so, *indeed*, that when the spirit which had inspired it began to languish, it was enforced by special law. The course of the Church in this instance affords a good example of the manner in which her laws were called forth in analogous cases. They sprung in the first instance, naturally and spontaneously, from the very life of the Church; but when faith grew weak and fervor cooled, or other causes intervened, it was found necessary to exact, by positive enactment, a line of conduct which before had been followed from motives of duty and devotion.

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[1] Matt. xix. 12.

[2] 1 Cor. vii.

[3] Matt. xix. 27.

[4] "Many men and women of sixty and seventy years of age, who, from childhood up, have been Christians, are still undefiled; and I am prepared to point out many such among all classes of men." (*St. Justin* apol. I. 15.) Similarly *Athenagoras:* "Among us you may find many men and women who grow old unmarried, *in the hope of thus being more intimately united with God.*" (Legat., c. 33.)

[5] 1 Cor. vii. 5.

[6] 1 Tim. iii. 2, 12; Tit. i. 6.

The first mention of the practice of celibacy among the Christian clergy is found in an oracle of the Montanist prophetess, Priscilla,[3] which runs thus: "It is meet that only the holy should have the ministry of things holy, and that only the pure should come in contact with things pure." Is this not a proof, it will be asked, that celibacy originated with the Montanists? The answer is obvious. The Montanists retained in this instance, as in many others, the teaching and practice of the Church, in which, at this period, celibacy was quite general. If celibacy had really originated with the Montanists, they would certainly have mentioned, in their violent attacks upon the Church, a circumstance which would, if true, contribute so powerfully to their cause. Rather the contrary was the fact; for it was required that whoever proposed to enter the Christian priesthood, should be one who had either been married but once, or, if unmarried, should, upon taking orders, make a vow of chastity.[1] *Origen* states that those who had twice married, were debarred the higher orders of the clerical state.[2] And this prejudice in favor of a continent life among the clergy was so deeply rooted in the popular mind and so sensitive of its honor, that the faintest suspicion of sinful intercourse with females caused the greatest scandal. Thus, *Paul of Samosata* and his clergy were openly reproached because they allowed women (*συνείσακτοι γυναῖκες*, spiritual sisters) to dwell in their houses.[3]

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[1] 1 Tim. v. 9.

[2] The apostolical Father *Ignatius* writes: "Whoever can remain in chastity for the honor of Him, who is Lord of the flesh, let him remain therein. But if he pride himself on that account, and think himself higher than the bishop, he is lost." (Ep. ad Polycarp., c. 5.)

[3] In an old manuscript of *Tertull.* de exhortat. castit., c. 10, *Rigaltius* found, after the words "vita aeterna sit in Chr. Jesu Dom. nostro," the following oracle of *Priscilla* (between 150 and 160), which he surmises was afterward "ob nimias laudes Priscillae," expunged from the text: "Item per sanctam prophetidem Priscam ita evangelizatur, quod sanctus minister (the unmarried priest) sanctimoniam noverit ministrare. Purificantia enim concordat, ait, et visiones vident, et ponentes faciem deorsum etiam voces audiunt manifestas, tam salutares, quam et occultas, etc." Cf. observation. Rigaltii in ed. opp. Tertull., p. 114.

It was but natural that a rule of life, which, though inspired by the very genius of the clerical state, had been nevertheless freely adopted by the body of the clergy, should, by and by, become burdensome to some, and that an attempt should be made to break through it. Such was really the case; and it was found necessary, toward the close of the third and the opening of the fourth centuries, to enact stringent laws, enjoining clerical celibacy under severe penalties. The Apostolic Canons make its practice obligatory on all the higher orders of the clergy, beginning with deaconship, only the lectors and chanters being allowed to take wives.[4] In some instances, clerics who had married *previously* to taking orders, continued to cohabit with their wives; not, however, without giving offense and incurring reproach,[1] and hence the councils of *Elvira* (A. D. 305) and of *Arles* (A. D. 314) required that all clerics in major orders, and those engaged in daily ministry, should abstain from conjugal society.[2] Again, the Synod of *Neo-Caesarea* passed sentence of deposition against any priest who should marry *after* his ordination.[3] On the other hand, the Synod of *Ancyra* (A. D. 314) gave permission to *deacons* to marry after having taken orders; provided, however, that, having signified their intention of so doing, the bishop would express his willingness to ordain them.[4]

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[1] He says: "Et commendabis illas duas (uxores) per sacerdotem de *monogamia* ordinatum, aut etiam de *virginitate* sancitum?" (Exhortat. castit., c. 14.)

[2] *Origen.* hom. XVII. in Luc.: ab ecclesiasticis dignitatibus non solum fornicatio sed et *nuptiae* repellunt; neque enim episcopus nec presbyter nec diaconus nec vidua possunt esse *bigami.* (T. III., p. 953.) Cf. *Apostolor. constit.* VII. 17, ad princip. (*Galland.* T. III., p. 155.) *Epiphan.* expos. fidei opp. T. I., p. 1103, cum notis Petavii et haeres. 59, No. 7.

[3] *Euseb.* h. e. VII. 30. Against this the *Conc. Illiberit.*, c. 27, decreed: Episcopus vel quilibit alius clericus aut sororem aut filiam virginem dicatam Deo tantum secum habeat; extraneam nequaquam habere placuit.

[4] *Canon. Apost.* can. 25. Innuptis autem, qui ad clerum promoti sunt, praecipimus, si voluerint, uxores ducere, *lectores cantoresque* solos. This serves to explain can. 5. Episcopus vel presbyter vel diaconus uxorem suam ne ejiciat *religionis praetextu* (*προφάσει εὐλαβείας*, contrary to the will of the wife, and in order no longer to be obliged to provide for her); sin autem ejecerit, segregetur; et si perseveret, deponatur. (*Mansi*, T. I., p. 34 et 30. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 15 et 11.)

The severe discipline of the councils of *Elvira* and *Arles* obtained the force of law, and became general throughout the Western Church. It was, moreover, rigorously enjoined by Popes Siricius and Innocent I. In the Greek or Eastern Church, on the contrary, the canon of *Ancyra* seemed to meet with more favor.

The course pursued by the two Churches on this question, is indicative at this early date of what afterward became the established practice of each. In the Western Church, the observance of clerical celibacy became of rigorous obligation everywhere and for all; while a milder and more indulgent practice obtained in the Eastern Church, which, as might be expected, led the way in the latter to a gradual relaxation of discipline, and finally to a degeneracy of morals. The action of the Council of Trullo, in which the observance of celibacy was, by confining it to *bishops* alone, utterly done away with, is ample evidence that the discipline on this point was kept up in the East only for the sake of appearance.

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[1] Cf. the Apostol. Fathers, *Ignat.* ep. ad Polyc., c. 5; *Euseb.* h. e. IV. 23, and compare with it *Cypriani*, ep. 49, ad Cornelium episc. rom.

[2] *Concil. Illiberit.* can. 33. Placuit in totum prohiberi Episcopis, presbyteris et diaconibus vel omnibus clericis positis in ministerio, abstinere se a conjugibus suis et non generare filios: quicunque fecerit, ab honore clericatus exterminetur. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 253. *Mansi*, T. II., p. 11.) *Conc. Arelat.* can. 6 (resp. 26): Suademus fratribus ut *sacerdotes* et *levitae* cum uxoribus suis non coeant, quia ministerio quotidiano occupantur. Quicunque vero contra hanc constitutionem fecerit, a clericatus honore deponatur.

[3] *Concil. Neocaesar*, can. I. Presbyter, si uxorem duxerit, ab ordine suo illum deponi debere. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 282. *Mansi*, T. II., p. 539.)

[4] *Concil. Ancyran*, can. 10. Quicunque Diaconi ordinantur, si in ipsa ordinatione protestati sunt et dixerunt, velle se conjugio copulari, quia sic manere non possunt: hi si postmodum uxores duxerint, in ministerio maneant, propterea quod eis episcopus licentiam dederit. Quicunque sane tacuerint et susceperint manus impositionem, professi continentiam, et postea nuptiis obligati sunt, a ministerio cessare debebunt. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 275. *Mansi*, T. II., p. 518.)

Observation.—The following passages from Holy Scripture are quoted against the practice of celibacy: 1 Cor. ix. 5, vii. 9, and also 1 Tim. iii. 2, 12, considered in connection with Tit. i. 6, though without any show of reason. First: "Have we not power to lead about a *woman* a sister, as well as the rest of the Apostles and the brethren of the Lord, and *Cephas?*"

It may be stated that there is no reference to a *wife* in this passage, for St. Paul does not say γυνή, but ἀδελφὴ γυνή. The passage is fully explained by *St. Jerome* (contra Jovinian. I. 14), where he says that reference is made to those holy women who, according to the custom of the Jews, followed their master about, and provided out of their abundance for his wants and comfort.

The life of Christ furnishes examples of this practice, and also those of *Rufinus* and *St. Jerome*, notwithstanding that the latter was almost excessive in his advocacy of virginity. St. Paul, indeed, makes special mention of *Peter*, but this fact does not militate against our view, which is rather confirmed by the passage from Matt. xix. 27, where Peter himself addresses our Lord in these words: "Behold, we have left *all* things and have followed Thee."

Second: A reply to the passage from 1 Cor. vii. 9, "Melius est nubere quam uri," may be found in the drift of the whole chapter from which it is taken, wherein the Apostle gives advice to those about to enter upon a new state of life, and warns such to make careful trial of themselves beforehand, that they may discover whether they are more fitted for the married or for the clerical state, and tells them that if they are not *naturally* continent, they should not take upon themselves the practice of celibacy and the discharge of the priestly office, unless, perhaps, they trust that by the grace of God they will remain so, *for the sake of gaining the kingdom of Heaven.* This is, in fact, the way the Church puts the momentous question to the young man who seeks admission into the order of subdeaconship.

It may be remarked, in this connection, that the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 7, "I would that *all* men were even as myself," i. e. unmarried, refer exclusively to the *clergy*—to those who are the successors of Christ and the Apostles; and that the passage from the same chapter, v. 5, "Defraud not one another, unless perhaps by consent, for a time, that you may give yourselves to prayer," has a higher sense in which it is applicable to *priests;* for their life, being one of continual prayer, the condition to such a life is here distinctly pointed out. (Cf. *Epiph.* haer. 59.)

Third: We have already given above the sense of the passages from the pastoral epistles 1 Tim. iii. 2, 12, and Tit. i. 6, which is a solemn prohibition forbidding bishops and deacons to marry a *second* time, because such conduct was regarded as a proof of incontinency. The passages, therefore, show that whether *married or not*, bishops and deacons must lead a life of continence. This view is corroborated by the fact that second marriage, later on, was made an impediment, which excluded those to whom it attached from the ecclesiastical state.

§ 86. *Development of the Organization of the Church—Growth of the Authority of the Metropolitan—Institution of Provincial Councils.*

We learn from the Apostles that even in their day the spirit of union existing in the Church, and drawing together all the faithful by one common bond, began to manifest itself externally in the action of several communities, which entered into close relations with one another, not, however, in such way as to recognize any hierarchical precedence, or priority, in one above the other. It was not long, however, till the breath of the Holy Ghost, quickening the whole body of the faithful, and inspiring all with one common impulse, gave a *spiritual unity* to the *Universal Church*, whose outward expression was the external bond, which united together, not alone the flock of each single *diocese* (*Παροικία*) under one bishop, but the flocks of all the dioceses under one pastor.

The relations of distant communities gradually grew more intimate, till finally, as if by one common impulse, all Christians began to regard themselves, not as belonging to isolated and independent bodies, but as members and integral portions of the one sheepfold, under the one Shepherd. *Clement of Rome*, *Ignatius of Antioch*, and *Polycarp of Smyrna*, while engaged in their apostolic labors and on their journeys, brought home to the faithful, by word of mouth and by letter, the necessity of union among the faithful for the very existence of a Church. *Irenaeus* and *Tertullian*, in their controversies with heretics, insisted on it as the very condition of unity of doctrine and the essential note of the true Church. *St. Cyprian*, in his work "De Unitate Ecclesiae," drew out the same idea more clearly, and with greater force, than any of those who went before him. "As," says he, "the rays of the sun all proceed from one source, and as the branches of a tree all derive life from a common root, so, in the same way, do all the Christian communities, spread over the face of the earth, derive life from and center in *one* and the same *Church*. For as the ray is invisible, except in the light of the sun, and as the branch can not subsist if disconnected from the trunk, so neither is it possible to be truly a Christian if the bond of union with the Church be severed. Whoever does not live in union with the Church, is an alien and a profane man, and has no part with the flock of Christ. He who has not God for his Father, has not the Church for his Mother. He may die a martyr's death, but this will not avail for merit."

The unity, both internal and external, existing in the Church and fully expressed in the word "*Catholic*," impressed itself upon the organization of the Church in the following manner: The same reasons which brought together, under one bishop, all the churches of a city and the surrounding country, operated in uniting adjoining and neighboring dioceses under one common head, usually under the bishop of the civil *metropolis*, or capital of a province,[1] thus forming, as it were, another sort of diocese greater in extent and superior in dignity to the others, the bishop of which has, since the third century, been uniformly called the *Metropolitan*. The first example of a metropolitan see is that of the *Mother Church of Jerusalem* in the East, to which the churches of Asia, Judea, Samaria, and Galilee were united.[2] After the destruction of this city, in the reign of Hadrian, her metropolitan dignity passed to the see of *Caesarea* Stratonis, a city situated on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

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[1] This custom obtained the force of law at the *Concil. Antioch*, 341, can. 9: *τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκòπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει πανταχόθεν συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς πράγματα ἔχοντας.*—Per singulas provincias episcopos constitutos scire oportet, episcopum metropolitanum, qui praeest, curam et solicitudinem totius provinciae suscepisse. Propter quod ad metropolitanam civitatem ab his qui causas habent sine dubio concurratur. Let the bishops in each province know that the metropolitan has charge of the whole province, because all those who have any business to attend to come from all parts to the metropolis. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 595.)

[2] Cf. *Eusebius*, h. e. III. 33, who relates after Hegesippus, that the bishops of Jerusalem enjoyed a metropolitan power. It is said of James and another relation of Our Lord, who were bishops of Jerusalem: *προηγοῦνται πάσης ἐκκλησίας ὡς μάρτυρες καὶ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου.*—Universae ecclesiae praesident, utpote martyres et agnati Christi. Cf. *Petr. de Marca*, concord. sacerdotii et imperii VI. 1.

The Church of *Antioch*, composed of converts from both Judaism and Paganism, was the next to enjoy the dignity of a Christian metropolis, and *Alexandria* the third. But the see of Alexandria soon ranked second, and that of Antioch third, on account of the superior merit of Mark and Annianus over Ennodius. The fourth was *Rome* in the West, to which were united the churches of Lower and Central Italy, and those of the islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, which were called suburban provinces. Besides these three great metropolitan sees of *Rome*, Antioch, and Alexandria, those of *Ephesus* and *Carthage* enjoyed special consideration, and were looked up to as metropolitan sees.

The subordination of the diocese to a metropolitan, or primate, exercised a very beneficial influence on the most important affairs of the Church—such, for example, as the *election of bishops*. The established modes of communication existing among the churches of a province, by which one was informed of anything of importance that took place in the other—such, for instance, as the *litterae communicatoriae*, proclaiming the election of bishops, and the *litterae formatae*, or commendatory letters, introducing strangers to communities where they were not known, and similar ones making known excommunicated persons—were at once the necessary consequences of the *internal*[1] and the evidences of the *external* union of the churches.

Provincial councils,[2] which consisted of the assembled bishops of a province, accompanied by their priests and deacons, contributed still more *to give expression to the unity of the Church. Gieseler* is wrong in attributing their origin to a desire to copy the amphictyonic assemblies of Greece. They were the natural outgrowth and spontaneous expression of the spirit of unity inherent in the Church, and were *modeled after the first council held by the Apostles at Jerusalem*,[1] and not after any profane assembly.

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[1] *Ferrari*, de antiquo epistolar. ecclesiae genere, Mediol. 1613, 4to. *Kiessling*, de stabili primit. eccl. ope litterar. communicatoriar. connubio, Lps. 1744, 4to.

[2] Σύνοδος, concilium, conventus, in Paganism, was an assemblage of several persons for the purpose of consulting on public affairs; in Christianity, of *ecclesiastical* persons, especially of the clerical order, for the purpose of consulting on and deciding ecclesiastical matters. The assemblies were called from the persons composing them, either *provincial* or *diocesan* synods. To these were added, during the next epoch, *ecumenical*, *endemic*, and *national* synods. The assemblies of the heretics, or those in which heretical doctrines were advanced, were named "conciliabula, conventicula." Cf. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. I., Introduction.

The *first councils* were held in the latter half of the second century (160 and 170), their object being to condemn Montanism, and to settle the question of the Paschal festival. Councils were held in Africa to determine the validity of baptism conferred by heretics—the first under Bishop Agrippinus, between A. D. 218–222, and afterward (A. D. 255–256) under Bishop Cyprian.[2] Then followed synods against the Anti-Trinitarians, Beryllus of Bostra, Paul of Samosata, and others.[3] After provinces had been systematically established, and the authority of the Metropolitan recognized, provincial councils were conducted with more method and order, and held at regular intervals. This was particularly true of Greece at the opening of the third century,[4] where they were appointed to be held at least *once* and sometimes *twice a year. The metropolitan presided*, and all ecclesiastical affairs were thoroughly examined and discussed, doctrine defined, and decrees promulgated, which served at once for the condemnation of heretics and the instruction of the faithful.

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[1] Acts xv.

[2] Cf. *Cyprian*. ep. 54 (ad Corn. de pace lapsis danda), p. 171.

[3] *Euseb*. hist. eccl. V. 16; Ibid. V. 23–25. Cf. *Voelli* et *Justelli* bibl. jur. can. vet., Paris, 1661, 2 T. f. (T. II., c. 5 et 6, p. 1166.) †*Fessler*, On Provincial Councils, Innsbr. 1849.

[4] *Tertull*. de jejun., c. 23: Aguntur praeterea per Graecias illa certis in locis concilia ex universis Ecclesiis, per quae et altiora quaeque in commune tractantur, et ipsa repraesentatio totius nominis Christiani magna veneratione celebratur, p. 771. *Firmiliani* ep. ad *Cyprian:* Qua ex causa necessario apud nos fit, ut per *singulos annos* seniores et praepositi in unum conveniamus ad disponenda ea, quae curae nostrae commissa sunt, ut si qua graviora sunt, communi consilio dirigantur (opp. *Cypr*. ep. 75, p. 302). Cf. *Canon. Apost.*, can. 36: *Bis in anno* fiat episcoporum synodus et inter se examinent decreta religionis, et incidentes ecclesiasticas controversias componant. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 18; *Mansi*, T. I., p. 35.) *Euseb*. h. e. V. 16. On the synods held in this period, consult *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. I.

The final *decision* of all questions lay with the bishops, a majority of whose votes was required to pass any decree.

Diocesan synods were of an earlier date than provincial councils, though there was not as yet any law prescribing that they should be regularly held. They consisted of the clergy of each diocese, who, presided over by their bishop, enjoyed *only an advisory vote.*

The *presbyterium*,[1] or council of priests, who aided the bishop by their advice and active coöperation, may be regarded as the beginning of what afterward became diocesan synods, and, still later on, cathedral chapters.

§ 87. *Primacy of the Bishop of Rome—He is the Center of Unity for the Whole Church.*

Möhler, Unity in the Church, p. 260 sq. †**Delsignore*, institut. hist. eccl., T. I., Pt. II., p. 31–79. †*Rothensee*, Primacy of the Pope in all Christ. Ages, Mentz, 1836, 3 vols. *Kenrick*, Abp. of Baltimore, Primacy of the Apostolic See; German transl. by *Steinbacher*, New York, 1853.

The different communities spread throughout each diocese gathered about their bishop as their rallying-point and center of unity; the bishops of the contiguous dioceses, which constituted a province, looked up to the metropolitan bishop as their natural head; but the metropolitans themselves had need of a corner-stone upon which to build the whole edifice, and of a *keystone* to secure its magnificent arch and insure its stability, and such was the *See of Rome.* The See of Rome was the center of unity for the whole Church, whither, as the *capital of the Pagan world, the Apostle*, on whom Our Lord had conferred a Primacy over all his colleagues, was led by special providence, and there set over the first and most important of all Christian communities. As the genius of Greece was distinguished by its speculative and scientific tendency, so was that of Rome by its eminently practical, or, what may be called, its utilitarian view of everything. No city could have been more in harmony with the active and energetic spirit of Christianity, which, by its very nature and aim, is, in every sense, a practical religion.[1] Thus Peter, enjoying all the prerogatives which the Primacy conferred, committed the same, in undiminished fullness, to those who came after him.

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[1] Cf. supra, p. 397, note 2, and *Phillips*, The Diocesan Synod, Freiburg, 1849 p. 25 sq.

The Apostolic Fathers of even the first century are witnesses to the Primacy of the See of Rome. *St. Clement* of Rome is an example of it; *St. Ignatius* of Antioch recognizes and admits it;[2] and this epoch furnishes many more *testimonies* and *facts* which go to prove the same thing.

In the first place, *St. Irenaeus*[3] declares that, instead of scrutinizing the doctrine delivered by Christ and His Apostles, and searching Tradition, it is enough to inquire what is the teaching of the Church of *Rome*. "*For it is necessary*," says he, "*that the whole Church—that is, the faithful of the whole world—should be in communion with this Church, on account of its more powerful authority; in which communion the faithful of*

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[1] *J. J. Goerres*, The Triarians, Leo, Marheinecke, Bruno, Ratisb. 1838, p. 93 sq.: "For this very reason neither speculative Greece nor Athens was chosen by Divine Providence as the central point of the Church, but Rome, which had been thoroughly and *practically* drilled by centuries of discipline, and in which an indestructible and natural gift, inherent in the people, united with many ages of historical development, had called forth a practical instinct, such as had nowhere else appeared. This, though entirely earthly, was now consecrated and sanctified by the Paraclete, and after it had thus assumed a Christian character, the Church confided herself to its direction."

[2] See p. 203.

[3] *Iren.* contr. haer. III. 3, No. 2: Ad hanc enim (a gloriosissimis Apost. Petro et Paulo fundatam et constitutam) ecclesiam *propter potentiorem principalitatem* (*διὰ τὴν ἱκανωτέραν πρωτείαν*, acc. to III. 38, No. 3, or acc. to *Nolte* *αὐϑεντίαν*), necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est: eos qui sunt undique fideles; in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea, quae est ab Apostolis Traditio. On the entirely untenable explanation of this passage in *Gieseler's* Ch. Hist., Vol. I., p. 176: "With this church, on account of her *superior origin* (perhaps as regards the time or foundation?!), the whole Church that is, the faithful of all places, must of necessity (necesse est?!) agree:" see *Döllinger*, Manual of Ch. Hist., Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 256 sq. *Möhler*, Unity in the Church, p. 268 sq. *Hagemann*, The Rom. Church, etc., p. 614 sq. *Nolte*, in Tüb. Quart. 1862, p. 302 sq. *Ammianus Marcell.* thus explains "potior principalitas:" Auctoritas qua potiores (sunt) aeternae urbis episcopi (histor XV. 7). The interpretation of the above passage from Irenaeus, offered by *Schneeman*, St. Iren. de eccles. Roman. principatu testimonium commentatum et defensum, Frib. 1870, is faulty. The context and the construction of "convenire" with "*ad hanc* ecclesiam," with which the meaning given to "convenire" = to agree with, does not well accord, have induced me to adopt the above interpretation of this passage from Irenaeus.

the whole world have preserved the tradition that was delivered by the Apostles. When, therefore," concludes St. Irenaeus, "you know the faith of this Church, you have also learned the faith of the others."

Even *Tertullian*, Montanist as he was, witnesses to the fact, that the head of the Church of Rome was acknowledged as the *Bishop of Bishops*.[1]

St. Cyprian calls the Church of Rome the first, the principal Church; the Bishop of Rome the first Bishop, being the Head of the principal Church; the episcopal throne of this Church *the throne of Peter* (*cathedra, locus Petri*), the source and center of ecclesiastical unity; and therefore all bishops of the world must, either directly or indirectly, be in communication with Rome; that by thus communicating with her, the union of all may be preserved. "*To be united with the See of Rome*," he says, "*is to be united with the Catholic Church.*"[2]

St. Cyprian claims that this Primacy is of the very nature of the Church, and essential to her high aim. "The Church," says he, "is built upon Peter *for the sake of unity*." And writing against the schismatics, Fortunatus and Felicissimus, he says: "They are even bold enough to direct their course to the Chair of Peter, whence *sacerdotal unity* takes its rise. Do they consider that it is the *Roman* faith—that faith which is free from all taint of infidelity?"[3] The practice of St. Cyprian was of a piece with his doctrine. He earnestly requested Stephen, Bishop of Rome, to depose Marcian, Bishop of Arles, who was infected with the Novatian heresy, and to appoint another in his place; sent to him the Acts of the Councils of Africa, convened to condemn the errors of Felicissimus, and the decrees passed against the *lapsi*, or those who denied their faith to escape the consequences of persecution.

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[1] Vide infr., p. 426, note 1.

[2] Factus est Cornelius episcopus—quum Fabiani locus i. e. locus Petri et gradus cathedrae sacerdotalis vacaret, ep. 52. And in ep. 45 to P. Cornelius, he says that he had provided: ut te collegae nostri et communionem tuam i. e. catholicae ecclesiae unitatem pariter et caritatem probarent firmiter ac tenerent. Likewise in ep. 56 to Antonianus: ut sciret (Cornelius) te secum h. e. cum catholica ecclesiae communicare.

[3] *Cypr.* ep. 27, p. 90. Ep. 70: Quando et baptisma unum sit, et Spiritus S. unus, et una ecclesia a Christo Domino *super Petrum origine unitatis et ratione fundata*, p. 270. C. ep. 55: Navigare audent et ad *Petri cathedram atque ad ecclesiam principalem*, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est, etc. Cf. notes 64 and 65 of *Prudent. Maran.*, p. 193. Cf. *Peters*, Teaching of St. Cypr. on the Unity of the Church, etc., Luxembg. 1870.

If, however, in a single instance, Cyprian *seems* to question the supremacy, and does, in fact, criticise in intemperate language the course of Pope Stephen,[1] it is not a difficult matter to decide whether we should attach a greater weight to his words when he is drawing out and throwing into shape, calmly and under no external influence, his views of the constitution and hierarchy of the Church, and observing a line of conduct in harmony with these convictions; or when, irritated at the opposition with which his erroneous opinions concerning the validity of baptism conferred by heretics were received, he defends them with warmth of expression, and regards the controversy as a *personal* quarrel.

The bishops of the world recognized the primacy of the Bishop of Rome and the prerogatives attached to it, at times, by spontaneous declarations, and again by their course of action in circumstances which called for his intervention. Pertinent instances of the exercise of this supremacy may be found in the action taken by *Pope Victor* in the controversy on the Paschal Festival; by *Pope Cornelius* in the case of Novatian and Felicissimus; by *Pope Stephen* on the question of rebaptization, and by *Pope Dionysius* in the affair of Paul of Samosata and Denys of Alexandria. Even the *Montanists* appealed to the judgment of the Bishop of Rome, and by this act acknowledged, at least for the moment, his supremacy of jurisdiction. The *Emperor Aurelian* did the same, for, when *Paul of Samosata*[2] obstinately persisted in holding his see against the will of the bishops, he declared that no one not recognized by the bishops of Italy, and particularly by the Bishop of *Rome*, should remain in the see of Antioch.[1]

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[1] *Seems*, because grave doubts exist as to the authenticity of these rather strong expressions. The remark of *Liebermann*, the distinguished author of a work on dogmatic theology, is just and to the point: Cyprianus (in ep. 74, p. 294) in summum Pontificem ita acerbe invehitur, ut qui virum noverat tam moderatum, tam verecundum in sedem Romanam, jam *Cyprianum* in Cypriano quaerat. (Institutt. Theol., ed. 5, T. IV., p. 235.)

[2] *Euseb.* h. e. VII. 30.

In this way, either by a willing recognition on the part of bishops, or by a forced interference on that of the Pope when circumstances required, the essential elements of the Primacy came gradually into prominence, and, as time went on, grew in strength and developed in completeness, till finally they assumed that compact and thorough organization on which depends the unity of the Church.

But the bishop who, above all others, contributed, both by the example of his life and the extent of his knowledge, to draw out in clear, precise, and simple language, the fundamental principles of this prominent phase of church organization, and to give them currency throughout the Christian world, was

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[1] The order in which the first Roman bishops of this period succeeded each other is very doubtful. Probably that given by *Hegesippus* in *Euseb.* h. e. IV. 22, *Iren.* contr. haer. III. 3, n. 3, and *Euseb.* h. e. III. 2, 13, 15, 34, V. 6, is the true one: *St. Peter*, 42–67; *St. Linus*, *St. Anencletus* (or *Cletus*), *St. Clement* (Philipp. iv. 3), 68–77 or 92–101; *St. Evaristus*, *St. Alexander I.*, *St. Xystus* (*Sixtus*), *St. Telesphorus*, *St. Hyginus*, *St. Pius I.*, *St. Anicetus*, *St. Soter*, *St. Eleutherius*, *St. Victor*, *St. Zephyrinus*, *St. Callistus*, etc. It is impossible to make the series given by *Epiphan.*, *Optat.*, *Milevitan*, and *Augustine* agree, especially in the *first four* bishops. Some wish to infer from intrinsic arguments drawn from his epistle to the Corinthians that Clement reigned as early as from 68–77. Vide *Döllinger*, Christianity and Church, p. 315–320; *Delsignore*, institution. h. e., T. I., Pt. II., p. 37 sq., esp. *Hefele*, in his ed. of the Patres. Apost. This view seems to be borne out by the oldest catalogue of Roman bishops down to Pope Liberius (probably drawn up about 354), from which it would appear that *Linus* and *Cletus* were consecrated bishops by Peter. *Rufinus* confirms this in his praefat. ad recognition. Clementis: "Linus et Cletus fuerunt quidem ante Clementem episcopi in urbe Roma, sed *superstite Petro*, videlicet, ut illi Episcopatus curam gererent, *ipse vero* Apostolatus impleret officium. (*Galland*, T. II., p. 218.) The so-called Liberian catalogue mentioned above, together with later continuations, copied in the Conatus chronico-historicus ad catalogum Pontificum. (T. II. of the praefationes, tractatus, etc., in *Bollandi* acta SS., v. supra, p. 23, note 4.) Cf. *Anastasii*, lib. pontificalis, etc., v. supra, p. 40, note. 3. *F. Pagi*, breviarium hist. chron. critic. illustriora Pontiff. Rom. complectens, Antw. 1717, 6 vols., 4to (the last vols. of *A. Pagi* cont. to Gregory XIII.) *Gius. Piatti*, storia critico-chronol. dei Rom. Pontifici, Napoli, 1765–1770, 12 vols., 4to (contin. to Clement XIII.) *Lipsius*, Chronology of Roman Pontiffs, Kiel, 1869, rather arbitrary. See Bonn Periodical of Theol. Literat., No. 12, of 1871.

THASCIUS CAECILIUS CYPRIAN.[1]

Born at Carthage of distinguished parents, and educated in the Pagan schools of rhetoric, he made so great progress in his studies and acquired such proficiency in science, that he was the boast of his masters and the pride of all Carthage. But his brilliant parts and finished education were no security against the solicitations of passion and the refined corruptions of Paganism. He had, however, the good fortune to fall in with a Catholic priest, who saved him from this danger, and had the happiness of converting him to Christianity (A. D. 246). In the zeal of his first conversion, he distributed a great part of his worldly store among the poor, and disposed of the rest in various works of Christian charity, and in supplying the needs of the Church. This was a sort of thank-offering for the happiness he now enjoyed, and the peace of mind he experienced after having been driven hither and thither by every wind of doctrine, and tossed about, without aim or purpose, on the stormy sea of life. He now had personal experience of what before he had thought difficult, if not impossible, namely, that "one, while encompassed with the body of the flesh, should be able to rise from the sacred waters of baptism renewed in mind and heart, and capable of putting aside the old man, and leading a new life."

Cyprian now applied himself with ardor to the study of *Tertullian's* works, whose severe and serious teachings were more or less in harmony with the genius of his own mind. He was elected bishop of Carthage A. D. 248, and in his humility wished to escape the honor, but at the earnest solicitations of the people he finally consented to accept it. Acting under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and following the counsel of Our Lord,[2] he felt it his duty to flee from Carthage during the persecution of Decius; but, though absent in body, he had all the solicitude of a pastor for the good of his flock, and never ceased to watch over it with assiduous care. He was the model of a true bishop, and, as such, knew how to temper severity with mildness when circumstances might require it. When, after his return to Carthage A. D. 251, he found it necessary to begin a conflict with the deacon Felicissimus and the intruded bishop Fortunatus, he consulted only the interests of the Church in the persistency and earnestness with which he pursued them. The same can not, however, be said of his controversy with Pope Stephen, in the course of which he certainly exhibited a deplorable loss of temper. While this controversy was still going on, *Valerian* issued an edict against the Christians A. D. 257, and Cyprian, desirous of dying the death of a martyr, and refusing now to desert his post, confessed, with holy joy and unshrinking courage, that he was not only a Christian, but also a bishop. He was exiled to Curubis, and hearing that the Church of Rome was busying itself with the authorities of state to obtain his release, he addressed to it a letter, full of the spirit of St. Ignatius, in which he says: "I am full of life, and yet I am longing to die, and I hear a voice within me bidding me to go to the Father." A year after his exile began, his sentence was passed, in which it was declared that "Cyprian, an enemy of the gods of Rome, shall suffer decapitation;" to which the Saint answered, "God be praised." He suffered martyrdom before the walls of Carthage, September 14, A. D. 258. When the news of his death reached the city, the grief of the Christians knew no bounds, and in their utter desolateness they cried out: "Come, let us die with him." They sought out and obtained his remains, which they were permitted to inter without further molestation from his enemies.

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[1] Vita Cypr. per Pontium ejus diacon., preceding the opera Cypr., ed. *Erasmus*, Bas. 1520. *Pamelius*, Antwerp, 1568. *Rigallius*, Paris, 1648. *Fell*, Oxford, 1682. *Baluzii*, stud. et labor. absolvit unus ex monach. congreg. St. Mauri (Prudent. Maran.), Paris, 1726; Ven. 1728; acc. to the latter we cite: *Rettberg*, Cyprian, His Life and Works, Gött. 1831. *Möhler*, Patrology, Vol. I., p. 809–893.

[2] Matt. x. 23.

The words by which his flock gave expression to their grief on hearing of his death, will remain *forever a living monument* to his memory, and a token of the intimate union which should exist between a Catholic *bishop*[1] and the faithful of his diocese.

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[1] *Augustin.* de baptism. III. 3. Ego Cyprianum *catholicum episcopum*, catholicum martyrem et quanto magis magnus erat, tanto se in omnibus humiliantem, etc. Cf. *Prudent.* de coronis hymn. XIII.

CHAPTER V.

WORSHIP—DISCIPLINE—RELIGIOUS AND MORAL LIFE OF THE CHRISTIANS.

†*C. Chardon*, histoire des Sacrements, Par. 1745, 6 vols. *Martène*, de antiq. eccl. ritibus (quoted acc. to *Bassani*, 1788, 4 T. f.) The works on ancient ecclesiastical lore of *Mamachi*, *Selvaggio*, *Pelliccia*, *Binterim*, *Kruell*, v. supr., p. 20, note 2. *Probst*, Liturgy of the First Three Centuries of the Church, Tübg. 1870.

§ 88. *External Ritual—Baptism and Confirmation.*

†*Morini*, de Catechumenor. expiatione et ad baptismi susceptionem praeparatione (opp. posthum., Par. 1703). †*J. Viccecomitis*, observat. eccl. de antiquis baptismi ritibus, Par. 1618. †*Martene*, l. c., lib. I., c. 1 and 2 (T. I., p. 1–37).

As *man is a union of body and soul*, his religion must correspond to these two constituents of his nature, and therefore requires some form of outward expression. As *St. Augustine* well remarks, this is exemplified in the history of every people.[1] Christianity, also, while attaching primary importance to the adoration of God in spirit and in truth,[2] has had, conformably to the example and in obedience to the will of its Divine Founder,[3] from the age of the Apostles down to the present day, its own form of prayer, and its own distinctive ritual and ceremonial.[4] It would indeed have been impossible to discard or ignore, if the Church had so willed, this outward expression of religion, itself the strongest and most efficient incentive to interior devotion. From the time of the Apostles down, therefore, each religious act received such outward expression as would at once supply this want of our common nature, and keep prominently before the faithful the palmary idea, that Christ had founded a *visible* Church. This external worship grew daily more and more distinct, and was strikingly exemplified in the *manner of receiving* newly converted Christians into the Church.

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[1] *Augustine*: In nullum nomen religionis seu verum seu falsum coagulari homines possunt, *nisi aliquo signaculorum vel sacramentorum visibili consortio* colligentur. Contr. Faustum. XIX. 11, T. VIII., ed. Bened.

[2] John iv. 23.

[3] Matt. vi. 9–13; John xvii. 1; Matt. xix. 13; Luke xxii. 41.

[4] See p. 210.

In the Apostolic age, the enthusiasm which animated the vast numbers who presented themselves for baptism, supplied the place of long and difficult preparation, provided only the candidates gave indubitable proofs of an earnest faith and sincere sorrow for their sins; but as time went on, a change of circumstances rendered a more complete and thorough training of postulants necessary before admitting them into the Church. By thus lengthening the term of probation, the Church guarded against the admission of unworthy members, and provided against any rash profanation of her sacred practices.

The vast numbers of those who sought instruction in the doctrines of Christianity, were called by the general name of *Catechumens* (*κατηχούμενοι*), or those who are gaining a knowledge of the first principles of the Christian religion, and were admitted to the privilege of believers (*πιστοί, ἀδελφοί*), or complete and perfect Christians, only after they had passed through the successive stages of probation. This period, which, after the fourth century, often lasted through many years, was divided into the following progressive degrees, under some one of which each catechumen was classed: 1. The hearers (*ἀκροώμενοι, audientes*), or those who were allowed to remain for the sermon and the reading of the Scriptures; 2. The kneelers (*γονυκλίνοντες, genuflectentes*), or those who remained after the sermon to participate in the prayer and receive the bishop's blessing; 3. The petitioners or the approved (*φωτιζόμενοι, βαπτιζόμενοι, competentes, electi*), or those who, having passed through the regular course of instruction and probation, petitioned the bishop to be admitted to baptism at the next approaching festival, and whose requests were favorably heard (*electi*). After they had been admitted among those who were to be baptized, they were let into a full knowledge of the Symbol of Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and, but not till *after having been baptized*, of the Mystery of the Trinity and of the Eucharist, and of the nature and meaning of the Sacraments.[1] After still further tests—such as the formal renunciation (*ἀπόταξις*) of Satan, with all his works and pomps—the petitioners were admitted to baptism.

This sacrament, which was conferred in the *baptistery*, was administered by a triple immersion of the body in the water, and by the solemn invocation of the three persons of the Blessed Trinity—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The baptism of the weak and infirm (*baptismus clinicorum*) was administered by infusion, or aspersion, and the usual training and period of probation were in this instance dispensed with. Besides the baptism of infants,[2] which, by decree of the Council of Carthage (A. D. 252), was commanded to be conferred within eight days after birth,[3] other considerations rendered it either necessary or prudent to shorten the period of probation for catechumens. The bishop was the ordinary minister of the sacrament of baptism; and priests and deacons conferred it only by his authority, and as his delegates. *Laymen* were also allowed to baptize in case of necessity.[4] Although there is no mention of sponsors (*χειραγωγοί*, *ἀνάδοχοι*, *susceptores*, *sponsores*, *fidei jussores*) till the second century, their origin may be certainly ascribed to Apostolic times.[1] Those who were lately baptized, wore a white robe (*pallium*), in token of the evangelical innocence with which their souls had been clad, and this custom gave rise to the ironical saying among the Pagans, "*A toga ad pallium.*" During the first ages of the Church, the sacrament of baptism might be administered every day, but Sunday was preferred. In the course of time, however, days of special solemnity were set apart for this purpose—such, for example, as *Easter* and *Pentecost*, in the present epoch, and among the Greeks and Orientals, the *feast of Epiphany.*[2] The Church taught that those who were baptized, received full remission of all their sins, were born again in the Holy Ghost, and raised to the rank of Children of God; and hence, the sacrament itself was called a *grace* (*χάρις*, *gratia*), an *illumination*, a *sanctification* (*φωτισμός*, *ἁγιασμός*), a perfection (*τέλειον*), and was the only means of gaining entrance into the Church.[3]

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[1] *J. Mayer*, Hist. of the Catechumenate and of Catechisation in the First Six Centuries, Lps. 1868. *Weis*, Pedagogics of the Primitive Church in her Catechumenate and Catechetical Schools, Freiburg, 1869.

[2] *Irenaeus* contr. haer. II. 22, n. 4, p. 147, et V. 15, n. 3. Et quoniam in illa plasmatione quae secundum Adam fuit, in transgressione factus homo indigebat *lavacro regenerationis*, etc., p. 312. *Massuet*, in his dissertat. praev., in Iren. libros, p. 158, commenting on this passage, says: Irenaeus hinc cum Augustino concludit baptismum omnibus hominibus, et ipsis *parvulis et infantibus* necessarium esse, ut per eum regeniti pristinae generationis sordes abluant.

[3] Ut intra octavum diem, qui natus est, baptizandus et sacrificandus. Universi judicavimus, *nulli hominum* nato misericordiam Dei et gratiam denegandam. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 147. *Mansi*, T. I., p. 900 sq.) *Tertullian*, on the other hand, dissuades the baptism of infants: Itaque pro cujusque personae conditione ac dispositione etiam aetate cunctatio baptismi utilior est: praecipue tamen circa parvulos. Quid enim necesse est sponsores etiam periculo ingeri? Quia et ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possunt et proventu malae indolis falli, etc. De baptismo., c. 18, p. 264. Conf. *Walli*, historia baptismi infantum, lat. vert. *Schlosser*, Brem. 1748, Pt. I.; Hambg. 1753, Pt. II.

[4] *Tertull.* l. l.: Alioquin etiam laicis jus est (dandi baptismum)—sufficiat in necessitatibus utaris, sicubi aut loci aut temporis aut personae conditio compellit, c. 17, p. 263.

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[1] Conf. *Binterim*, Pt. I., Vol. I., p. 190; *Böhmer*, Vol. II., p. 300 et seq.; *Gerhardi*, de susceptoribus infantium ex baptismo, eorumque origine, usu et abusu schediasma, Francf. et Lps. 1727.

[2] *Tertull.* Diem baptismo solenniorem *Pascha* praestat, quum et Passio Domini, in quam tinguimur, adimpleta est. Paschae celebrandae locum de signo aquae ostendit, exinde *Pentecoste* ordinandis lavacris latissimum spatium est quo et Domini resurrectio inter discipulos frequentata est et gratia Spiritus Sancti dedicata, etc De baptismo, c. 19, p. 264. Conf. *Natal. Alex.* h. e., saec. II., diss. 9, art. 6 (T. V., p. 252 sq.)

[3] *Hermas*, Pastor, libb. III., similit. IX., c. 16: Antequam accipiat homo nomen filii Dei, morti destinatus est; at ubi accipit illud sigillum, liberatur a morte et traditur vitae. Illud autem sigillum *aqua* est, in quam descendunt homines morti obligati, *ascendunt vero vitae assignati*, etc. *Tertull.* de baptismo begins thus: *Felix* sacramentum aquae nostrae, qua ablutis delictis pristinae caecitatis *in vitam aeternam liberamur*, c. 1, p. 255. *Clem. Alex.* paedagog. I. 6. *βαπτιζόμενοι φωτιζόμεθα· φωτιζόμενοι υἱοποιούμεθα· υἱοποιούμενοι τελειούμεθα.—καλεῖται δὲ πολλαχῶς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο χάρισμα καὶ φώτισμα καὶ τέλειον καὶ λουτρόν· λουτρὸν μὲν, δι' οὗ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀποῤῥυπτόμεθα. χάρισμα δὲ, ᾧ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν ἐπιτίμια ἀνεῖται· φώτισμα δὲ, δι' οὗ τὸ ἅγιον ἐκεῖνο φῶς τὸ σωτήριον ἐποπτεύεται, τουτέστιν δι' οὗ τὸ θεῖον ὀξυωποῦμεν. τέλειον δὲ, τὸ ἀπροσδεές φαμεν. τί γὰρ ἔτι λείπεται τῷ θεὸν ἐγνωκότι*, p. 113.—Being baptized, we are enlightened, and being enlightened, we are adopted into sonship, and by our sonship we are made perfect. The rite is variously called a charism, an enlightening, a perfection, and a cleansing—a cleansing, indeed, because by it we are washed clean of our sins; a charism or gift of grace, because it has the effect of remitting the penalty due to our sins; an illumination, because it gives a clear insight into things divine;

As has already been remarked, many persons, awed by the effects of the sacrament of baptism, deferred its reception until there was imminent danger of death, either because they mistrusted their strength and feared that they could not comply with the requirements of the Christian religion, or because they were loth to break the ties that bound them to the world, and could not bring themselves to forsake its pleasures and shake off its fascinations, as they would have to do if they took upon themselves such obligations.

Those who had been cleansed and born anew in the waters of baptism, were admitted to the reception of the *sacrament of confirmation*, in which the *fullness* of the Holy Ghost was poured out upon their souls. This sacrament was variously called a charism, or gift of grace, confirmation, and perfection (*σφραγίς, μύρον, βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας—charisma, confirmatio, perfectio*). The rite consisted in annointing with holy oil (*χρίσμα*), in the form of a cross, with the accompanying words: "The seal of the gifts of the Holy Ghost," and in the *laying on of hands*, in token[1] *that the gifts of the Holy Ghost* had been conferred.

§ 89. *Controversy on the Validity of Baptism conferred by Heretics—Stephen, Cyprian, Firmilian.*[2]

As heretics were, from the very nature of their position, cut off from all communion with the Church, and as the phrase, "*Outside the Church there is no salvation*," based upon the pas-

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and, finally, a perfection, because it supplies every want, for what further need has he who has a knowledge of divine things. *Iren.* contr. haer. II. 22, n. 4, p. 147; V. 15, n. 3, p. 312 (lavacrum regenerationis). Conf. *Klee*, Hist. of Dogm., Pt. II., p. 135 et sq. †*Brenner*, Historical Exposition of the Administration of the Sacraments from Christ down to our own Times, Bambg. and Francf. 1818 et seq., 3 vols., Vol. I. on Baptism.

[1] *Tertull.* de resurrect. carn., c. 8. Caro ungitur ut anima consecretur, caro signatur, ut et anima muniatur, caro *manus impositione* adumbratur, ut et anima spiritu illuminetur, p. 385. *Cyprian.* ep. 73. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in ecclesia baptizantur, praepositis ecclesiae offerantur et per nostram orationem ac *manus impositionem* spiritum sanctum consequantur et signaculo dominico consummentur, p. 281.

[2] *Euseb.* h. e. VII. 3–5, 7, 9. *Cypr.* epp. 70–76, p. 267–324. *Walch*, History of Heret., Pt. II., p. 310–384.

sage in Acts iv. 12, had acquired all the force of an axiom, the question naturally arose: "Is baptism conferred by heretics valid? or, is it necessary to rebaptize those who, having received baptism at the hands of heretics, wish to return to the Church?"

The question first arose in connection with the Montanists, and was freely discussed in Asia Minor and Africa. Many provincial councils—as, for example, that of *Carthage* (between A. D. 218–222), at which Agrippinus, the then bishop of the city, presided; that of *Iconium* (between A. D. 230–235), and that of *Synnada*—decided that baptism conferred by heretics is not valid. "There is," they said, "but *one* baptism, *one* Holy Ghost, and *one* Church—that founded by Christ our Lord."

Their opinion was accepted as decisive of the question by many distinguished writers of the Church—such as Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, the authors of the Apostolic Canons (can. 46), and was, moreover, confirmed by two synods, held respectively in the years 255 and 256, and presided over by St. Cyprian.[1]

The Church of the West, on the other hand, and that of Rome in particular, followed a practice quite contrary to these decisions, and instead of rebaptizing heretics who begged to be again received into the Church, simply *laid on hands, as a sign that penance had been done, and in token of reconciliation.* Both usages obtained in their respective Churches till between the years 255 and 257, when Cyprian sent the acts of his synod to *Pope Stephen* for confirmation. The latter sent a curt and comprehensive reply both to Cyprian and to the bishops of Asia Minor, in which he said: "Let there be no innovation; hold to the received tradition, and particularly to that of the Church of Rome;[1] regard the baptism of heretics as valid, *if it has been conferred in the name of the three Divine Persons*."[2] It appears, moreover, that Pope Stephen threatened with excommunication such as would continue the practice of rebaptizing. St. Cyprian was quite taken aback at the course pursued by the Pope, and defended his own view with warmth of language and considerable temper, but was careful to say that he had no intention of breaking with those who saw proper to follow an opinion different from his own. Cyprian convoked a third synod at Carthage (A. D. 256), in which the decisions of the two former synods were confirmed, and expressions used directly at variance with the views Cyprian himself had, of his own free will, formerly put forward relative to the Primacy of the See of Rome and the principle of ecclesiastical unity of which the Church of Rome was the outward expression.[1]

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[1] *Tertull.* gives his reasons for adopting this view: Non idem Deus est nobis et haereticis, nec unus Christus i. e. idem, ideoque nec baptismus unus, quia non idem, quem cum rite non habeant, sine dubio non habent: ita nec possunt accipere, quia non habent. De baptismo, c. 15, p. 262. *Cypr.* ep. 70: Neminem foris baptizari extra ecclesiam posse, quum sit baptisma unum in sancta ecclesia constitutum; caeterum probare est haereticorum et schismaticorum baptisma consentire in id quod illi baptizaverint, p. 270. Ep. 73: Ac per hoc non rebaptizari, sed baptizari *a nobis*, quicunque ab adultera et profana aqua veniunt, abluendi salutaris aquae veritate, p. 277. Ep. 72: Hos baptizari oportere, eo quod parum sit eis manum imponere ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, nisi accipiant et ecclesiae baptismum, p. 275. *Firmilian*, quoted by *Cyprian :* Haeretico sicut ordinare non licet nec manum imponere, ita nec baptizare nec quidquam sancte nec spiritaliter gerere, quando alienus sit a spiritali et deifica sanctitate, ep. 75, p. 304. Conf. **Möhler*, Patrolog., Vol. I., p. 887–891.

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[1] *Stephen*, quoted by *Cyprian*, ep. 74: Si quis a quacunque haeresi venerit ad vos, *nihil innovetur, nisi quod traditum est*, ut manus illi imponatur in pœnitentiam, quum ipsi haeretici *proprie* alterutrum ad se venientes, *non baptizent* sed communicent tantum, p. 293.

[2] That Stephen and the Romans added this conditional clause may be gathered from the reproach cast upon Stephen by *Firmilian:* Illud quoque absurdum, quod non putant (Stephanus et Romani) quaerendum esse, quis sit ille qui baptizaverit, eo quod qui baptizatus sit, gratiam consequi poterit *invocata Trinitate nominum Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti* (ep. Cypriani 75, p. 304). *Cyprian's* ep. 76 is also of importance, as throwing light on the *Roman* use of the Trinity formula: Quod si aliquis illud opponit ut dicat eandem *Novatianum* legem tenere quam ecclesia catholica teneat, *eodem symbolo quo et nos baptizare, eundem nosse Deum Patrem, eundem filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum* ac propter hoc usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse, quod videatur in interrogatione baptismi a nobis discrepare, sciat quisquis hoc opponendum putat, etc., p. 319. When we consider the words of Stephen, quoted by St. Cyprian, in the preceding note, "haeretici *proprie* non baptizant," and those which *Firmilian* attributes to him, "haeresis quidem parit et exponit, expositos autem ecclesia catholica suscipit et quos non ipsa peperit pro suis nutrit" (in Cypr. ep. 75), although his letter is no longer extant, there is still sufficient reason for assuming that the Pope *did* in fact prove the correctness of his view, by citing the principal proofs in its favor.

Firmilian, Bishop of Caesarea, in Cappadocia, being, like Cyprian, threatened with excommunication, united with the latter in opposing Pope Stephen, but his language was still more rude and violent.[2]

Stephen, although having the correct view of the question, does not seem to have advanced satisfactory arguments in support of his opinion. This was done, later on, by *St. Augustine*,[3] in his controversy with the Donatists. Explaining the words of Pope Stephen, "Heretici *proprie* non baptizant," he says: "For in all points in which they (heretics) think with us (Catholics), they are also in communion with us, and are severed from us only in those points in which they dissent from us. What they have retained of the teaching of the Church, they do not lose by severance from her; hence, the power of conferring baptism may be found outside the Church. Moreover, it is *Christ* Himself who baptizes; the grace of the sacrament is wholly independent of the qualification of him who administers it. Whenever, therefore, in administering the baptism of *Christ*, the matter and form have been preserved, the sacrament must be held to be valid."

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[1] The Acts in *Cypr.* opp. and *Augustin.* de bapt., lib. VI. et VII. (ed. Bened. T. IX.) †**Mattes*, The Baptism of Heretics (Tüb. Quart. 1849 and 1850). *Natal. Alexander*, h. e. saec. III., dissert. XII. †*Schwane*, controversia de valore baptismi haereticorum inter St. Stephanum et Cyprianum, Monast. 1860. History of Dogmas, by the same author, Münst. 1862, Vol. I., p. 730-763. †*Hefele*, History of the Councils, Vol. I., p. 90-107; Engl. transl., p. 98-117.

[2] Atque ego in hac parte juste indignor ad hanc tam apertam et manifestam Stephani stultitiam, quod qui sic de Episcopatus sui loco gloriatur et se successionem Petri tenere contendit, super quem fundamenta ecclesiae collocata sunt, multus alias petras inducat, et ecclesiarum multarum nova aedificia constituat, dum esse illic baptismata sua auctoritate defendit, ep. 75, p. 308. The hypercritics, *Raimund Missori* and *Marcellinus Molkenbuhr*, of the order of Franciscans, considered the letters of *Cyprian* on the Baptism of Heretics as spurious. They are held to be authentic, however, by *Sbaralea*, germana S. Cypr. et Afrorum nec non Firmiliani opinio de haeret. bapt., Bonon. 1741, and *Preu*, diss. academ., Jen. 1738.

[3] *Augustin.* de baptismo: Jam quidem in supra memoratis libris dictum est, ita posse extra catholicam communionem dari baptismum quemadmodum extra eam potest haberi. Nullus autem illorum negat habere baptismum etiam apostatas, quibus utique redeuntibus et per poenitentiam conversis, dum non redditur, amitti non potuisse judicatur. *In quo enim nobiscum sentiunt, in eo etiam nobiscum sunt.* In eo autem a nobis recesserunt, in quo a nobis dissentiunt. Non enim accessus iste atque discessus corporalibus motibus, sed spiritualibus est metiendus, lib. I., c. 1. Proinde illa in quibus nobiscum sunt, eos agere non vetamus. In quibus autem nobiscum non sunt, veniendo accipiant, vel redeundo recipiant adhortamur, c. 2. Pro hac sententia, quam ecclesia catholica tenet, ut Christi baptismus non *ex merito eorum per quos datur*, sed ex ipsius de quo dictum est: *Hic est qui baptizat*, agnosendus et approbandus sit, in progressu sermonis nostri res ipsa indicabit, lib. III., c. 4. Baptismus Christi verbis evangelicis consecratus, et *per adulteros et in adulteris sanctus est*, quamvis illi sint impudici et immundi, quia ipsa ejus sanctitas pollui non potest, et sacramento suo divina virtus assistit, sive ad salutem bene utentium, sive ad perniciem male utentium, lib. III., c. 10. Gesta collation. Carthag. primae cognition., n. 55: Qui autem putant negandum esse baptismum Christi, quia cum et haeretici tradunt, possunt putare negandum esse ipsum Christum,

Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, says that the firm stand taken by Pope Stephen had the effect of bringing back many of the Eastern Churches to the traditions of the Church of Rome.

The controversy was brought to an abrupt conclusion, and a threatened schism averted, by the breaking out of a persecution, in which both Stephen and Cyprian suffered martyrdom. Even the successor of Cyprian, though a mild-mannered man, was unable to bring the controversy to a close. It was, however, finally ended at the Council of Arles (A. D. 314), in which the opinion of Stephen was declared to be correct, with this explanation: "The baptism conferred by heretics is valid if administered in the name of the Holy Trinity." The Council of *Nice* (A. D. 325) passed a decree, in which the baptism of the *Paulianists*, the followers of Paul of Samosata, and that of *all those heretics who impugned the Blessed Trinity, was declared invalid.*[1]

§ 90. *The Sacrament of Penance—Penitential Discipline.*

†*Jos. Morinus*, de disciplina in administ. Sacram. poenit., Par. 1651. †*Jac. Sirmondi*, hist. poenit. publ., Par. 1651. †*Petavius*, de poenit. publ. et praepar. ad commun. (Theolog dogmat. T. IV.) †*Orsi*, dissert. hist. de capitalium

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quia cum et daemones confitentur. (*Mansi*, T. IV., p. 79. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 1070.)

[1] *Concil. Arelat.*, can. 28. (*Mansi*, T. II., p. 474.) *Concil. Nicaen.*, can. 19. De Paulianistis, qui deinde ad ecclesiam confugerunt, statutum est, ut ii omnino rebaptizentur. (*Mansi*, T. II., p. 666 sq. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 331.)

crim. absolutione, Mediol. 1720. *Martene*, l. c., lib. I., c. 6. (T. I., p. 259 sq.) †*Frank*, The Penitential Discipline of the Church from the Apostolic Times down to the Seventh Century, Mentz, 1867.

The catechumen, on receiving baptism, took upon himself a solemn obligation to renounce Satan, with all his works and pomps, and to consecrate himself to a pure and holy life, in communion with the Church.[1]

Quite a number, however, afterward either fell into sin, or lapsed into former habits of life, and, thus cut off from the living communion of the Church, were exposed to either the greater or lesser excommunication (*ἀφορισμὸς, καθαίρεσις*). But, in virtue of the power of *loosing* and *binding* committed by Our Lord to the Apostles,[2] there resided in the Church a *second and last means* of rescue and reconciliation for those who had been so unfortunate as to be drawn again into their past errors, and this was the *Sacrament of Penance* (*ἐξομολόγησις, exomologesis.*)[3]

If the Church was severe and exacting in the case of catechumens, and refused to admit them to baptism until after they had given indubitable proofs of their worthiness, how much more watchful should she be with those who, having enjoyed the gracious privileges of Christians, had nevertheless stained the purity of their first innocence, and now *sought to be reconciled* with their Mother, and to be again adopted as her children!

When there was question of mortal sin (*ἁμαρτήματα θανατοφόρα*), the essential condition of a new and perfect union with the Church was *the making known of one's sins to a priest*, to whom, as was *then* firmly believed by all Christians, the power of binding and loosing had been committed. There is no proof that in any case a simple interior acknowledgment of one's guilt, even when accompanied with real sorrow, a penitent life, and the practice of good works, sufficed for the remission of sin; for, apart from the fact that confession is of divine institution, and the ordinary means appointed by Christ for the remission of sin, it is moreover necessary, if a sinful soul will be cleansed of its stains and healed of its infirmities, that *the priest*, *the physician of the soul*, shall know its symptoms and condition, that thus he may, by instruction, advice, and encouragement, administer proper and efficient remedies.[1]

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[1] *Origen.* hom. XII. in Numer., n. 4. Recordetur unusquisque fidelium, quum primum venit ad aquas baptismi—quibus ibi tunc unus sit verbis, et quid renuntiaverit diabolo, non se usurum pompis ejus, neque operibus ejus, neque ullis omnino servitiis ejus ac voluptatibus pariturum. (T. II., p. 316.) Cf. Exhortat. ad Martyr, c. 17. (T. I., p. 285.) *Cyprian*, Saeculo renuntiaveramus, quum baptizati sumus: sed nunc vere renuntiavimus saeculo, quando tentati et probati a Deo, nostra omnia relinquentes, dominum secuti sumus, et fide ac timore ejus stamus et vivimus, ep. 6, p. 38.

[2] John xx. 23; cf. 1 Cor. v. 5; 2 Cor. ii. 10, and Acts xix. 18.

[3] Scientific investigations must keep a close eye upon the different meanings that are occasionally given to ἐξομολόγησις: *a.* Penance, penitential zeal, and works of penance; *b.* Manifestation of sins.

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[1] *Tertull.* de poenit., c. 4: Ut omnia delicta seu carne seu spiritu s. factu s. voluntate commissa confiteantur, c. 6 and 7. According to him, penance, as a second and last hope, does not consist merely in the *interior*, but also, and principally, in the *exterior act* of the exomologesis. Is actus qui magis graeco vocabulo exprimitur et frequentatur, EXOMOLOGESIS EST, QUA DELICTUM DOMINO NOSTRO CONFITEMUR, non quidem ut ignaro, sed quatenus satisfactio confessione disponitur, confessione poenitentia nascitur, poenitentia Deus mitigatur. Plerumque vero jejuniis preces alere, ingemiscere, lacrymari et mugire dies noctesque ad Dominum Deum suum, *presbyteris advolvi et caris Dei adgeniculari*, omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suae injungere, c. 9. Yet more clearly he speaks in c. 10: In quantum non peperceris tibi, in tantum tibi Deus, crede, parcet. Plerosque tamen hoc opus (delicta confitendi) ut *publicationem sui* aut suffugere aut de die in diem differre, praesumo, *pudoris* magis memores quam salutis: velut illi, qui in partibus verecundioribus corporis contracta vexatione, conscientiam medentium vitant, et ita cum erubescentia sua pereunt. The last element of penance, *absolution*, is likewise established by *Tertullian's* testimony, when, as a Montanist, he contests the power of the keys which the bishops claimed to have: Scorpiace, c. 10. De pudicit., c. 1: Audio edictum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium. Pontifex sc. Maximus, quod est Episcopus Episcoporum, edicit: ego et moechiae et fornicationis delicta poenitentia functis dimitto. O edictum, etc.

Cyprian. de lapsis: Spretis his omnibus (1 Cor. x. 16, xi. 27) atque contemtis, ante expiata delicta, *ante exomologesin factam criminis*, ante purgatam conscientiam sacrificio et manu sacerdotis, ante offensam placatam indignantis Domini et minantis, vis infertur corpori ejus et sanguini, et plus modo manibus atque ore delinquunt, quam quum Dominum negaverunt, p. 378.—Confiteantur singuli, quaeso vos fratres dilectissimi, delictum suum, dum adhuc qui deliquit in saeculo est, dum admitti confessio, ejus potest, *dum satisfactio et remissio facta per sacerdotes* apud Dominum grata est, p. 383.—Nam quum in minoribus delictis, quae non in Deum committuntur, poenitentia agatur justo tempore et exomologesis fiat inspecta vita ejus qui agit poenitentiam, nec ad communica-

Under certain circumstances, also, and for grave and public crimes, the offender, whether he confessed his guilt of his own accord, or was adjudged a public sinner by the assembly of priests, was required, before being again admitted to the privileges and friendship of the Church, to make *public* confession of his sins in presence of that body. *St. Irenaeus*[1] mentions this practice in the case of the Marcosians, who violated the women of Gaul (*ἐξομολογοῦνται εἰς φανερόν*).

The work of reconciliation, like the preparation for baptism,

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tionem venire quis possit, nisi prius illi ab Episcopo et clero manus fuerit imposita: quanto magis in his gravissimis et extremis delictis caute omnia et moderate secundum disciplinam Domini observari oportet, ep. 11, p. 53.

According to *Origen*, the penitent that desired readmission into the bosom of the Church had to pass through four different stages before he had performed the penance that was to reconcile him to the Church: Contritio, satisfactio, confessio, absolutio. Hom. VI., n. 9, in Exod. Poenitendo, flendo, satisfaciendo deleat, quod admissum est. (T. II., p. 150.) Hom. II., n. 4, in Levit.: Est adhuc et septima licet dura et laboriosa per poenitentiam remissio peccatorum, quum lavat peccator in lacrymis stratum suum, et fiunt ei lacrymae suae panes die et nocte, et *quum non erubescit sacerdoti Domini indicare peccatum suum et quaerere medicinam.* (T. II., p. 191.) Cf. Hom. III., n. 4. Audi, quid legis ordo praecipiat: si peccaverit, inquit, unum aliquid de istis, pronuntiet peccatum, quod peccavit. (Levit. v. 5.) Est aliquod in hoc mirabile secretum, quod jubet pronuntiare peccatum. Etenim omni genere pronuntianda sunt, et in publicum proferenda cuncta, quae gerimus. (T. II., p. 196.) Hom. II., n. 6., in Ps. xxxvii. Circumspice diligentius, cui debeas confiteri peccatum tuum. Proba melius medicum (sacerdotem), cui debeas causam languoris (peccati) exponere, qui sciat infirmari cum infirmante, flere cum flente, qui condolendi et compatiendi noverit disciplinam: ut ita demum, si quid ille dixerit, qui se prius et eruditum medicum ostenderit et misericordem,—facias et sequaris, si intellexerit et praeviderit talem esse languorem tuum, qui in conventu totius ecclesiae exponi debeat et curari, ex quo fortassis et caeteri aedificari poterunt, et tu ipse facile sanari, multa hoc deliberatione et satis perito medici illius consilio procurandum est. (T. II., p. 688.) Concerning the *judicial power given to the priests by divine appointment*, see his de *oratione*, c. 28, where he has: et dimitte nobis debita nostra. Habemus igitur omnes potestatem remittendi peccata in nos admissa, ut manifestum est ex his: sicut et nos dimittimus, etc. Sed is IN QUEM JESU INSUFFLAVIT, QUEMADMODUM IN APOSTOLOS (John xx. 23), quique a fructibus cognosci potest accepisse Spiritum St. et factus esse spiritualis, eo quod spiritu Dei, more filii Dei agatur ad ea omnia, quae ratione gerenda sunt: *is dimittit quae dimitteret Deus* et insanabilia peccata retinet, *ministrans* (ut prophetae Deo ministrabant loquentes non sua, sed quae divinae erant voluntatis), *sic et ipse soli dimimittendi potestatem habenti Deo.* (T. I., p. 255.) Cf. *Möhler*, Patrolog., Vol. I., p. 256–267.

[1] *Iren.* adv. haeres. I. 13.

was both burdensome and protracted, sometimes lasting for several years, and consisting of several degrees, through which the penitent passed before being again admitted to full and perfect communion. The penitents themselves were divided into *four* classes,[1] named after the privileges or duties common to each. The first class consisted of the weepers (*πρόσκλαυσις*, *flentes*); the second of the hearers (*ἀκρόασις*, *audientes*); the third of the kneelers (*ὑπόπτωσις*, *substrati* or *genuflectentes*); and the fourth of the co-standers (*σύστασις*, *consistentes*).[2] A regular and uniform penitentiary discipline was not indeed established throughout the whole Church till a later period, but it is nevertheless certain that even a life-penance was at all times imposed for some specified crimes—such as adultery, when publicly known, and the sacrilegious violation of a virgin consecrated to God; nay, more, absolution was denied even to the dying, if they had *repeatedly* been guilty of offering sacrifice to the gods, had lived as libertines, or were guilty of numerous acts of adultery.[1] The penitentiary discipline was at first wholly under the direction of the bishop, who, by prayer and the laying on of hands, reconciled the penitents to the Church. The ceremony was generally performed on the *first Wednesday of Lent*, and, still later, on *Maundy Thursday*, and was called the Peace (*pax*) or the Reconciliation (*reconciliatio*), though sometimes described as an "approach to the communion of the Church through the laying on of hands by the bishop and the clergy" (*venire ad communionem manu ab Episcopo et clero imposita*). During the persecution under *Decius*, the number of those who denied the faith was so great that the bishops were obliged to appoint priests (*presbyteri poenitentiarii*) to aid in the work of reconciling such to the Church. The earnestness and perseverance of the penitents were so exemplary, and their zeal for the conversion of Pagans so unremitting, that these sometimes merited for them either a partial remission of *ecclesiastical penalties*, or an abridgment of their duration, particularly in cases where penance was imposed for life. This act of grace was called an *indulgence* (*indulgentia*). The indulgence was frequently granted at the request of those about to suffer martyrdom, or of confessors of the faith, and also when there was danger of death, or when bodily infirmities required a milder form of penance. It was not long, however, before great abuses grew out of the practice of remitting penances at the instance of martyrs and confessors, and the Doctors of the Church were not slow to apprehend the danger of favorably hearing all such requests, and to raise their voices against the continuance of the usage.

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[1] These four grades are *separately* mentioned in the Epistola can. *Gregor. Thaumat.* († about 270), can. 7, 9, 11 (*Galland.* T. III., p. 409 sq.); yet can. 11 is probably spurious. They were *first* collected without any reference to their authenticity, in *Basil.* M. († 379), ep. 217 or canonica III., c. 75. Cf., however, *Conc. Ancyr.*, can. 4, and *Conc. Nic.*, can. 11.

[2] The *place* of the *flentes* or weepers was in the *porch* of the church, where they lay prostrate and begged the prayers of the faithful who passed in. St. Basil thus describes the four orders of penitents: "The first year they are to weep before the gate of the church; the second year to be admitted to hearing; the third year to genuflection; and the fourth year to stand with the faithful at prayers, without partaking of the oblation." The *audientes* or hearers were allowed to enter the church, to stay to hear the Scriptures read and the sermon preached, but were obliged to depart before the prayers began, together with the order of Catechumens, who went under the same name. Their position in the church was in the *narthex* or lowest part, whence they departed as soon as the deacon cried out, at the end of the sermon, "Ne quis audientium." ("Let the hearers depart.") The *genuflectentes*, or kneelers, so called because they were allowed to kneel and join in prayer, were stationed in the *nave* or body of the church, near the *ambo* or reading-desk.

The *consistentes* or co-standers were allowed to remain with the faithful after the other orders of penitents had been dismissed, to *approach the altar* and *witness* the offering of *the oblation*, but were not permitted to partake of the Holy Eucharist. When, after severe trials, they were admitted to the privilege of partaking of the Holy Eucharist, they were said *ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον*, or *to attain perfection*, the participation of the Holy Eucharist being regarded as a mark of a perfect Christian. Cf. *Bingham's* Antiquities of the Christian Church, Book XVIII. (Tr.)

§ 91. *Schisms of Novatus at Carthage, of Novatian at Rome, and of Meletius in Egypt.*

The wise and prudent course adopted by the Church in dealing with heretics, being neither one of rigorous severity nor extreme laxity, was for both reasons offensive to many, and eventually furnished to Novatus, Novatian, and Meletius a pretext for their schisms.[1] Those Christians who fell away during the persecution of Decius, and particularly such as had offered incense to idols (*thurificati*), or by payment of a bribe to the magistrates had procured exemption from sacrificing in public, and obtained a bill attesting their loyalty (*libellatici*), were accustomed to crowd about the dying martyrs, and beg of them commendatory letters, by which their reconciliation with the Church might be afterward facilitated. It soon became evident that this practice would, if allowed to go on, destroy the whole penitentiary discipline, and St. Cyprian, with his usual foresight and good sense, set himself resolutely against the abuse. Five priests, who had already taken a prominent part in opposing his election to the episcopate, now came forward and accused him of pride, and the exercise of extreme severity. *Novatus*, one of these five, aided by the wealthy deacon, *Felicissimus*, who was always ready to employ his resources in a bad rather than a good cause, put himself at the head of the apostate Christians, and attempted to further their interests, even at Rome.[2]

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[1] A comprehensive list of the different kinds of penance employed by the Church at this period of her history may be had by comparing the respective Canones Apost. See the councils of *Elvira* (305), of *Ancyra* (314), of *Arles* (314), *Neo-Caesarea*, after 315, as they are in *Mansi*, T. II.; *Harduin*, T. I.

He there came in contact with a party who had erred by going to the opposite extreme. These had opposed the election of Pope Cornelius, because, as they thought, he was over-indulgent to those who had fallen from the faith during the persecution. This sect organized itself into a body, and the schism became complete after the violent intrusion of *Novatian* into the See of Rome, A. D. 251. He arrogantly dismissed from his communion all those who had in time of persecution fallen away from their faith, and such, even though they should openly confess, and fully repent of, their crime, were absolutely without hope of pardon. "Whoever," said he, "has offered sacrifice to idols, or stained his soul with the guilt of mortal sin, can no longer remain within the Church, and, if he be of those who have denied the faith, can not again enter into her communion, for her members consist only of pure and faithful souls."[1]

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[1] *Schism*, from the Greek *σχίζω*, scindo, discindo, to split, signifies a *split*, division, separation: *σχίσμα οὖν ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἐγένετο.* John vii. 43. Originally *σχίσμα* and *αἵρεσις* were used promiscuously, but gradually a different signification was attached to each. Schism now signifies a *division of the outward unity of the Church*, as effecting its constitution and discipline, but leaving intact the *interior unity* of faith and doctrine. As soon as the unity of faith and doctrine is attacked (as was the case with the *Roman Novatians*, and, later on, with the *Donatists*), schism becomes heresy.

[2] An account of the libelli pacis, given by the martyrs to fallen Christians, will be found in *Cyprian.* ep. 9, 10, 11. Audio enim quibusdam sic libellos fieri, ut dicatur, *communicet ille cum suis*, quod numquam omnino a martyribus factum est, ut incerta et caeca petitio invidiam nobis postmodum cumulet, p. 52; ep. 14, 22; concerning the party of Novatus and Felicissimus, id. ep. 38, 39, 40, 42, 49, 55, 69; concerning that of *Novatian*, *ejusd.*, ep. 41, 42, 52. Cf. †*Klüpfel*, de libellis martyrum, Frib. Brisgov. 1777. †*Peters*, Doctrine of St. Cyprian on the Unity of the Church in opposition to the Schisms at Carthage and Rome, Luxemburg, 1870.

The Church, on the contrary, has always taught that the power of binding and loosing, committed to her custody and for her exercise, applied to *all* sins without exception; provided, only the sinner have the proper disposition, and exhibit neither obstinacy of will nor a manifest disposition to reject the light of divine truth; for to such a one absolution is simply impossible.[2]

Novatus and Novatian united in fellowship, a union as incongruous as it was unlooked for, and the resulting sect, from being schismatical on the one side and *heretical* on the other, now became both. They were called the *Pure* (*Καθαροί*), a title which they assumed as distinguishing their unsullied purity from the stains and profanation which attached to the Catholic Church. They denied even the validity of Catholic baptism, and ordered that it should be repeated in the case of their own members.[3] They agreed so strictly with the Church in all other doctrines, except those we have pointed out, that they did not even countenance the Arian heresy, which seems to prove that they were orthodox on the question of the

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[1] Ephes. v. 27.

[2] Matt. xii. 32; conf. verses 22 and 24; and Heb. vi. 4–6, x. 26–29.

[3] *Cypr.* ep. 41–52, p. 123–168; ep. *Cornel.* ad Fabium Antioch., in *Euseb.* h. e. VI. 43; ep. *Dionys. Alex.* ad Novatian, ibid. VI. 45, et ad Dionys. Rom. *Euseb.* h. e. VII. 8. *Hieronym.* catal., c. 70. *Socr.* h. e. IV. 28. *Cypr.* ep. 31, de lapsis. See *Walch's* Hist. of Heretics, Pt. II., p. 185 sq. *Paciani.* ep. II. ad Sympron. (Max. bibl. vett. PP. Tom. IV.. p. 307.)

Blessed Trinity. They disappeared about the close of the fifth century.

While the Council, convoked at Carthage, A. D. 251, by St. Cyprian, succeeded in entirely suppressing the growing schism of *Felicissimus*, by excommunicating both the schismatics and their bishop, *Fortunatus;* the *Novatian party at Rome*, on the contrary, gained strength as time went on, and possessed sufficient vitality to keep it alive till the next epoch. *St. Ambrose*, Bishop of Milan, and *Pacian*, Bishop of Barcelona, were obliged to exert their energies in opposing its progress.

Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis, in Upper Egypt, was the head of a schismatical party, formed A. D. 306. We have two accounts of the motives which led Meletius to become the chief of a new sect. *Epiphanius* informs us that he opposed the admission into the Church of those Christians who had fallen away from the faith in the persecution of Diocletian, or, at least, deferred it till peace should be again restored to the Church. *Peter of Alexandria*, his metropolitan, a man of prudence, compassionate heart, and parental affection, fearing that by such a course many of the faithful, already weak, might suffer entire shipwreck of the faith, set himself resolutely against the course pursued by Meletius. The latter entirely disregarded the will of his metropolitan, whose functions he usurped in parishes partial to his own opinions, and carried his arrogance so far as to confer orders in foreign dioceses.

Athanasius gives a different version. He states that Meletius having been cast into prison in time of persecution, obtained his liberty by sacrificing to the gods. This disgraceful conduct coming to the ears of the metropolitan, Peter of Alexandria, Meletius was called upon to explain his conduct, but refused to appear, either because he was conscious of guilt, or because he would not recognize the jurisdiction of Peter. He was on this account deposed by a council; but notwithstanding his deposition, he continued to exercise the faculties of a bishop, and to ordain priests and bishops.[1]

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[1] *Epiphan.* haer. 68. *Athanas.* apol. contr. Arian., c. 59 (opp. ed. Ben. T. I., Vol. I., p. 177), whom *Socrates* h. e. I. 6, follows. Some Latin documents, agreeing with Epiphanius, recently discovered by *Scipio Maffei*, Osservazioni litterarie, Veron. 1738, T. III., p. 11 sq. *Routh*, reliq. sacrae T. III., p. 381 sq.

§ 92. *Celebration of the Holy Eucharist.*

The Liturgy of the Constitut. Apostol. in *Cotelerii* Patr. Apost. T. I., Amst. 1724; in *Galland.* T. III.; in *Mansi*, T. I. Cf. *Drey*, New Investigations, etc., p. 106–112. †*Renaudot*, liturg. oriental. coll., Par. 1716, 2 vols. †*Krazer*, de apostolicis nec non antiquis ecclesiae occid. liturgiis, Aug. Vind. 1786. †*Lienhardt*, de antiq. liturg. et de disciplina arcani, Argentor. 1829. †*Döllinger*, The Eucharist in the First Three Centuries, Mentz, 1826. Freibg. Eccl. Cycloped., the articles on *Transubstantiation* and *Mass.* †*Klee*, Dogmas, their History, Pt. II., p. 170 sq. *Schwane*, Hist. of Dogmas, Vol. I., p. 662 sq. †*Kreuser*, Historical Exposition of the Mass, 2d ed., Paderborn, 1854.

The Holy *Eucharist* was, during the whole of this period, as in Apostolic times, the very *center* and *essence of Catholic worship.* It was celebrated on all festivals, and was regarded as the most complete and perfect mystical expression of the work of our redemption. The irrefragable tradition of the Ancient Fathers, *Ignatius*,[1] *Justin* Martyr, *Tertullian*,[2] *Ire-*

Numerous sources of information given by *Walch*, in his History of Heretics, Pt. IV., p. 355–410. *Hefele*, History of the Councils, Vol. I., p. 327–340; Engl. transl., p. 341–355.

[1] *Ignat.* ep. ad. Smyrn., c. 7: *Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται* (the Docetae), *διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν, τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *τὴν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν, ἣν τῇ χρηστότητι ὁ πατὴρ ἤγειρεν.* Οἱ *ἀντιλέγοντες τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ* Θεοῦ *συζητοῦντες ἀποθνήσκουσι.* Ep. ad Ephes., c. 20: *Ἕνα ἄρτον κλῶντες, ὅς ἐστιν φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν* Ἰησοῦ *Χριστῷ διὰ παντός.* Ep. ad. Philadelph., c. 4: *σπουδάζετε οὖν μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι. μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *καὶ ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ.*— They (the Docetae), because they deny the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Savior Jesus Christ, the same which suffered for our sins, and which God graciously raised to life again, abstain from It altogether and refuse to join in prayer. Those who speak against the Gift of God will perish, because of their contentions. Breaking the same bread, being a pledge of immortality and a preservative against death, is life everlasting in Jesus Christ. Hasten, therefore, to partake of the one Eucharist, for one is the Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one is His Chalice, unto the union of His Blood.

[2] *Tertull.* de pudicit, c. 9. Atque ita exinde opimitate *Dominici corporis* vescitur, *eucharistia* scilicet, p. 725. *Idem* de resurr. carn., c. 8. Caro abluitur ut anima emaculetur; caro ungitur, ut anima consecretur; caro signatur, ut et anima muniatur; caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut et anima spiritu illuminetur; *caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur*, p. 385. De bapt., c. 16. Hos duos baptismos de vulnere perfossi lateris emisit; quatenus qui in sanguinem ejus crederent, aqua lavarentur: qui aqua lavissent, etiam sanguinem potarent, p. 263.

naeus,[1] and *Clement* of Alexandria,[2] is an unquestionable witness to the faith of the Church and the belief of the faithful on this doctrine. They uniformly testify to the general and emphatic teaching of the Church, that the bread and wine offered in the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist are *verily and really changed into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.* The partiality of *Origen*[3] for allegorizing, leads him at times to use equivocal language; and *Tertullian*,[4] whose style is frequently involved and obscure, does not always bring out his meaning, either of the doctrine itself or of its exact expression, with sufficient clearness. The obscurity of some of the passages in the writings of Tertullian may be judged from the fact that one of the most striking of these has been so interpreted by an eminent Protestant theologian as to favor *Luther's* doctrine on the Eucharist, and by another equally distinguished, as favoring the teaching of *Zwinglius;* while a third affirmed that the passage contains no reference whatever to the Real Presence in the Sacrament, but, on the contrary, is a decisive testimony to the doctrine of Marcion, who denied the Real Presence. *Justin*, on the other hand, says most positively that in the Sacrament of the Eucharist the *substance* of the *bread and wine* is *changed* (*μεταβολή*) into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.[1]

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[1] *Iren.* contr. haer. V. 2, n. 2. Si autem non salvetur haec (caro), videlicet nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos, NEQUE CALIX EUCHARISTIAE COMMUNICATIO SANGUINIS EJUS EST, NEQUE PANIS, QUEM FRANGIMUS, COMMUNICATIO CORPORIS EJUS EST. From this *Irenaeus* concludes, in V. 2, n. 3: *ὁπότε οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον καὶ ὁ γεγονὼς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ* (Matt. xxvi. 26), *καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα* Χριστοῦ, *ἐκ τούτων δὲ αὔξει καὶ συνίσταται ἡ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν ὑπόστασις· πῶς δεκτικὴν μὴ εἶναι λέγουσι τὴν σάρκα τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἥτις ἐστὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου τρεφομένην, καὶ μέλος αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχουσαν.*—and in iv. 18, nr. 5: *ὡς ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἔκκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου· οὕτω καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτὰ, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνας ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα.*—Now, when the mixed cup and the simple bread have received the Word of God, these become the Eucharist, the Body of Christ, and when the substance of our flesh has been increased and strengthened by these, how can they (heretics) say that that Flesh is not acceptable which is the gift of God—a pledge of life everlasting, which, having been nourished in the Body and Blood of the Lord, is verily a part of Himself.—As earthly bread, after God has been invoked, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two elements, an earthly and a heavenly one, so also our bodies, after having partaken of the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, but have the hope of resurrection unto live everlasting.

[2] *Clem. Alex.* paedag. I. 6: *'Ο λόγος τὰ πάντα τῷ νηπίῳ, καὶ πατὴρ καὶ μήτηρ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς καὶ τροφεύς. φάγεσθέ μου φησί, τὴν σάρκα, καὶ πίεσθέ μου τὸ αἷμα. ταύτας ἡμῖν οἰκείας τροφὰς ὁ* Κύριος *χορηγεῖ, καὶ σάρκα ὀρέγει, καὶ αἷμα ἐκχεῖ· καὶ οὐδὲν εἰς αὔξησιν τοῖς παιδίοις ἐνδεῖ. ὢ τοῦ παραδόξου μυστηρίου*, p. 123; cf. also p. 124 and 127, Ibid. II. 2.—The Word is everything to frail man—his father and mother, his guide and nourisher. "Eat," He says, "of My Flesh, and drink of My Blood." Thus does the Lord provide wholesome food for us. He both gives His Flesh and pours out His Blood, that nothing may be wanting to His children for their growth. O incomprehensible mystery!

[3] *Origen.* *τόμος* XI., in Matt., n. 14. Et haec quidem *de typico et symbolico corpore.* Multa autem de ipso Verbo dici queant, quod caro factum est, verusque cibus, quem cui comederit, omnino in aeternum vivet, quum nullus malus eum possit comedere, etc. (T. III., p. 500.)

[4] *Tertull.* adv. Marcion. IV. 40: Christus professus itaque se concupiscentia concupisse edere pascha, ut *suum* (indignum enim ut aliquid alienum concupisceret Deus) acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus illum suum fecit,

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hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est *figura* corporis mei. *Figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus.* Caeterum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset. Aut si propterea panem corpus sibi finxit, quia corporis carebat veritate, ergo *panem debuit tradere pro nobis;* faciebat ad vanitatem Marcionis, *ut panis crucifigereter !* p. 571. Cf. *Rudelbach*, Reformation, Lutheranism, and Union, Lps. 1839, p. 645–664. According to *Neander* (Antignosticus, The Spirit of Tertullian's Writings, p. 518 sq.), Tertullian held *Zwinglius*' doctrine of the Eucharist. Cf. *Baur*, who opposes both Rudelbach and Neander in his work "Tertullian's Doctrine on the Eucharist," and Dr. Rudelbach, together with a Review of the History of the Doctrine on Eucharist (Tübg. Journal of Protestant Theology, 1839, No. II., p. 56–144, especially up to p. 79). The correct explanation is found in *Möhler's* Patrology, Vol. I., p. 773–777. Tertullian argues in this place against Marcion's theory of a figurative body of Christ, and from the context it is evident that *figura* means not *signum* or *symbolum*, but *outward form and appearance*, in which everything real presents itself. For this reason Tertullian adds: Figura non fuisset *nisi veritatis esset corpus;* caeterum vacua res, quod est phantasma. And, according to this, the sense of this passage would be: Only on the supposition that Christ's was a real body, *a compact substance* (in opposition to phantasma, vacua res), could an exhibition or presentation under some form or other, which in the present is the *form of bread*, be admitted. If now, Marcion, to invalidate this argument, holds that there is not a real, but only a *figurative* body in the Eucharist, which our Lord *falsely* attributed to Himself in the absence of a real one, he might as well maintain, when in this airy mood, that *bread was crucified for us !*

[1] *Justin.* apolog. I., c. 66: *Καὶ ἡ τροφὴ αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία.—οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον, οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν. ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα*

A *Christian inscription in Greek*, dating back to the third century, was discovered at Autun, in France, in the year 1839, which clearly demonstrates that transubstantiation really takes place in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and that Jesus Christ is truly present on the altar before communion.[1] There is no other way of satisfactorily explaining the reproach put upon the Marcionites for not observing the *discipline of the secret*[2] and the silence which the faithful kept in presence of Pagans with regard to the Sacrament, than by supposing that the Christians firmly believed in the Eucharistic mysteries. This, too, is the only adequate reason for the removal of catechumens from the church before the celebration of the divine mysteries commenced,[3] and explains why Pagans, ignorant of the real nature of the Christian sacrifice, yet crediting wild

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καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ Ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως παρέδωκαν ἐντετάλθαι αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰησοῦν· λαβόντα ἄρτον, εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν. τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου κ. τ. λ.— And this food we call the Eucharist. For we do not receive these things as ordinary food and ordinary drink, but as Jesus Christ our Savior became incarnate by the Word of God, and took upon Him flesh and blood to accomplish our redemption, so also have we been instructed that the food, blessed by the word of prayer taught by Him, and by the reception of which our flesh and blood are nourished, is the very flesh and blood of Jesus Incarnate. For the Apostles in the records that have come down to us, and which are known under the name of the Gospels, have transmitted to us the command which Christ gave them, in which, after having taken bread and given thanks, He said: "Do ye this in commemoration of Me."

[1] This inscription was first deciphered by the *Abbé Pitra* (annales de philosophie chrétienne, 1839, nr. 111); then by the Jesuit *G. Secchi*, Rom. 1840; and after him by Professor *Franz*, in Berlin: Christian Document of Autun Explained, Brl. 1840. According to the investigations of these scholars, and of *Dr. Nolte* and *Rossignol*, in the Revue Archéologique XIII. année, p. 505, the document reads: "Refresh your soul, O friend! Take the food of the Savior of the Saints. It is sweet as honey. Eat when you are hungry, holding the fish (i. e. the Savior) in both hands." It is well known that the ancient discipline of the Church permitted the Christians to take the Body of Christ into their hands before consuming It.

[2] This institution is altogether different from the Pagan Mysteries and the Jewish proselytism, **Schelstrate*, diss. de disciplina arcani, Rom. 1685. †*Scholliner*, dissert. de discipl. arcani, Ven. 1756. †*Toklot*, de disc. arcani, Col. 1836. *Rothe*, de discipl. arcani, quae dicitur in eccl. christ. orig. comment. acad. Heidelb. 1831. Cf. *Lüft's* Liturgy, Vol. I., p. 104–106

[3] Matt. vii. 6; 1 Cor. iii. 2; Heb. v. 12–14.

reports concerning it, accused the Christians of participating in bloody feasts, resembling the Thyestian banquets (*ἀνθρωποφαγία*).[1]

St. Ignatius[2] calls the Eucharist a *sacrifice* (*θυσία*), and appeals to the New Testament[3] as authorizing the epithet. *St. Irenaeus*[4] is still more emphatic, and *Hippolytus* uses the following language:[5] "*His* (Christ's) *precious and immaculate Body and Blood are daily consecrated and offered up on that mystical and divine table, in commemoration of that first and ever memorable Banquet.*" *St. Cyprian*,[6] in drawing a parallel between

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[1] *Athenag.* legatio pro Christian, c. 3. Equally significant is the system of jugglery practiced by the Gnostic Mark, as related in *Iren.* contr. haer. I. 13, n. 2.

[2] *Ignat.* ep. ad *Ephes.*, c. 1: Μαθητὴς εἶναι τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀνενεγκόντος θεῷ προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν. Cf. c. 5, ad *Philad.*, c. 4, and ep. ad *Diognet.*, c. 9: *αὐτὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν ἀπέδοτο λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τὸν δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκων, τὸν ἄφθαρτον ὑπὲρ τῶν φθαρτῶν, τὸν ἀθάνατον ὑπὲρ τῶν θνητῶν.*—A disciple of Him who has offered himself as an oblation and a sacrifice for our sakes. He, in very deed, gave His Son as the price of our redemption, the just for the unjust, the uncorrupt for the corrupt, the immortal for the mortal.

[3] We refer especially to Rom. v. 10; Hebr. vii. 27; ix. 14–26; x. 10 and 12; xiii. 10. Cf. also 1 Cor. x. 21: Yes, Christ Himself explains the *sacrificial* character of the Eucharist. John vi. 52; Luke xxii. 19. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 29. (*τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον—κλώμενον* quod pro vobis *datur—offertur.*) Matt. xxvi. 28; Mark xiv. 24. (*αἷμα τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον.*)

[4] *Iren.* contr. haer. IV. 17, n. 5: Sed et suis discipulis dans consilium, primitias Deo offere ex suis creaturis, non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi nec ingrati sint,—accepit (panem) et gratias egit dicens: Hoc est meum corpus, etc. NOVI TESTAMENTI NOVAM DOCUIT OBLATIONEM, quam ecclesia ab Apostolis accipiens, in universo mundo offert Deo, ei qui alimenta nobis praestat, primitias suorum munerum in N. T., de quo—Malachias (1, 10, 11) sic praesignificavit: non est mihi voluntas in vobis, etc.; manifestissime significans per haec, quoniam prior quidem populus cessabit offere Deo; *omni autem loco sacrificium offeretur ei et hoc purum*, p. 249; Ibid. 18, n. 4. Et hanc oblationem ecclesia sola puram offert fabricatori (mundi), offerens ei cum gratiarum actione ex creatura ejus. Judaei autem non offerunt: non enim receperunt *Verbum, quod offertur Deo.* So we find in the writings of Irenaeus the three essential parts of the Christian sacrifice *προσφορά* oblatio, *ἔκκλησις* (*ἐπίκλησις*) consecratio and communio. Cf. *Massuet*, dissert. praeliminar. III., in libb. Irenaei articul. VII. de poenit. et euchar. sacramentis.

[5] Τὸ *τίμιον καὶ ἄχραντον αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα, ἅπερ ἐν τῇ μυστικῇ καὶ θείᾳ τραπέζῃ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπιτελοῦνται θυόμενα εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τῆς ἀειμνήστου καὶ πρώτης ἐκείνης τραπέζης τοῦ μυστικοῦ θείου δείπνου* (opp. ed. *Fabricius* I. 1282.

[6] *Cypr.* ep. 63 (ad Caecilium de sacram. dominici calicis): Nam si Jesus Christus, Dominus et Deus noster, ipse est summus sacerdos Dei Patris, et sa-

Christ, who offered the first sacrifice, and the priest who continues to do the same by His command, calls that which the priest offers a *true and perfect sacrifice.*

The sacrificial worship of the Christians in the first centuries is, moreover, attested by many pictorial representations found in the catacombs.[1]

In the *time of St. Justin*, the *celebration* of the Eucharistic sacrifice was still very simple. When several prayers had been recited, some passages from Scripture were read, after which the bishop gave a homily. This ended, the faithful again raised their hearts to God in prayer, and then the kiss was given. This was followed by the presentation of bread, wine, and water to the bishop, who pronounced over the offering the words made use of by Our Lord at the Last Supper, and all the people answered *Amen.* The *Body* and *Blood* of *Jesus Christ* were then distributed to all the faithful present,[2] and carried by the deacon to the sick and imprisoned. Those of the faithful who were about to set out on a long journey, were in the habit of carrying the Blessed Sacrament with them, that they might, when at a distance from their brethren, derive strength and comfort from the Bread of Life.

During the course of the third century, the ceremonial used in the celebration of the Eucharistic sacrifice became more complex and detailed.

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crificium Patri *se ipsum primus obtulit*, et *hoc fieri in sui commemorationem praecepit*, utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, qui id quod Christus fecit, imitatur, et *sacrificium verum et plenum tunc offert in ecclesia Deo Patri*, si sic incipiat offerre, secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse, p. 230; and a little further on: Et quia passionis ejus mentionem in sacrificiis omnibus facimus—*Passio enim Domini sacrificium quod offerimus*—nihil aliud est, quam quod ille fecit, facere debemus, cf. p. 226, ejusd. epist. Cf. *Tertull.* ad Scap., c. 2. Sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris. De corona milit., c. 3. Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus. Cf. de exhort. castit., c. 11; de monogam, c. 10; Constit. Apostol. VIII. 15.

[1] Cf. *Spencer Northcote*, The Roman Catacombs, the Burial Places of the First Christians; translated from the English into German, Cologne, 1857. Cf., likewise, his Roma Sotterranea, or Some Account of the Roman Catacombs, etc., an extract from *De Rossi's* work under the same title, and other works by the same author, London, 1869; translated into Germ. by *Dr. Kraus*, Freib. 1871.

[2] *Justin.* apologia I., c. 66.

The *liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions*[1] divides the Mass into the *Missa Catechumenorum* and *Missa Fidelium*, and mentions many beautiful prayers and symbolic forms of expression made use of in the celebration of the divine mysteries. The constitutions also contain *literally* every *essential expression* and *form* of *prayer* used at a later day in the *celebration of the Mass*, from the "*Kyrie*" to the "*Ite Missa est.*"

The faithful brought everything necessary for the sacrifice, and one part of the offerings was set apart for the celebration of the Eucharist, and another for the *Agapae*,[2] which, at this time, were celebrated only in the evening. These, though of Apostolic origin, were interdicted in the fourth century, because of the lamentable abuses to which they gave occasion. Whatever remained of the offerings after the *Agapae*, was distributed to the poor.

Finally, hymns were sung during the celebration of the Mass, and this custom, which was of Apostolic origin,[3] grew rapidly into favor, when experience had taught that music was a most efficacious means of awakening in the soul pious aspirations and holy sentiments.

Justin Martyr, who set a high value upon the religious chant of the Christians, said of it: "It awakens in our heart heavenly aspirations, and a desire of those gifts which the hymns celebrate; it subdues our rebellious passions, enriches the word of God, strengthens the soldiers of the Cross in their conflict against evil, and soothes and comforts pious souls in their dreary way through life."

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[1] *Constit. Apost.* VIII. 6–15. (*Galland.* bibl. T. III., p. 205–218. *Mansi*, T. I., p. 542–567. *Migne*, ser. gr. T. I., p. 1075 sq. As to the ed. of *Ueltzen* and *Lagarde*, see above, p. 137.) Extracts by *v. Drey*, p. 106 sq. By the word *liturgy* (λειτουργία, from λεῖτος, popular, public, and ἔργον), any kind of public service was originally signified; in Holy Scripture it meant a *religious office or service* (Luke i. 23; Acts xiii. 2; Heb. ix. 21), and this meaning was attached to it also in the phraseology of the Church = religious service or *Christian worship*, *Cultus*. Subsequently, the word was used to signify specifically *sacerdotal* functions, according to the formula of ordination, "presbyteri est benedicere et offerre," the administration of the sacraments and sacramentals. In a still more restricted sense, it signified the offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice—the manner of *celebrating Mass*. Cf. *Hefele*, Contrib. toward Ch. H., p. 273–276.

[2] *Tertull.* apologet., c. 39, p. 35. Cf. *Lüft's* Liturgy, Vol. I., p. 106–120.

[3] Acts ii. 47. See above, p. 210.

Tertullian, in praising the happiness of Christian marriage, speaks of man and wife as engaged in singing a hymn, and vying with each other in the holy rivalry of praising God.

The unknown author of *Artemon* thus addresses the heretic who answers to that name: "What a number of psalms and hymns has been composed by the faithful *from the very earliest times*, for the purpose of celebrating the glory of Christ, the Word of God, and praising His Divinity!"[1]

The Pagan *Lucian* heaped ridicule upon the Christians because they spent whole nights in singing hymns.

§ 93. *Holy Seasons and Holy Days—Discussion on the Paschal Festival—Places in Which the Christians Assembled.*

†*Guyti*, Soc. J. Heortologia sive de festis propriis locorum, Par. 1657. †*Binterim*, Memoirs, Vol. V., Pt. I. †*Krüll*, Christian Archaeology, Vol. II., p. 21–114. **Staudenmaier*, Genius of Christianity, 5 ed., Mentz. 1856, in two parts.

Many doctors of the Church, who may be relied on as faithfully representing the Apostolic tradition, such as Clement[2] and Origen, speak of the life of a Christian as one continual *feast;* as a life so deeply and thoroughly penetrated with the truths of Christianity, and preserving so lively a remembrance of them, that it is wholly sanctified by their subduing influence and power.

In order, however, that Christians might, by keenly appreciating the truths of religion, be more earnest in pursuing the high aim and purpose of their lives; that Jesus Christ *might be formed in them, and might live in them, and that they might be transformed into the image of Christ;*[3] that they might follow, step by step, the Author and Finisher of their faith, through every scene of His life and circumstance of His death; that, beginning with the humble birth of the Son of God, they might accompany Him in spirit through the sad scenes of His bitter suffering and final crucifixion, and rise in triumph with Him in the glory of His resurrection; that, in fine, they might gain a full and comprehensive history of the whole drama of the redemption, the Church, after the manner of *God in the Old Law*,[1] instituted particular feasts, which, commemorative of each great event in the life of Our Lord, and admirably adapted to the wants of our dual nature, conveyed, under the magnificence of sensible representation, the highest spiritual truths, and, like the prophets of old, came forth at intervals, during each succeeding year, to announce some impressive lesson to the world, and thus became, as it were, the *annual evangelists* of the people.

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[1] *Tert.* ad uxor., lib. II., c. 9. *Euseb.* h. e. V. 28. *Lüft*, Liturgics, Vol. I. p. 131 sq.

[2] *Clem. Alex.* strom. VII. 7. In the very beginning he has: *σέβειν δὲ δεῖν ἐγκελευόμεθα καὶ τιμᾶν τὸν αὐτὸν, καὶ λόγον σωτῆρά τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα εἶναι πεισθέντες καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα, οὐκ ἐν ἐξαιρέτοις ἡμέραις, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τινὲς, ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς τὸν ὅλον βίον τοῦτο πράττοντες, καὶ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον*, p. 751.—We are commanded to worship and honor Him whom we believe to be both the Word and our Providential Savior. We are also commanded to worship and honor the Father through Him—not, indeed, on appointed days, as others do, but at all times and in every manner.

[3] Gal. iv. 19, ii. 20; 2 Cor. iii. 18; Rom. viii. 29.

From the days of the Apostles down, *Sunday* has always enjoyed a preëminence above the other days of the week.[2] During the present epoch, it was designated the Lord's Day (*κυριακή*, *Dominica*, sc. *dies*), and kept holy, in commemoration of Christ's resurrection from the dead. No labor was allowed on it, and because of its festive character, fasting was forbidden.[3] *Wednesday* and *Friday* in each week, called station-days (*dies stationum*), were, on account of the great events in the Passion of Our Lord which took place on them, specially devoted to prayer. A fast was also observed, which lasted till three o'clock in the afternoon, called a half-fast.[4]

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[1] Ecclus. xxxiii. 7–9.

[2] *Ignat.* ep. ad Magnes., c. 9. *Barnabae* ep., c. 15. *Justin.* apolog. I., c. 67, sub fin., where the expression *ἡμέρα τοῦ ἡλίου* (day of the sun, dies solis) is also found. Cf. *Tertull.* apologet., c. 16: Aeque si diem solis laetitiae indulgemus, alia longe ratione, quam religione solis. And following him *Ambros.*, sermo 61, says on this point: In ea die Salvator veluti sol oriens, discussis infernorum tenebris, luce resurrectionis emicuit.

[3] *Tertull.* already says: Solo die dominico resurrectionis non ab ista tantum (genuflexione), sed omni anxietatis habitu et officio cavere debemus, *differentes etiam negotia*, ne quem diabolo locum demus.

[4] Stationes, the guards of the milites Christi at their posts, first in *Hermas*, Pastor, lib. III., similit. 5, c. 3. Frequently in Tertullian; cf. de orat., c. 14. Statio de militari exemplo nomen accipit, nam et militia Dei sumus. It denotes: 1. *Standing* during prayer; 2. *Fasting*. So called, also, because the assemblies

In the Roman Church, the fast of Friday was extended to Saturday, for the purpose of abolishing the Jewish Sabbath, which was still celebrated in many places *as a festival. This fast was said to be superimposed* (*superpositio jejunii*),[1] because it was regarded as a continuation of the Friday fast, which terminated at three o'clock in the afternoon.

There is in the writers of the second century frequent mention of certain seasons of the year specially devoted to prayer and fasting, which, we are further told, were conscientiously observed by the faithful; the more so, if, as the week preceding Easter, they had any direct reference to the Passion and death of our Lord.

The fast immediately preceding Easter was, little by little, prolonged, till it finally extended to forty days' duration, and was called on this account the *Quadragesimal* (τεσσαρακοστή, *quadragesima*),[2] and also the Lenten Fast. During this time, nothing but dry bread (ξηροφαγίαι) was taken *till after sundown*,[3] on any day, except Sunday. The fast was not, however, so strictly observed by all the faithful, some of whom were partially

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remained longer at prayer on these days than others, devotions lasting till three in the afternoon; neither did the people take anything to eat till after devotions were over, and hence the fasts are called half-fasts, to distinguish them from the fasts of Lent, which lasted till evening. (Tr.)

[1] The use of superpositio jejunii first in Victorinus, Bp. of Petavio, in Pannonia (Pettau in Styria). As a reason for the fast on the Sabbath he gives the preparation for communion on Sunday. Cf. *Galland.* bibl. T. IV. *Routh*, reliquiae sacrae, Vol. III., p. 237. *Concil. Illiberit.*, can. 26. Errorem placuit corrigi, ut omni sabbati die *superpositiones* celebremus. (*Mansi.*, T. II., p. 10. *Harduin.*, T. I., p. 253.)

[2] Matt. iv. 2.

[3] This is mentioned by *Ignat.* ad Philipp., c. 13, as an apostolic institution. Cf. *Origen.* in Levit., homil. 10, n. 2. Habemus enim *Quadragesimae dies jejuniis* consecratos. Habemus quartam et sextam septimanae dies, quibus solemniter jejunamus. Est certe libertas Christiano per omne tempus jejunandi, non observantiae superstitione, sed *virtute continentiae.* In another place Origen says: Vis tibi adhuc ostendam, quale te oportet jejunare jejunium? Jejuna ab omni peccato, nullum cibum sumas malitiae, nullas capias epulas voluptatis, nullo vino luxuriae concalescas. Jejuna a malis actibus, abstine a malis sermonibus, contine te a cogitationibus pessimis, noli contingere panes furtivos perversae doctrinae. Non concupiscas fallaces philosophiae cibos, qui te a veritate seducant. Tale jejunium Deo placet. (T. II., p. 246.)

exempt, and fasted rigorously during only *one* or *three* days of the week.[1]

The most ancient of the annual Christian festivals are *Easter* and *Pentecost*, which commemorate the two cardinal events in the life of Christ—His crucifixion, and resurrection in glory.[2] The commemoration of the sufferings of Christ, and His triumphant resurrection from the dead, is the one great underlying idea which interprets, inspires, and energizes the whole Christian life.[3]

The Christian Pasch, or Easter, was at first intended to commemorate and keep alive in the Church two great ideas:—the *death* of Christ (*πάσχα σταυρώσιμον*, the Pasch of Crucifixion), and His *resurrection* (*πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον*, the Pasch of Resurrection).

The first great discussion that sprung up in the Church related to the time of celebrating Easter, or the Paschal Festival.[4] The *heretical* sect of the Ebionites, who insisted on the general observance of the Mosaic Law, were specially urgent in the case of the *Jewish* Pasch. They were really celebrating the Jewish, not the Christian Passover, which, they said, should be kept uniformly on the fourteenth day of Nisan, in conformity with the Jewish rule, whether it fell on Friday or not (cf. § 58). They referred for a sanction of their course to the example of our Lord, who, as is narrated in Matt. xxvi. 2 and xxvi. 18 sq., eat the Pasch on the fourteenth day.

The Christians of the other Oriental churches, and particularly those of the West, always observed the *Friday* after the fourteenth as the day of our Lord's death, and the following *Sunday* as the feast of His resurrection. They did not, therefore, eat the Paschal Lamb, nor indeed break their fast at all until night, on the vigil of the resurrection, in order not to interrupt the fast of the "*great* and *holy*" week.

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[1] *Iren.* in *Euseb.* h. e. V. 24. Sed etiam de forma ipsa jejunii controversia est: alii duobus, alii pluribus, nonnulli etiam quadraginta horis diurnis ac nocturnis computatis diem suum metiuntur. Atque haec in observando jejunio varietas non nostra primum aetate nata est, sed longe ante apud majores nostros coepit, etc.

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 3–4; Rom. iv. 25.

[3] *Leo* M.. sermo 64, c. 1. Omnia quidem tempora Christianorum animos sacramento *Dominicae passionis et resurrectionis exercent*, neque ullum religionis nostrae officium est, quo non tam mundi reconciliatio, quam humanae in Christo naturae assumptio celebretur. (Opp. edd. *Ballerini*. Venet., 1753; T. I., p. 247.) Similarly in *Lactant.* institut. divin. VII. 19.

[4] See p. 216 sq.

The Catholics, as *Claudius Apollinaris* and others had already done, answered the appeal made by the heretical sect to the passage in Matthew, by citing St. John xviii. 28, xix. 14, 31; and argued that Christ did not eat the Pasch after the custom of the Jews on the fourteenth day of the month of Nisan, but by anticipation on the day previous, and that He was already crucified before the Paschal Feast of the Jews began.

There were, besides the Quartodecimans, two other parties, who, however, remained always within the pale of the Church. These differed, not only as to the proper *time* of celebrating the Paschal Festival, and the *fast* preceding it, but also as to the character of the day on which our Lord died—some maintaining that it should be celebrated as a day of *rejoicing*, while others were equally positive in asserting that it should be observed as a day of *mourning*.[1]

Even after the question of celebrating the Paschal Festival according to the Jewish rule, had been given up, there still arose another difficulty about the calculation of the Paschal cycle. These controversies, carried on with considerable vehemence, both by the different religious Christian communities of the *East* in particular, and between the churches of the *East* and the *West* in general, gave rise to so many conflicting opinions, that the Pagans reproached the Christians for their internal dissensions, and ridiculed their quarrels.

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[1] Still all parties clung to the expression "*Pascha*," which is found in the Old Test. It reminded them of the *destroying angel passing by* the doors of the Israelites, in Exod. xii. 21 and 27, for פּסחא is the Aramaic form for פּסח = passage. Here the more general meaning of "*Deliverance out of Egypt*" was given to the term, and in this sense the Christians could apply it to their deliverance from the yoke of sin (Egypt figuratively taken). The history of this quarrel may be found in *Euseb.* h. e. V. 23–25; *id.* vita Constantini M. III. 18. *Socrat.* h. e. V. 21. *Walch*, Hist. of Heretics, Pt. I., p. 666–685. *Rettberg*, The Paschal Strife, its Meaning and History. (*Illgen*, Theol. Review, 1832, Vol. II.) **Hefele*, in the Freib. Eccl. Lexicon, Vol. VII., p. 871–882, and History of Councils, Vol. I., p. 286–319. Engl. Transl., p. 298–334 *Hilgenfeld*, The Paschal Strife in the Ancient Church, Halle, 1860.

Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, went to Rome (162), to confer with *Pope Anicetus*, in the hope of settling the difficulty, and obtaining a uniform rule for the whole Church, more in harmony with the unity of sentiment which should prevail among all Christians. But though the holy bishops, Pope Anicetus and Polycarp, parted from each other in peace, they came to no agreement upon the time of celebrating the Paschal Festival. About A. D. 170 various and conflicting opinions prevailed in Asia Minor, and *the controversy* grew warm and general.[1] Although councils, held in both the East and the West toward the close of the second century,[2] generally sustained the Western rule, still the *Synod* of Asia Minor, convened at *Ephesus*, and presided over by *Polycrates*, the bishop of that city, made a most determined defense of their own rule, and appealed in its favor to the traditions that had come down to them from the Apostles *SS. John* and *Philip*, and from *Polycarp*. Other Eastern churches, however, and all the Western churches, headed by the Church of Rome, appealed for their rule to the traditions they had received from *SS. Peter* and *Paul*. Pope Victor went so far as to threaten with excommunication all who would not follow the Western rule, but was dissuaded from his purpose by the advice of other bishops, who represented that such a penalty was more severe than the circumstances of the case would warrant.

St. Irenaeus, the good and holy bishop of Lyons, interposed his kind offices to settle the difficulty between the contending parties. He represented, with that mildness for which he was distinguished, and with the authority which was freely conceded to one of so saintly a life, that a difference of opinion which touched no dogma of Christianity, should not be carried so far as to jeopardize the peace of the whole Church. His efforts were successful, and were effectual in preventing a probable schism. His conduct in this instance, being irenical or pacific, as Eusebius remarked, is an illustration of his name. The *Council of Arles*, A. D. 314, and the *General Council of Nice*, A. D. 325, confirmed the Roman rule, and such as now refused to comply with the general usage were treated as heretics, and called "*Quartodecimans.*"

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[1] *Claud. Apollinaris* opposed to the manner in which Easter was celebrated in Asia Minor (fragm. in Chronico paschali praef., p. VI. et VII.) *Melito* defends it (*Euseb.* h. e. IV. 26; cf. ep. *Polycrat.*, Ibid. V. 24.)

[2] According to *Euseb.* h. e. V. 23, first at Rome, then in Palestine, in Pontus, Gallia, Osrhoene, and other places.

The fifty days (πεντηκοστή) *following Easter* were regarded by the Christians as one unbroken festival, during which the divine service was solemnly celebrated every day in honor of the glorious resurrection of Christ from the dead. For the same reason all fasts were forbidden during this season, and the people *prayed standing*. The *fiftieth day*, which coincided with the Jewish anniversary of the promulgation of the Law and the feast of the first fruits, became in the Christian calendar the anniversary *of the descent of the Holy Ghost*, the point that marked the definite establishment of the Church and the communication of the first gifts of the Spirit. It is also highly probable that during this period, the fortieth day after Easter was celebrated as the *feast of the Ascension* (ἑορτὴ τῆς ἀναλήψεως, or ἐπισωζομένη). It is almost certain that such was the practice in the Western Church, for *St. Augustine* calls it one of the *most ancient of feasts*. Toward the close of this epoch, the solemn feast of Pentecost was regarded as embracing both the mystery of our Lord's Ascension and the Descent of the Holy Ghost.[1]

The *feast of Epiphany*, which takes place on the sixth of January, was in the Eastern Church celebrated in the second century, and is intended to commemorate the manifestation (ἐπιφάνεια) of the Messiah as the Savior of the world in the waters of the Jordan, the commencement of His public life as a Teacher of divine truths, and His first miracle at the marriage feast of Cana (θεοφάνεια).

During the fourth century, however, the signification of this feast was somewhat changed on its introduction into the Western Church, where it was considered as commemorative of the manifestation of the Messiah to the Pagan world, whose representatives were the *three Wise Men from the East*, who came to adore Christ in the manger, at Bethlehem.

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[1] *Conc. Eliberit*, can. 43. Pravam institutionem emendari placuit, juxta auctoritatem scripturarum, ut cuncti diem Pentecostes post Pascha celebremus, non quadragesimam (*Ascension*) nisi quinquagesimam. Qui non fecerit, novam haeresin induxisse notetur. (*Mansi*, T. II., p. 13. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 254.)

Some traces of the feast of the *Nativity* may be discerned, particularly in the Western Church, about this time also.

The faithful always prepared for the celebration of the higher and more solemn festivals by observing the preceding as a *vigil* (*vigilia*), during which they prayed, and sang psalms and hymns till the break of day.

Finally, the early Christians, as has been already remarked, assembled about the tombs of the martyrs to celebrate the *anniversary of their death*, because this was regarded as the day of their triumph over this world and of their birth (*natalitia*) in the next. The most ancient of these feasts is perhaps that of the *Holy Innocents* of Bethlehem, and hence they are called the First Flowers of the Martyrs (*flores martyrum, festum innocentium*).

In the early days of the Church, the Christians met together for worship principally in private houses. Forests, caverns, or any other place that offered a secure retreat, was eagerly appropriated for purposes of worship, and the "*Catacombs*" in particular were excavated by the Christians, both for holding religious assemblies and for places of burial. These were dug out in many places, and particularly about Rome. They were of great extent, having winding streets and lanes, and large open spaces, and resembled great subterraneous cities. They contained places of burial and chapels for the celebration of the divine mysteries, and were adorned with pictorial representations, symbolical of the special purpose to which each place was dedicated.[1] "*The whole earth*," said the learned Doctors of the Church, "*is the temple of God.*"

Religious assemblies were also held in prisons and about the tombs of the martyrs, over which chapels were frequently built. The assertion of the Christian apologists, who said that their brethren had neither temples nor altars, should not be taken literally. They meant simply by this manner of speech, that the Christians did not believe, like the Jews and Pagans, that

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[1] Cf. the article "*Catacombs*," by *Hurter*, in the Freib. Eccl. Lexicon, Vol. VI., and the works mentioned above, p. 438, note 1.

God was *exclusively* confined within the limits of any one temple. That many Christian churches and chapels did, in matter of fact, exist in the third century, can be proved beyond all manner of doubt. *Eusebius* states that quite a number of churches were built and solemnly consecrated[1] in the interval of peace which lasted from the end of the persecution, in the reign of Valerian, to the breaking out of that under Diocletian. The most remarkable of these, both for its beauty of design and imposing grandeur, was the Church of *Nicomedia.*

The development of the *plastic arts* up to this time had been inspired by the spirit of Paganism, and stamped with its genius. They had hitherto been employed to give honor and glory to the gods of idolatrous nations, and this circumstance was sufficient at first to alienate the mind of the Christian, instinctively averse to whatever savored of an idolatrous worship,[2] from pursuing their study.[3] The early temples of the

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[1] *Euseb.* h. e. VIII. 1; Ibid. X. 4, leaves us the first model of a consecration sermon, which he himself probably delivered at the consecration of the Church in Tyre. *Cf. *Hasselbach,* de ecclesia Tyria a Paulino episcopo exstructa, Stralsund, 1832. (Programme.)

[2] According to John iv. 24.

[3] The assertion that the primitive Christians had a prejudice against *art,* as *such,* has been entirely disproved by modern researches, and particularly by the recent discoveries made by de Rossi in the Catacombs of Rome. Instead of opposing art, they, on the contrary, manifested great zeal in its cultivation, and, from the very beginning, regarded it as a legitimate means of general culture, and employed it to enhance the interest and attractiveness of public worship. Roman society, in the early days of the Church, was powerfully swayed by its influence, and the Christians formed no exception to the general tendency. We may refer, in proof of this assertion, putting aside the statue of our Lord at Paneas, to the pictorical decorations discovered in the Catacombs of St. Callistus and Lucina, of Domitilla and Priscilla, some of which are of the highest antiquity, dating back, according to the unanimous judgment of the most eminent archaeologists, to the third and the second centuries, and even to the end of the first.

The prevailing character of early Christian art was *symbolical.* The rule of the secret was observed also in pictorial representations, in which the sacred mysteries of religion were veiled from the vulgar and profane by the use of symbols.

Painting met with more favor among the early Christians than sculpture, which did not come into general use till the fourth century.

The staining and gilding of glass windows is also a form of art peculiar to

Christians were on this account, and according to our standard of taste, extremely simple. They consisted of unadorned oblong buildings, with a *separate* place for the men and another for the women. There was a portion of the building called the Sanctuary (*βῆμα*), and usually elevated above the rest, set apart for the celebration of the sacred functions, into which only ecclesiastics were admitted.[1] About the center of the Bema, or Sanctuary, was the altar or sacred table (*τράπεζα*, *mensa sacra*, *mystica*); behind which, and against the wall of the apsis, was the bishop's throne (*θρόνος*, *καθέδρα*); and to the right and left of this, again running along the wall and partially encircling the altar, were the second thrones, or seats, for the clergy. Both these and the bishop's throne were all of marble.

It was not long before the Christians introduced the use of sacred signs and the practice of representing the leading facts of Christianity, by means of symbolic figures. The catacombs and the walls of houses were adorned with representations of seal-rings, of chalices, and of lamps; of Abraham and Moses, of Christ and the Blessed Virgin, of the Apostles and fishermen, of a cross and an anchor, of a fish (*ΙΧΘΥΣ*) and a ship, symbolizing the Church, and of the Good Shepherd. There were also figures of doves and palm branches; of lyres, sym-

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the third and fourth centuries. (Cf. *Garrucci*, Vetri ornati, Rome, 1848 and 1864.)

The predominance of one general character running through these early artistic representations warrants the conclusion that there existed some universal hieratic canon governing all Christian art—a well-defined tradition, which was jealously guarded by the Church. Raoul-Rochette's assertion that early Christian art was entirely dependent on classic Pagan antiquity has been modified and brought within just limits by the learned de Rossi. To be sure Christian artists then retained and utilized the technicalities and systematic decoration of profane art; but, for all this, they employed great prudence and caution in adopting and transforming the symbols of Pagan mythology, such as Orpheus, to suit the requirements of Christianity, and it was not long till they entirely abandoned them; and, indeed, the symbolical representations of the Bible were wholly free from all Pagan references to classic traditions, and were inspired purely and solely by the genius of Christianity. (Tr. from Dr. Kraus' Text-book of Ancient Ch. H., p. 100–102.)

[1] Apoc. xi. 1, 2.

bolizing Christian souls, and lambs; of stags and lions, of cocks, and other things, either representing some event or expressing some truth of the Christian religion.

Notwithstanding the canon of the Council of *Elvira*,[1] condemning such representations, "lest what is worshiped and adored be painted on the walls," they were shortly to be found everywhere, both in churches and on sarcophagi.[2]

§ 94. *Matrimony, Asceticism, Sepulture.*

The Catholic Church, instinctively faithful to the doctrine of Christ and the teachings of His Apostles, has indeed always regarded virginity as a supernatural gift and prerogative, and in Pagan times appealed to its practice in evidence of the divine and subduing influence of the Gospel;[3] but in all this, it has never been her purpose to detract from the dignity and sanctity of *matrimony*. Quite the contrary; for she teaches that a special grace of the Holy Ghost sanctifies the union of man and wife.[4] St. Paul and Tertullian both call marriage a *great sacrament*.[5] St. Ignatius taught that it should be contracted in presence of a bishop,[1] and *Tertullian*[2] and *Clement of Alexandria* speak distinctly and particularly of the bishop's blessing. Marriage, contracted with these precautions and observances, was regarded as valid, pleasing in the sight of Heaven, and indissoluble even after conjugal fidelity had been outraged. It is plainly affirmed in the Pastor of Hermas and by Clement of Alexandria, that if, after a divorce, any of the parties should contract a new marriage during the lifetime of the other, such marriage is, according to the passage in Matt. v. 32, an adultery.[3] The Church, though she never, like the *Montanists*,[4] disapproved of *second marriages*, was nevertheless very far from encouraging them.[5]

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[1] *Concil. Eliberit*, can. 36. Placuit, picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur, in parietibus depingatur. (*Mansi*, T. II., p. 11. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 254.) *Dr. Nolte* (Tübing. Quarterly, 1865, p. 311) reads *defingatur* or *diffingatur* = fingendo (i. e. pingendo) corrumpatur.

[2] *Piper*, Mythology and Symbolism of Christian Art, Weimar, 1847. *Becker*, The Representation of Christ under the Symbol of the Fish, Berlin, 1866. The letters comprising the Greek word *ἰχθύς* (fish) were made to represent the following appellation: *'Ιησοῦς Χριστὸς θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ.*—Jesus Christ, the Son of God, Savior.

[3] *Ignat.* ep. ad Polycarp., c. 5. *Justin.* apolog. I., c. 15. *Athenag.* legat. pro Christian., c. 33. Cf. supra, p. 402, note 1.

[4] *Constitut. Apostol.* VI. 10 and 11. Partim haereticorum docent, non esse nubendum, esseque a carne abstinendum et vino, exsecrabilia enim esse nubere et procreare liberos et cibos capere. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, teaches, ibid.: Omnem creaturam Dei bonam esse dicimus, et nihil esse ejiciendum ut malum: immo id omne, quod ad sustentandum corpus juste sumitur, optimum esse, cuncta enim, ait scriptura, erant valde bona: legitimum conjugium et generationem filiorum honorata et munda esse credimus, ad augendum enim genus homiuum formata est in Adam et Eva figurae diversitas. (*Mansi*, T. I., p. 451–454. *Galland.* bibl. T. III., p. 147 sq.) Cf. *Gaume*, History of the Domestic Society, Germ. transl. Ratisb. 1845, 2 vols.

[5] *Tertull.* de anima, c. 11. Nam etsi Adam statim prophetavit, *magnum illud sacramentum* in Christum et Ecclesiam. Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro

Marriages between Christians and Pagans, since they could not receive the sanction of the Church, were held to be invalid, and were always severely condemned;[6] but if contracted

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ex carne mea, propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem et adglutinabit se uxori, suae, etc., p. 314.

[1] *Ignat.* ep. ad Polycarp., c. 5: *Πρέπει δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμουμέναις, μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ 'Επισκόπου τὴν ἕνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ Θεὸν καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν. Πάντα εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ γενέσθω.*—Decet vero ut sponsi et sponsae de sententia episcopi conjugium faciant; quo nuptiae sint secundum Dominum, et non secundum cupiditatem. Omnia ad honorem Dei fiant. It is becoming that the betrothed should contract marriage with the consent of the bishop, that thus the marriage may be pleasing in the sight of God, and not entered into from unholy motives. Let all be done to the honor of God. (*Hefele*, Patr. apost., p. 135.)

[2] *Tertull.* ad uxor. II. 9. Unde sufficiamus ad enarrandam felicitatem *ejus matrimonii, quod Ecclesia conciliat, et confirmat oblatio, et obsignat benedictio*, angeli renuntiant, pater rato habet? p. 191.

[3] *Hermae* Pastor. mandat. IV., c. 4. *Clem. Alex.* strom. II. 23, p. 506. *Möhler's* Patrolog., Vol. I., p. 478.

[4] *Tertull.* de exhortat. castit., c. 5. In utraque (nativitate carnali in Adam, spirituali in Christo) degenerat, qui de monogamia exorbitat. Cf. c. 11.

[5] *Athenagoras* calls second marriage a *εὐπρεπὴς μοιχεία* (specious adultery), in order thus strongly to ward off the reproach of incest. *Clem. Alex.* strom. II. 23, III. 11. Cf. *Klee*, Hist. of Dogm., Pt. II., p. 284 sq. Afterward *St. Ambrosius* thus aptly expressed himself on second marriages: "Neque enim prohibemus secundas nuptias, sed non suademus. Alia est enim infirmitatis contemplatio, alia gratia castitatis. Plus dico, non prohibemus secundas nuptias, sed non probamus saepe repetitas." De viduis, c. 11 (opp. ed. Bened., T. II., p. 203).

[6] *Tertull.* de monogam., c. 7. Et illa nuptura in Domino habet nubere, id est, *non ethnico, sed fratri*, quia *et vetus lex* adimit conjugium allophylorum, p. 679. Cf. c. 11. Ne scilicet etiam post fidem ethnico se nubere posse praesumeret,

before the conversion of either one of the parties, or of both,[1] they were tolerated.

Tertullian[2] gives a graphic account of the consequences of such marriages, and shows that they are destructive of Christian harmony, and mar religious sentiment. "When," says he, "it is time for the Christians to come together to pray, the Pagan says that it is just his hour for the bath; when the Church prescribes a fast, the Pagan spouse makes a feast; the family duties are never so numerous and pressing as when obligations of Christian charity require the Christian wife to be absent from home. How can faith prosper under such circumstances? or, how can faith be nourished and refreshed? or, how can it be said that there rests on such marriage a divine benediction?"

The Christians, though always careful to preserve all necessary relations with the world, were, nevertheless, accustomed at times to withdraw from its distracting cares and devote a few days, usually those of fasting and penance, to more protracted prayer and more earnest contemplation of divine things.[3] They denied themselves all self-indulgence, and gave to the poor what was saved in this way. Others, still more ardent, observed an almost unbroken fast, and cut themselves completely off from all connection with the world, and, as a rule, never married.[4] They were called the Continent (*ἀσκηταί*), the Proved (*σπουδαῖοι*), and the Most Perfect (*ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτότεροι*). It is true that there may be found among the Greeks persons who followed practices of mortification similar to those of the Christians, but from very different motives.

Asceticism, properly understood, was altogether unknown in the world *till after the promulgation of Christianity.* During the

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etc., p. 684. *Cyprian.* de lapsis: Jungere cum infidelibus vinculum matrimonii, prostituere gentilibus membra Christi (opp. p. 374).

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 12, 16.

[2] *Tertull.* ad uxor. II. 3–7, and esp. c. 4.

[3] According to the advice of the Apostle. 1 Cor. vii. 5.

[4] *Athenagoras* says that the continency of the ascetics was based on the belief that they would thus be more closely united with God. (Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 35.) *Clement of Alex.* stromat. III. 15, mentions the vow of chastity: *ὁ κατὰ πρόθεσιν εὐνουχίας ὁμολογήσας μὴ γῆμαι, ἄγαμος διαμενέτω.*—Let him who, for the sake of chastity, has promised not to marry, remain unmarried.

third century, and particularly during the persecutions of Decius, the faithful seemed specially impelled to adopt this manner of life, and Egypt furnishes the earliest examples of it. Crowds of Christians, fleeing from danger, took refuge in the barren deserts, and there were some who conceived so great a love for a life of solitude, and to whom an uninterrupted communing with God became so dear, that they never again went back to the society of the world. These were called *Anchorets* and *Hermits* (*ἀναχωρεταί, ἐρημῖται*). *St. Paul of Thebes*,[1] born A. D. 228, is believed to have been the first anchoret, or hermit. While still young, he fled from the persecution of Decius, and retired to a grotto in a distant and solitary mountain, whose sides were clothed with palm-trees, which provided him with both food and clothing. He passed ninety years in this manner of life, unknown to the world, and forgotten by it. Shortly before his death he was discovered by *St. Anthony*, who afterward became the real founder of the hermitical life. His wonderful history, which was written still later on by the great *St. Athanasius*, during his exile at Treves, will be related in the following epoch.

The Apologists, conscious of the glory that would accrue to the Church from this heroic practice of abstinence and mortification, did not fail to call attention to the fact, and claim that *Christianity alone could exercise an influence so powerful amid an age which had run riot in sin and sensuality, and was the slave of their power.*

The early Christians, when sick or in danger of death, following the precept of St. James,[2] called in the priests of the Church, who strengthened and sustained them with the holy *Sacrament* of *Extreme Unction*, in this last and trying conflict of the soul.[3] The mortal remains of man were no longer *burnt*, as was the custom among the *Pagans*. The Christians, following the *most ancient* practice of funeral service, placed the body in the earth, accompanying the ceremony with prayer and the singing of hymns, taken from the sacred liturgy, deeming this the most fitting way of paying the last tribute of respect to the earthly remains of man, which had been the temple and dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost, and were to rise again immortal and impassible.[1] The *catacombs* were frequently selected as fitting places, not only for the celebration of the divine mysteries, but also for the burial of those who suffered martyrdom rather than deny their faith. This was done in order that there might be a more intimate bond of union with the Church militant on earth and the Church triumphant in heaven—between those who were still fighting the battles of their faith and those who, having passed victorious through the conflict, were now enjoying the reward of their constancy. The *anniversary feast* of the martyrs served at once to *commemorate* their glory, and to unite them more closely to those they had left behind on earth. Every circumstance in the life of the Christians testified to the fact that, though they feared *death*,[2] they still believed it to be the way of *passage* to a *better life*, a condition to a lasting union with Christ, and therefore a great gain.

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[1] *Hieronymi* vita S. Pauli Eremitae (opp. ed. *Vallarsii* T. II., p. 1–14).

[2] James v. 14.

[3] *Origen* in Levit. homil. II., n. 4 (opp. T. II., p. 191), where he speaks of penance and of the confession of sins to the priest, and at the same time points out the fulfillment of the command given by St. James v. 14.

§ 95. *Religious and Moral Life among the Christians.*

†*Mamachi*, The Manners of the First Christians, fr. the Ital., Augsb. 1796, 3 pts. †*Fleury*, sur les moeurs des chrétiens (discours VIII. sur l'hist. ecclés.),

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[1] *Clem.* Roman. ep. ad Corinth, c. 24 sq. *Justin.* apolog. I., c. 19. *Athenag.* de resurrectione. *Tatiani* or., c. 6. *Tertull.* apologet., c. 48, and in the different symbols of faith in *Iren.* contr. haeres. I. 10. *Tertull.* de praescript, c. 13. Cf., esp., *Minuc. Felic.* Octavius, c. 34. Corpus omne, sive arescit in pulverem, sive in humorem solvitur vel in cinerem comprimitur, vel in nidorem tenuatur, subducitur nobis; sed Deo elementorum custodi reservatur. Nec ut creditis, ullum damnum sepulturae timemus, sed veterem et meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus. Vide adeo, quam in solatium nostri resurrectionem futuram omnis natura meditetur. (*Galland.* bibl. T.. II., p. 401.) Worthy of notice is what *Cicero* says (de legib. II. 22): Mihi quidem *antiquissimum* sepulturae genus id videtur, quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur: redditur enim terrae corpus et ita locatum ac situm, quasi *operimento matris obducitur.* Cf. De re funebri vet. christianorum syntagma *Francisco Melitone de Memisje*, Matriti, 1789. *Binterim*, Memorab., Vol. VI., Pt. III., p. 362 sq. *Baudri*, Christian Burial, in *Dieringer's* Periodical for Literature and Art, 1845, Nos. 1 and 2.

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 26. Conf. Heb. v. 7; Luke xxii. 42.

transl. into German, Würzb. and Augsb. 1785. *Reischl*, on the Social Relation of the First Christians to the Pagan Governm., Ratisb. 1853.

After having learned something of the various classes of Christians and the manner of life pursued by each, we are now in a position to take a general view of the morality and holiness by which they were distinguished. And we can do this in no better way than by transporting ourselves to their times, and conversing with their contemporaries, and thus have an opportunity of comparing them with their Pagan fellow-countrymen. After having done so, we shall be able to say with *Justin Martyr:*[1] "Those who were lately the slaves of sensual passion, as was the case with myself, have now no ambition other than to lead pure and holy lives; those who but yesterday were given to the practices of sorcery and the art of magic, are to-day consecrated to the service of the eternal and unbegotten God; those who as Pagans prized wealth above everything else, as Christians distribute all they have to the poor; those who formerly despised persons of any other nationality but their own, ridiculed their customs, and would hold no intercourse with them, live, since the birth of Christ in their souls, in peace with their enemies, and offer prayers and do other kind offices for those who hate and persecute them."

"The Christians," says the author of the *letter to Diognetus*,[2] "live in the world as pilgrims in a strange land; they share all their goods with their fellow-pilgrims, and bear up with fortitude amid all adversities. They have no settled home, the whole world being to them a place of exile; they marry and beget children like other men, but do not, like them, expose their children to danger. While living in the flesh, they do not yield to its solicitations, and while in the world never forget that heaven is their true home. Obeying and respecting all law, they are also, by reason of their exemplary lives, above every law. They love man, notwithstanding that men persecute them. They are indeed put to death, but death is for them the beginning of a new life."

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[1] *Justin.* apolog. I., c. 14; conf. c. 15–17.

[2] *Epist.* ad Diognet., c. 5.

"You find fault with us," says *Tertullian*,[1] addressing himself to the Pagans, "you find fault with us because we love, and you hate, each other; because we are ready to die for one another, while you are always on the point of destroying each other; because the spirit of fraternal love leads among us to a community of goods, while among you it is precisely such earthly possessions that are the cause of your enmities. You think it incredible that we, possessing everything else in common, should except our wives, while among you these constitute the only community of goods."

We will close this characteristic picture with the words of Origen.[2] "The work of Christ," says he, "is evident everywhere. There is not a Christian community which has not been exempted from a thousand vices and a thousand passions. The name of Jesus is daily the source of inexpressible sweetness, and an incomparable charity in the hearts of those who have cheerfully embraced the Gospel from straightforward and disinterested motives." And it is not possible to question the truth of Origen's words in the following passage, for what he says was a matter of notoriety throughout the world: "Compared," he says, "with contemporary Pagans, the disciples of Christ shine like stars in the firmament."

But while speaking of the remarkable virtues of the Christians, of their gentleness and pacific disposition, of their purity of morals and virginal chastity, we should not overlook the *heroic courage* and enduring fortitude which they exhibited in times of persecution, and in speaking of which *St. Cyprian*[3] breaks out into the following apostrophe: "O thrice happy Church! Thou art indeed already resplendent with the glory of Christ, but in our own day thou hast acquired a fresh luster from the courage exhibited by thy martyrs. Thou art crowned with a garland of lilies and roses, for thou art as white as innocence and as chaste as love, and the blood of the martyrs imparts to thy crown a richness of color more royal than purple."

The Christians made the sign of the *Cross* on almost every occasion, and at the beginning of every important daily action.[1] This custom was a standing proof that their thoughts ran constantly on holy things, and that they took the matter of death and immortality seriously to heart.

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[1] *Tertull.* apologet., c. 39.

[2] *Origen.* contr. Cels. I. 67, III. 29. Conf. above, p. 255.

[3] *Cyprian*, ep. 8 (ad martyres et confessores).

But if some Christians, of generous faith and holy enthusiasm, sometimes carried their zeal to the borders of unnecessary and fanatical severity; if they ignored the practice of binding a wreath about the head of a deceased friend,[2] discarded every ornament and work of art, and condemned as usury all interest taken on loans, some excuse may be found for this excessive rigor in the desperate resistance made against the Church by both Judaism and Paganism, and in the necessity of opposing uncompromising principles of morality to the licentious maxims of the world. The evil being excessive, could be met and successfully encountered only by what may seem to us measures of excessive rigor.

But if they seem extravagant in these instances, their motives are amply vindicated by their conduct under other circumstances. Did not the early Christians embrace the Gospel precepts, and carry them out in practice with generous alacrity and a pure and holy enthusiasm? And as their conduct was here, such was it everywhere.[3]

We should not omit to mention in this connection the *efforts of Christians to abolish the then existing system of slavery*,[4] and to assert and secure for the slave the rights of every creature made in the image of God. Perhaps no better illustration can be given of the prevailing sentiment and tone of feeling on this question among both Pagans and Christians, than the epistle of *St. Paul* to Philemon and a letter of *Pliny the Younger* to one of his friends, and each recommending a runaway slave to the mercy of his master.[1] The Church's solicitude for *the poor* and the oppressed is also exemplified in the loving care which the Christians have ever manifested in *relieving their wants*, and providing for their comfort, as well as in the heroic courage which they have always displayed in serving the sick and burying the dead during seasons of plague and pestilence. The Catholic Church has always, according to the words of the Roman Deacon *Lawrence*, regarded the poor as "*her most prized and cherished treasures.*"[1]

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[1] Ad omnem progressum, says Tertullian, atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum et calceatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quaecunque nos conversatio exercet, *frontem crucis signaculo* terimus (de coron. militis, c. 3).

[2] "Coronis etiam sepulchris denegatis," Caecilius upbraids the Christians with, and Octavius rejoins: "It is true, we do not crown the dead with garlands," quum beatus non egeat, miser non gaudeat floribus. *Minuc. Felic.* Octav., c. 12.

[3] Conf. †*Hefele*, Rigorism in the Life and Views of Ancient Christians. (Contributions to Ch. H., Vol. I., p. 16–59.)

[4] *Möhler*, Abolition of Slavery through the Agency of Christianity during the First Fifteen Centuries. (Tüb. Quart. 1834, No. 1, and *Möhler's* Miscellanea, Vol. II., p. 54 sq.) *Neander*, Memorabilia, Vol. II., p. 235 sq.

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[1] St. Paul writes to Philemon, v. 10–21: "I beseech thee for my son *Onesimus*, whom I have begotten in my chains, who heretofore was unprofitable unto thee, but now profitable both to me and to thee. Whom I have sent back to thee. And do thou receive him as my own bowels: whom I would have detained with me, that for thee he might have ministered to me in the bands of the Gospel: but without thy counsel I would do nothing; that thy good deed might not be as it were of necessity, but voluntary. For perhaps he therefore departed for a season from thee, that thou mighest receive him forever: not now as a servant, but, instead of a servant, a most dear brother, especially to me: but how much more to thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord? If, therefore, thou count me a partner, receive him as myself: and if he hath wronged thee in anything, put it to my account. I, Paul, have written with my own hand. I will repay it: not to say to thee, that thou owest me thy own self also. Yea, brother, may I enjoy thee in the Lord: refresh my bowels in the Lord. Trusting in thy obedience, I have written to thee, knowing that thou wilt also do more than I say."

The letter of *Pliny* to his friend reads thus: "Your freedman, with whom you said you were angry, has sought me out. He has thrown himself at my feet, as though it were at your own. He has wept much, prayed much. For a long time, too, he remained silent. He has convinced me of his sorrow. I think him really amended, since he has acknowledged his fault. You are angry with him, I know, and justly, too; nevertheless, I hope that you will some day receive him into your favor. Be somewhat indulgent to him, in consideration of his youth, his tears, and follow the instincts of your own natural mildness. Give neither him nor yourself any further unnecessary vexation; for, since you are by nature mild and humane, it would but vex and torment yourself. I join my prayers to his, and I do so with the greater earnestness, the sharper the reproof I have given him has been."

Charpentier, who makes this comparison, adds further: "In truth, this letter does honor to the mind of the younger Pliny; but what an immense difference there is between it and that of St. Paul! Where do we find in it that Christian charity and equality? Where the self-imposed expiation? Where the name *brother* given to the slave? Where, finally, the entire liberation from the bonds of slavery?" (Studies on the Fathers of the Church, Mayence, 1855, p. 276.)

Even philosophers and writers of distinction among the Pagans did not and could not deny that the true liberty of the human race is a distinguishing characteristic of the sublime genius of Christianity. And when the sarcastic *Lucian*[2] attempts to cast ridicule upon the Christians, and to represent them as fools and visionaries, his words of contemptuous abuse are their highest eulogy. "These foolish men," says he, "have got a notion into their heads that they are immortal, and this belief leads them to despise death. Their Lawgiver has left upon their minds the conviction that they all become brothers the moment they put aside the gods of Greece, adore the Crucified Sophist, and live obedient to His laws. They make no account of the riches of the world, which they regard as the common property of all. They intrust the administration of their effects to certain persons, of whom they do not exact so much as a guaranty."

If such be the character of the bulk of those Christians who lived during this epoch, and there is no reason to doubt the truthfulness of the picture, particularly if we take it as representing such men as St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp, St. Justin and St. Cyprian, and those other great ornaments of the Church, the saintly popes and bishops, the crowds of martyrs and ascetics, pious virgins and holy matrons, who are her glory and the admiration of mankind, still, after all this is said, it must also be admitted that the writings of the *Fathers* contain *many passages rebuking those* who embraced Christianity from selfish and worldly motives. Neither should we forget that in seasons of persecution some lost courage and denied Christ, and that the lengthy and detailed *penitential code* would never have existed had there not been a call for it to meet the evils of this epoch. Many also, unwilling to give up the pleasures of the world, and entertaining the superstitious belief that, by receiving baptism at the moment of death, they should instantly enjoy the Beatific Vision and be united with God, neglected to prepare for so great a grace, by leading virtuous lives.

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[1] Cf. †*Ratzinger*, Hist. of Eccl. Almonry, Freib. 1868.

[2] *Lucian.* de morte Peregrini, c. 13. The Pagan Caecilius satirizes the Christians after the same fashion in a dialogue by Minucius Felix, called "Octavius," c. 8.

These examples will serve to warn us against admitting, without qualification, that the Christians of the first three centuries were altogether exceptional representatives of religion and morality; they will also call to our mind the words of Our Lord, when He bade the husbandmen suffer the tares to grow up with the good grain till the time of harvest was come.

RETROSPECT.

The Christian historian, in reviewing the epoch of Church History which has just been concluded, contemplates with pleasurable pride the great work accomplished by Christianity. The greater part of the Roman empire has been wholly transformed, and a new spirit and fresh life have been infused into those portions of it that came under the benign influence of the Church. The following causes were instrumental in bringing about this result: 1. *A fundamental and thorough knowledge of the Christian religion, which, once implanted in the minds of the people, was afterward nourished and invigorated by a careful and assiduous system of instruction;*[1] 2. *The introduction of a pure system of morality and enduring spirit of patience;* 3. *The amelioration of the condition of the poor and the alleviation of the distressed;* 4. *The effectual abolition of slavery; and,* 5. *The establishment and development of faith on a scientific basis, and the conviction that its teachings, its hopes, and its consolations were adequate to all the requirements of the temporal and eternal happiness of mankind.*

The historian, impressed with the greatness and vital importance of these blessings, may well give expression to his joy in the words of *St. Clement* of Alexandria: "Truly has Christ converted the very stones into men, in bringing the Pagans, who adored statues of stone, to the light of Christianity. The power of His Word has created the universe, made the earth stable, and set limits to the waters of the ocean. It has done more. It has destroyed the ancient empire of the Serpent, who went about raging and seducing mankind to the worship of idols." In the presence of such changes, at once radical and far-reaching, the conviction is irresistibly borne in upon our minds, that the Church, after these three hundred years of trial, conflict, and bloody persecution, has every right to be acknowledged as a divine institution, and has exemplified in her history the words of Our Divine Lord: "The gates of hell shall not prevail against Thee."

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[1] What *St. Augustin* says on this is just to the point: Dicatur in quibus locis haec docentium Deorum solebant praecepta recitari et a cultoribus eorum populis frequentur audiri, sicut nos ostendimus ad hoc ecclesias institutas, quaquaversum religio christiana diffunditur (de civitate Dei II. 6).

SECOND EPOCH.

FROM THE EDICT OF PACIFICATION OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT TO THE END OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

THE RELATIONS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH TO THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

§ 96. *Sources—Works.*

I. Sources.—The Church Historians, Greek and Latin, indicated in Chapter IV., p. 34–37 of the Scientific Introduction, *Eusebius*, *Socr.*, *Sozom.*, *Theodoret*, *Philostorg.*, *Theodorus* lector, *Evagrius*, *Nicephorus Callisti*, *Sulpitius Sever.*, *Rufin.*, *Cassiodor.*, and *Epiph.*; the chronicon paschale (Alexandrinum), Pt. I., until 354; Pt. II., 628, ed. *du Fresne du Cange*, Paris, 1688, and *Lud. Dindorf*, Bonnae, 1832, 2 T. (corpus scriptor. hist. Byzant.); Theophanes Confessor. *χρονογραφία* (277–805), cum notis Goari et Combefisii, Paris, 1655, Venet. 1729 sq.; ex recensione *Joannis Classeni*, Vol. II. praecedit *Anastasii bibliothecarii* hist. eccl. ex recensione *Imman. Bekkeri*, Bonnae, 1839–1841, 2 T. (Corpus scriptor. hist. Byzant.) The *Acts of the Councils* in the collectio concilior. by *Harduin*, T. I.–III.; by *Mansi*, T. II.–XI. *Fuchs*, Library of the Ecclesiastical Councils of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, Lps. 1780 sq., 4 pts. *_Hefele_, History of the Councils, Vol. I.–III. *The Works of the Holy Fathers and Writers of this Epoch, both Latin and Greek* (maxima bibl., T. III.–XI.; *Gallandii* bibl., T. IV.–XII., most complete in both collections of the series Graeca et Latina, by *Migne*), or particular editions.

The Imperial Laws, relative to ecclesiastical affairs, in the Codex Theodosianus (compiled 438), cum comment. Gothofredi, cura *Jos. Dan. Ritter*, Lps. 1737 sq., 6 vols. fol., with recently discovered books and fragments, ed. *Haenel*, Bonnae, 1842. Codex Justinianeus, compiled by Tribonianus (529), codex repetitae praelectionis, 534 (in the ed. of the corpus juris civilis). Cf. *Trolong*, de l'influence du christianisme sur le droit civil des Romains, Paris, 1843, and *Rohrbacher-Hülskamp*, Vol. IX., p. 72–75 and p. 175.

Profane Historians: The Pagan *Ammianus Marcellinus*, rer. gestar., libb. XXXI., of which only lib. 14–31 (fr. 353–378), ed. *Henr. Valesius*, Paris, 1681, according to which we quote; ed. *Jac. Gronov.*, Lugd. Batav. 1692, fol.; ed. *Wagner*, 1808. *Zosimus*, likewise Pagan, under the Emperor Theodosius II., *ἱστορία νέα*, libb. VI. (until 410), ed. *Reitemeier*, Lps. 1784, 8vo ed. *J. Bekker*, Bonn. 1837 (in the corpus scriptor. hist. Byzant.) Cf. the favorable criticism of the latter by *Leunclavius*, in the ed. by. *Reitemeier*, in the beginning; also

Guil. de *Sainte Croix*, observations sur Zosime (mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions, T. 49, year 1808, p. 466 sq.) *Schmidt*, de auctoritate et fide historica *Zosimi* vitam Const. Magni narrantis (lib. II., c. 8–28), Hal. 1865.

II. Works.—*Baronii* annales, T. III.–VIII. *Natalis Alex.* hist. eccl. saec. IV.–VII., in T. VII. sq. **Tillemont*, T. VI.–XVI. *Katerkamp*, Pt. II. and III. (this epoch is most ably written.) *Stolberg-Kerz*, Pt. X.–XII. *Rohrbacher*, hist. univers. de l'église cathol., T. VI.–X. The monographs on *Athanasius*, *Hilary* of *Poitiers*, *Gregory* of *Nazianzum*, *Chrysostom*, *Leo the Gr.*, *Gregory the Gr.*, *Paulinus* of *Nola*, etc. *Böhringer*, Ch. II. in Biographies, down to Gregory the Gr., Vol. I., 2 4 div. *Schaff*, Hist. of the Ancient Church. Lps. 1867 (to 604).

CHAPTER I.

COMPLETE VICTORY OF CHRISTIANITY OVER PAGANISM IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE—ITS FURTHER PROPAGATION BEYOND THE LIMITS OF THE LATTER—ENCROACHMENTS OF MOHAMMEDANISM UPON CHRISTENDOM.

†**Riffel*, Hist. Expos. of the Relation between Church and State, Pt. I., Mentz, 1836, p. 76–113. **Phillips*, Canon Law, Vol. III., divis. I. *Hoffmann*, ruina superstit., Viteb. 1738. *Rüdiger*, de statu paganor. sub imperat. christ. post Const. M., Vratisl. 1825. *Tzschirner*, Fall of Paganism. *Lasaulx*, Destruction of Hellenism, Munich, 1854. *Lübker*, Fall of Paganism, Schwerin, 1856.

§ 97. *Relations of Constantine the Great to the Catholic Church.*

Martini, Introduction of Christianity as the Religion of the State, Munich, 1813. *Kist*, de commutatione quam Constantino auctore societas christ. subiit., Traject ad Rhen. 1818. †*Arendt*, Const. the Gr. and his connection with Christendom. (Tübing. Quart., 1834, No. 3.) *Alb. Broglie*, l'église et l'Empire Romain au IV. siècle, Paris, 1856, Vols. I., II. *Burckhardt*, The Times of Const. the Gr., etc., and *Keim*, Conversion of Const. the Gr. The two last-named authors are full of rationalistic misrepresentations. Cf. p. 277, n. 3, and p. 284, n. 1.

That the Church should remain for any length of time in a hostile attitude toward those nations among which she had succeeded in establishing herself, and where she was daily growing in importance and increasing in numbers, is a supposition that would be at variance with every element of her nature, and antagonistic to the genius of her institutions.

"The Church," as St. Augustine finely remarks,[1] "during her sojourn on earth, calls together children from all nations, and forms a society of pilgrims, embracing men of every tongue. She takes no heed of diversity of customs, laws, and institutions, since these are necessary for the establishment and security of the peace of the world. Instead of changing or abolishing these, she, on the contrary, preserves and adopts them; for although diversities may exist among different people, these will always tend to the general good and peace of the world, provided only *they are not of such a character as to be a hindrance to that religion, in which we are taught to worship the one omnipotent God." It has ever been the aim of the Church to faithfully comply with the precept of the Prince of Apostles: "Fear God, honor the King."*[2]

Constantine, although brought up a Pagan, had been blessed with a Christian and sincerely pious mother, from whom, as well as from his Pagan father, Constantius Chlorus, he early imbibed sentiments favorable to Christianity.

While at Nicomedia, where he resided at the court of Diocletian, he had ample opportunity of witnessing the heroic fortitude of the Christians, and of admiring the generous sentiments with which their religion inspired them.

From the time that Constantine assumed the government of Gaul, he did not cease giving evidences of the favor with which he regarded the teachings of the Gospel, and, after he had beheld the *Miraculous Sign*[3] in the heavens, he was still further disposed to admit the claims of Christianity. As a testimony of his gratitude and an expression of his joy, the conqueror of Maxentius, conjointly with the Augustus, Licinius, published at Milan, A. D. 313, an edict, proclaiming the unrestricted toleration of Christianity throughout the Roman empire.

When signing this decree, Constantine was far from appreciating that by that act he gave to the Church certain victory, and to Christianity supreme dominion. Trusting to his experience during the early part of Diocletian's reign, he flattered himself that by a judicious course he could so adjust the conflicting claims of Paganism and Christianity as to cause them to exist amicably side by side. While a judgment so erroneous shows that Constantine had not yet fully appreciated the true relations between Paganism and Christianity, his error was, nevertheless, a favorable circumstance for the latter. On the one hand, it prevented any hasty and troublesome interference with the Church, and left her at liberty to develop her resources; and on the other, gave him both the time and the opportunity to become acquainted with her teachings, and to be imbued with the spirit of the Christian religion. Moreover, Christianity, which had so long endured all the evils of bloody and relentless persecution, required no more than the just toleration of an equitable emperor and the prohibition of all violent interference with divine worship, to thoroughly permeate every order of society, from the lowest to the highest, and to finally recommend its claims at the throne of royalty, of which it afterward became the firmest support. This circumstance will furnish an easy explanation of the policy which Constantine afterward pursued. Following the example of his father, he surrounded his person with a number of Christians, whose fidelity he admired and whose services he appreciated, without, however, prudently dismissing the Pagan officials from his court. And while, on the one hand, he ordered all Christian churches destroyed during times of persecution to be rebuilt, and permitted the erection of new ones; on the other, he provided for the repair of Pagan temples, and assisted at the sacrifices which were there offered up. But apart from all this, he took no pains to disguise his preference for Christianity, and always manifested the liveliest interest in its welfare and advancement.

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[1] *Augustin.* de civitate Dei, lib. XIX., c. 17.

[2] 1 Pet. ii. 17.

[3] See p. 284.

In the year 313 he exempted the Christian *clergy* from the "Liturgy," that is, from undertaking the discharge of burdensome municipal offices;[1] and three years later (316), honored them with a remarkable proof of his personal esteem and of the confidence which he reposed in them, by ordaining that the *Church* might lawfully *set slaves at liberty*,[1] and that *bishops* should have the right of giving a *definitive sentence* in cases in which the litigating parties were dissatisfied with the decision of a secular judge.[2] He issued a peremptory order to the heretical Donatists to submit to the tribunal of the bishops;[3] gave leave to churches to accept donations and *legacies;*[4] contributed from his own resources a large sum for the support of the clergy in Africa, and exempted the Catholic Church from contributions,[5] in an edict imposing a universal tax, which was specially burdensome on Pagan temples.

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[1] Cod. Theodos., lib. XVI., tit. 2, lex. 1, 2. *Euseb.* h. e. X. 7. *Sozom.* I. 9.

The Jews were forbidden to exercise any further violence against the Christians, or to retain them as slaves. Practices pointedly offensive to the Christians were abolished, and the mutilation of the *human countenance*, the reflection of God's beauty, was prohibited;[6] the *death penalty of crucifixion* was abrogated out of a feeling of reverence for the Savior of the world;[7] the bones of those condemned to death were no longer allowed to be broken, and the sanguinary combats of the gladiators were interdicted.[8] This last clause, however, was not at once carried into effect. The unnatural practice then common among the Romans of exposing and murdering innocent children because their parents were too poor to provide for their subsistence, was, if not altogether corrected, at least considerably restrained by the generosity of Constantine, who supplied the means of their support, partly from his own resources and partly from the public treasury.[9] He was anxious to show the Christians every mark of respect and consideration, and, in consequence, published a law, in the year 321, prescribing that *Sunday should be celebrated* with all becoming decency,[1] and another allotting to each *legion a certain number of ecclesiastics*, and ordering that they should be provided with a tent for the purposes of divine worship.[2]

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[1] Cod. Theodos. IV. 7, 1. *Sozom.* I. 8.

[2] *Euseb.* vita Const. M. IV. 27.

[3] See § 109.

[4] Cod. Theodos. XVI. 2, 4.

[5] Cod. Theodos. XI. 1, 1.

[6] Cod. Theod. IX. 40, 2; cf. VIII. 15, 1, and *Victor*, senior, epitome, c. 41.

[7] *Sozom.* I. 8.

[8] Cod. Theod. XV. 11, 1.

[9] Cod. Theodos. XI. 27, 1 (de alimentis).

As Constantine, besides these evidences of his clemency and favor, distributed corn and money[3] among the Christians with judicious and generous liberality, it is not wonderful that they increased both in number and consideration, and conceived for the person of the emperor an affectionate and devoted loyalty.

The condition of the Christians in the East, where the Augustus *Licinius* ruled, was quite the reverse of those under Constantine. The Augustus of the East, at a distance from Constantine, and no longer under his influence, sought to increase his popularity with the Pagans, by carrying on a persecution against the Christians. He removed all Christians from his immediate person, and dismissed them from his court; he also ordained that those who held offices and dignities in either the civil service or the army, should be deprived of their rank if they would not consent to sacrifice to the gods.[4] He, moreover, published an edict, forbidding men and women to attend divine service together in churches, and ordained that the different sexes should meet separately, and outside the limits of the cities, in the open air. He further prescribed that females should be instructed in the Christian religion by persons of their own sex, and not by bishops; that bishops should not convoke or hold synods; that Christians should not express sympathy for their brethren who were confined in prison by the government, and should any be either rash or courageous enough to disregard this order, they were to share the punishment of their imprisoned fellow-Christians. Whenever the Christians manifested any discontent with their condition, or expressed a desire to possess the same privileges enjoyed by their brethren of the West, or whenever, without giving any evidences of discontent, their conduct excited the suspicious jealousy of Licinius, a persecution was set on foot against them, and their temples were destroyed, their goods confiscated, and they themselves cruelly put to death. The discord which arose between Constantine and Licinius, was, in reality, first occasioned by the latter's violation of the articles of an edict bearing the joint signatures of both, and the war that followed may, in truth, be said to have been one *of religion.*

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[1] Cod. Theod. II. 8, 1. Cod. Justinian. III. 12, 3. *Euseb.* vita Const. M. IV. 18.

[2] *Sozom.* I. 8.

[3] *Euseb.* vita Const. M. II. 24–42, 48–68; IV. 29, 32, and 55; III. 2.

[4] *Euseb.* h. e. X. 8; vita Const. M. I. 50–56, II. 1–4. *Socrat.* I. 3.

While Constantine was surrounded by *bishops*, who supplicated Heaven to favor his arms, and had the victorious standard of the *Cross* borne before his legions, Licinius ridiculed what he sarcastically called "a pious apparatus for war," and had in his company, instead of Christian bishops, Egyptian soothsayers and Pagan priests, who raised his hopes and soothed his vanity by predictions of certain success. After having offered sacrifices to the gods of his country, he uttered the presumptuous boast: "*This day will I make it plain whether we or the Christians are in error, and decide which is the true Divinity—our gods, or their crucified God.*"

The two met near Byzantium, A. D. 323, and Licinius was defeated, both in this and in succeeding battles. It was a conflict between Paganism and Christianity, whose issue depended upon the fortune of war, and *the God of battles declared in favor of the Christian cause.* Licinius, though he had no further claims on the mercy of Constantine, might, as his brother-in-law, appeal to his fraternal feelings. He was treated with clemency, but in violation of his sworn promise he again trusted his cause to the chances of battle (A. D. 324), and lost both his empire and his life.

Constantine, having subdued both the East and the West by the valor of his arms, became now the supreme ruler of the whole Roman empire. He openly and unequivocally professed his belief in Christianity, but still refused to receive baptism. In a manifesto addressed to all the East, he describes himself as "*the servant of God*, through whose instrumentality the world had again been brought back to the observance of the Holy Law, and in whom, under God's protecting providence, the true and saving faith would ever find its strongest support. But," added he, "since I govern this empire as the servant of God, what is more proper than that they, whose constancy and fortitude during the violence of persecution excited the admiration of their persecutors, should now have an increase of peace and happiness." As time went on, the favors which he extended to the Christians grew more numerous and important, and he, fearing that the Pagan officers, who administered the government of the provinces, would be slow to put in execution laws so antagonistic to their prejudices or convictions, removed them from their positions, and appointed *Christians* to their places.

Helena, the mother of Constantine, solicitous for the becoming and worthy celebration of the divine mysteries, had caused two churches to be erected, the one on *Mount Olivet* and the other at *Bethlehem*, and her son, following the example and emulating the devotion of his pious mother, provided for the erection of many magnificent temples of Catholic worship—such as that of the *Holy Sepulchre* at Jerusalem, and those of *Nicomedia* and *Antioch*, *Mambre* and *Heliopolis*, *Rome*, and other places—all of which he endowed by assigning them revenues out of the municipal property.[1] *New-Rome*, afterward called in his honor Constantinople, which he, with the foresight and prudence of a true statesman, built (325–335) on the site of ancient Byzantium, overlooking both the East and the West, bore a character unmistakably Christian, and contained many Christian monuments and churches, the most remarkable of which was the Church of the Apostles.

Constantine, it is true, still retained, as did many of his successors, the title of Pontifex Maximus, but with the purpose of strengthening his authority and cementing his political power among the Pagans, rather than with any intention of serving a religion of which he ostensibly held the most distinguished office. He was, however, ambitious of the honor of being regarded by the Christians as a sort of bishop, in the *external* and temporal affairs of the *Church*, as one designated by God to watch over her political interests,[1] which he regarded as something entirely distinct from her internal constitution and government. But although Constantine showed a disposition to participate in ecclesiastical affairs, his motives for so doing were prompted by the lively interest he took in the Church's welfare, and not by a desire to meddle in questions which properly came within *her jurisdiction* and competence. Whenever his actions seemed to indicate a line of conduct at variance with this rule, his course may be justified either by the provocation he received from the Donatists, or by the crafty and deceitful representations of the Arians.

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[1] *Euseb.* vita Const. M. III. 25–40; IV. 43–45 and 58–60. Cf. *Ciampinus* de sacris aedificiis a Const. M. exstructis, Romae, 1693, fol. *Sozom.* I. 8; V. 5. *Unger*, Buildings erected by Const. the Gr. over the Holy Sepulch., Götting. 1866. *Schegg*, Constantine's Edifices, constructed over the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, Freising. 1867.

He professed to believe himself the divinely appointed guardian of the Church and her interests, and this conviction determined his *policy toward Paganism*, which, he openly declared, was an apostasy from the primitive worship of the one true God, and expressed a wish that all his subjects would, like himself, abjure the superstition.[2] But while he made no secret of his own convictions, he did not wish to constrain those of others, and consequently declared "*that no one should be molested for his belief in the gods, or forcibly compelled to give up the Pagan worship.*"

Notwithstanding this profession of indifference, Constantine, after he had interdicted gladiatorial combats, next forbade all private sacrifices and certain immoral practices common to some modes of Pagan worship, and further ordered that those temples should be destroyed which were notoriously the haunts of shameful lust and open imposture. He confiscated many of the less frequented Pagan temples, and applied the proceeds partly for the benefit of Christian churches, and partly for embellishing his own new city of Constantinople with magnificent structures.[1] He went even further, and instructed Pagan officials not to participate in public sacrifices, that their absence might influence the lower and less enlightened classes, and gradually alienate them from their superstition. The law said to have been published by Constantine, A. D. 335, prohibiting all Pagan sacrifices, is of doubtful authenticity, and if authentic, is of very little importance, for, like a great many others of a similar nature, it was never enforced.[2] The execution of such laws met with a determined resistance in many places, and particularly at *Rome*. Constantine, although professing to be a Christian, lived pretty much the same sort of life he had lived while a Pagan, and even stained his reputation by the commission of deeds of murder.

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[1] *Euseb.* vita Const. M. IV. 24: ὑμεῖς τῶν ἔσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς ὑπὸ θεοῦ καθεσταμένος ἐπίσκοπος ἂν εἴην. That the manner of expression τῶν ἐκτὸς must be taken as requiring for its complete sense the word πραγμάτων, and not ἀνθρώπων (of Pagans), may be inferred from the Greek heading of this chapter: ὅτι τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων ὥσπερ ἐπίσκοπον ἑαυτὸν εἶπεν εἶναι; and a still more positive proof of this may be found in *Euseb.* vita Const. I. 44, where, in giving an account of the part taken by the emperor in the assemblies of bishops, this writer particularly defines the meaning of this imperial play upon words.

[2] *Euseb.* vita Const. M. II. 24–42, 56.

Licinius was executed A. D. 324, and Licinianus, his son, who appears to have excited the fears of Constantine, shortly afterward met the fate of his father. Constantine also had *Crispus*, his son by his first wife, Minervina, apprehended in the midst of a solemn festival, and exiled him to the shore of Istria, where he perished by an obscure death. Learning afterward, as it is supposed, that *Fausta*, his second wife, the daughter of Maximianus Herculeus, had been instrumental in causing the death of his brave and illustrious son Crispus, he had her strangled in a bath of warm water, heated to an insupportable temperature. It may be that these murders, in which the designing policy of Fausta played so conspicuous a part, prompted Constantine to delay his entrance into the Church, and to put off his baptism till the hour of his death. He was, moreover, influenced by the prevailing prejudice relative to the sacrament of baptism,[3] and also wished to be baptized in the river Jordan, which, however, "God did not permit."

The conduct of Constantine in this instance was, in great measure, attributable to the *policy of the leaders of the Arian party*, who, instead of trying to exercise a moral and beneficial influence over his mind, made every effort to secure his good-will, and attach him permanently to their cause, by basely flattering himself, and expressing admiration for every enterprise he took in hand.

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[1] Ibidem II. 25–29; III. 24–42, 49, 54–58; IV. 25 and 39. Cod. Theod. XVI. 10, 1.

[2] Perhaps only private and domestic sacrifices were meant. See *Euseb.* vita Const. M. IV. 25, 26. Conf. *Libanii* orat. pro templis.

[3] Conf. p. 420.

Constantine, when in the sixty-fourth year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign, was seized with a dangerous fever, and had himself conveyed to the palace of *Ancyrona*, in the suburbs of Nicomedia, for the benefit of the air. He was here baptized by *Eusebius*, bishop of Nicomedia, who, having abjured the Arian heresy, was restored to his see. The emperor died, after a short illness, on the feast of Pentecost, and while still clad in his baptismal robes, A. D. 337.[1]

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[1] TRANSLATOR'S OBSERVATION.—All the circumstances of Constantine's baptism are given in full by *Rohrbacher*, Vol. VI., Book XXXII.; Card. *Rauscher*, in the *Freiburg Eccl. Cyclopedia*, art. Constantine; *Cantù*, Universal History, Vol. IV., c. 3, sub fine; *Ritter*, Manual of Church History, 6th ed., p. 171, Bonn, 1862; *Abbé Darras*, Vol. I., p. 417. *Wouters*, Vol. I., p. 196. All modern writers seem to adopt the opinion of *Noël Alexander*, and *Billuart*, who, in Vol. VIII., Paris and Lyons, ed., 10 vols., 1857, has a dissertation on this subject. He asks the question, *Where and when was Constantine baptized?* and replies as follows:

"There are two opinions on this subject. According to the first, Constantine was baptized at Rome (A. D. 324), in the fiftieth year of his age, and fourteen years before his death, by St. Sylvester. According to the second, he was baptized at a palace in the suburbs of Nicomedia toward the end of his life. This opinion has been adopted by most modern writers, such as *Papebroche*, *Pagi*, *Noël Alexander*, the *Benedictines of St. Maur*, *Tillemont*, *Fleury*, and others." He then brings forward the arguments for both sides of the question, and, having refuted the opinion of Constantine's having been baptized at Rome, proves the historical correctness of the account which asserts that he received baptism on his death-bed at Nicomedia. The strongest authority that he advances in favor of this view is the testimony of *Eusebius* of Caesarea, the Father of Church History, Vita Constantini, l. IV., c. 61 and 64, where it is related that Constantine, having been taken seriously ill, had himself conveyed to Helenopolis to obtain the benefit of the warm baths, and while here was judged worthy to receive, amid solemn prayer, the imposition of hands, by which he became a catechumen. His illness growing worse at Helenopolis, he was removed to the suburban palace of Nicomedia. Eusebius, after relating that he made an address to the bishops present, in which he expressed a wish to receive baptism, which, after the example of Christ, he had so long desired to have conferred upon him in the river Jordan, continues: "They (bishops) performed the divine ceremonies with solemn rite, and having instructed him as to his obligations, made him a partaker of the sacred mysteries. Constantine alone, of all the emperors who ever reigned, was born again and perfected in Christ by mysterious rites, and, having received the divine seal, rejoiced in spirit."

Billuart confirms this statement of Eusebius by the concurrent testimony of succeeding historians, none of whom impugned the account of Eusebius, but, The blemishes on the life of Constantine did not escape the animadversion of his Pagan contemporaries, whose hatred he had inflamed; and the writers of succeeding ages, as well as those of modern times, have censured the policy and passed severe judgment upon the conduct of this *child of destiny*, without taking either the trouble to state or the pains to consider the circumstances which, if they do not excuse, certainly extenuate the darkest features of his character. Some even affect to doubt that he was sincerely a Christian.

Hug[1] undertook, and successfully accomplished, the vindication of an emperor, whom his contemporaries, from a feeling of gratitude, styled Constantinus Maximus, and whom, as well as Theodosius the Great, the Greek Church honors as a saint.

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on the contrary, adopted it without comment, and simply state that Constantine, being at the point of death, was baptized at Nicomedia. Vide *Socrates*, b. I., c. 39; *Sozomen.*, b. II., c. 34; *Theodoret*, Hist. Eccl., b. I., c. 32. *St. Jerome*, Chronicle.

This view is further confirmed by the letter of the bishops assembled at the *Council of Rimini*, addressed to the Emperor Constantius: "Fuit nobis persuasissimum. cum imperator Constantinus, ab obitu suo dignus omni memoria, hanc fidem omni cura et diligentia conscriptam promulgavit, tum demum ex quo ille baptizatus, ex hominibus in requiem sibi debitam translatus est, aliquid novi in ea fide molire velle."

Moreover, *St. Ambrose*, in his funeral oration on the Emperor Theodosius, says: "Quod Constantino baptismatis gratia in ultimis constituto omnia peccata dimiserit." To these must be added *St. Isidore*, in his Chronicon, and, among the moderns, *Aeneas Sylvius*, *Cardinal Cusa*, and others.

Abbé Blanc, in his "Cours d'Histoire Eccl., Vol. I., Lesson XLIX.," among his problems on Constantine, this one stands first: Was Constantine baptized at Rome by Pope St. Sylvester in the year 324?

For the *affirmative* side: Baronius, an. 324; Binius, in notis ad Sylvestrem; Labbe, T. I; Mansi, T. II.; Ciaconius, Schelstrate, Bianchini, on St. Sylvester, and generally the authors who follow Baronius on the Roman Traditions.

For the *negative* side: Pagi, Noël Alexander, Roncaglia, Tillemont, Saccarelli, and generally all modern critics.

This alone, as Alzog says, suffices to refute the legend, according to which Constantine received baptism at Rome in the year 324, at the hands of Pope Sylvester, who is said to have, upon this occasion, obtained the so-called Patrimonium Petri. Cf. *Döllinger*, Papal Fables, Munich, 1863, p. 52–106.

[1] †*Hug*, Vindication of Constantine the Great. (Periodical for the Clergy of the Arch-diocese of Freiburg, No. 3, 1829, p. 1–104.) *Nève*, Constantin et Theodose devant les églises Orientales, Louvain et Bruxelles, 1857.

§ 98. *Condition of the Catholic Church under the Sons of Constantine.*

By the will of Constantine the Great, the Roman empire was to be divided among his three sons. The eldest, *Constantine II.*, obtained the western provinces, or the Prefecture of Gaul; *Constans*, the youngest, the middle provinces, or the Prefecture of Italy and Illyria; and *Constantius*, the second eldest, the eastern provinces, or the Prefecture of the East. An attempt was made by their relatives to remove them by violence, and obtain the throne for themselves. It was not long, however, before they quarreled among themselves, and *Constantine*, having invaded the dominions of his brother, *Constans*, was artfully allured into an ambuscade near Aquileia, and put to death (A. D. 340). Constans was now the sole ruler of the West, and *Constantius* of the East. The two brothers were more solicitous for the abolition of Paganism than even their father had been,[1] and there were those about them, who, more zealous than judicious, advised its total annihilation;[2] but their efforts met everywhere with little encouragement, and at Rome with a most determined opposition. Constans lost his life on the Spanish frontier in endeavoring to escape from a body of light horse, sent in pursuit of him by the conspirator and usurper *Magnentius*. *Constantius* revenged the murder of his brother at the battle of Mursa, and after the death of Magnentius, who, to escape the vengeance of an angry emperor, put an end to his own life, became the *sole ruler* of the whole Roman empire (A. D. 350). He prohibited all sacrifices under penalty of death (A. D. 353),[3] and also the adoration of images. These hasty measures, instead of contributing to the progress of Christianity, gave to Paganism a vitality and consequence, which, of itself, it no longer possessed. An attempt to suppress by law, or violence, a religion which no longer possessed a principle of life, and retained only the precarious existence derived from political influence and external circumstances, and which, left to itself, would rapidly fall to pieces, was to invest it with an importance far more than commensurate with its real power.

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[1] *Cod. Theodos.* XVI. 10, 2 (A. D. 341): Cesset superstitio, sacrificiorum aboleatur insania. Nam quicunque contra legem divi principis, parentis nostri, et hanc nostrae mansuetudinis jussionem ausus fuerit sacrificia celebrare, competens in eum vindicta et praesens sententia exseratur. They appealed to Deut. xiii. 6 sq. Cf. *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 10, 3 (A. D. 342).

[2] *Firmicus Maternus*, in lib. de errore profanar. religionum (between 340 and 350, dedicated to both emperors). See below, p. 495, note 1.

[3] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 10, 4 (A. D. 353): Placuit, omnibus locis atque urbibus universis claudi protinus templa, et accessu vetitis omnibus, licentiam delinquendi perditis abnegari. Volumus etiam cunctos sacrificiis abstinere. Quodsi quis aliquid forte hujusmodi perpetraverit, gladio ultore sternatur, etc. Cf. lex 5 and 6 (A. D. 353 and 356).

At *Rome* and *Alexandria*, where the memories of Pagan times had not yet been forgotten, and where the mythology of the gods still possessed a fascination for men's minds, almost insuperable obstacles were thrown in the way of every attempt to establish Christian institutions.[1] Pagan writers felt that the attempt to favor Christianity at the expense of Paganism, was an outrage both on their honor and their pride, and, in their eagerness for revenge, openly declared their uncompromising hostility to the Christian religion.

Neo-Platonism, now encouraged by *Jamblichus*, who died A. D. 333, regained something of its ancient influence and charm.[2] The most renowned orators were seized with a fresh enthusiasm for the ancient gods, and now cast upon the Christians the reproach, with which their own ancestors were taunted, of prostrating themselves before emperors, and *propagating their religion through the favor of princes.* They now demanded for Paganism the same tolerance which the Christians had sought for Christianity. They artfully pretended that the active "competition of several rival creeds would serve to animate zeal for divine worship, and increase interest in religion."

Be this as it may, it can not be denied that Constantius, though excessively zealous, meant well, and labored honestly to advance the cause of Christianity.[3] But while admitting this, it must be confessed that he used unnecessary violence against the Pagans, and employed extreme measures of severity in his attempts to compose the internal dissensions of the Church, a severity which called forth the open resistance of the most exemplary and pious bishops of the Catholic world.[1] Constantius died A. D. 361.

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[1] *Rüdiger*, de statu paganor., etc., p. 31 sq.

[2] See p. 291 sq.

[3] *Euseb.* vita Const. M. IV. 52.

§ 99. *The Church under Julian the Apostate.*

Juliani opp. Orationes VIII. Caesares; misopogon; epistolae (65), ed. *Petav.*, Paris, 1683; ed. *Spanhem.*, Lps. 1696, 2 T. fol. Jul. epp. accedunt fragmenta breviora, ed. *Heyler*, Mogunt. 1828. *Ammian. Marcell.*, lib. XXI.–XXV. 3. *Tillemont*, T. VII., p. 322–423. *Neander*, Emperor Jul. and his Age, Lps. 1812. *Van Herwerden*, de Juliano imperat. rel. chr. hoste eodemque vindice, Lugd. Batav. 1827. *Stolberg*, Pt. XI., p. 316–437. *Katerkamp*, Ch. H., Pt. II., p. 257–292. †*Auer*, Emperor Julian the Apostate, in his Struggle with the Fathers of the Church of his Time, Vienna, 1855. *Wiggers*, Julian the Apostate. (*Illgen's* Periodical, Vol. VII.) *Strauss*, The Romantic Poet on the Throne, or Julian the Apostate, Mannheim, 1847. *Alb. Broglie*, l'église et l'empire rom., Vol. III.-IV.. *Lübker*, Emp. Julian's Struggle and End, Hamb. 1864.

Neander endeavors, in his monograph of *Julian*, to which reference is made above, to harmonize the incongruous and apparently inexplicable traits of that prince's character, by connecting these psychological phenomena with the history of his education, with the development of political views and religious principles consequent upon such a course of studies, and with the peculiar phase which Polytheism assumed immediately before it passed away forever.

Julian was the son of Constantius, a step-brother of Constantine the Great, by Basilina, who died a few months after her son's birth. The circumstances attending the youth of Julian were unfortunate. While still young he lost his mother, and thus left an orphan, he learned that, besides his father, all his nearest of kin had been put to death, as it was said, if not by the order, at least with the connivance, of Constantius (A. D. 337), and that he himself and his brother *Gallus* had been spared only because the extreme youth of the one and the feeble health of the other did not excite the jealousy of the emperor. These events made an impression upon his mind that deepened as time went on.

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[1] See § 111.

It was the intention of Constantius to have Julian brought up in retirement at the country-seat of Macellum, in Cappadocia, and thoroughly instructed in the principles of Christianity. But instead of this, the young prince fell into the hands of *Mardonius*, who had been an old tutor in his mother's family. Mardonius, though a Scythian by birth, was a Greek by education, and, uniting to the severe morality of his ancestors the refinement of Greek culture, he excited in his royal pupil an enthusiastic admiration of the gods of Homer and Hesiod, and fascinated his youthful mind with the love of the world and the worship of nature.[1]

Returning to Constantinople in the twentieth year of his age, he made considerable progress in his studies, and it was thought well to have him enter the clerical state; while his brother Gallus, distinguished neither for remarkable talent nor great application, was raised to the dignity of Caesar.

Constantius, his imperial uncle, being without child or heir to the throne, turned naturally to Julian, whose ability seemed to qualify him for so exalted a distinction. His uncle sent him to Nicomedia, ostensibly to complete his studies under the care and tutorship of Bishop Eusebius. Although every precaution had been taken to prevent him from imbibing the doctrines, he found facilities to obtain the writings, of the distinguished Pagan rhetorician *Libanius*. He was in this way more and more imbued with the teachings of Paganism, which, after they had been molded into graceful and attractive form by the Neo-Platonist, *Maximus* of Ephesus, became still more acceptable to the mind of Julian.[2] "Thus," says *Cyril* of Alexandria, "did he, who had been of the number of the faithful, who had been illumined by Holy Baptism, and practiced in the reading of the Holy Scriptures, make shipwreck of his faith, by holding converse with wicked and Pagan men, and became an Apostate; so that he, who had been educated for the service of the Church, entered the ministry of Satan."

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[1] *Ammian. Marcell.* XXII. 9. *Sozom.* V. 3. *Gregor. Nazianz.* orat. III., ed. Bened. *Liban.* orat. V., XII. The first designates Julian as vir profecto heroicis connumerandus ingeniis. See Ammian. Marcell. XXIV. 4.

[2] *Eunap.* vitae Sophist., p. 86. *Socrat.* III. 1. *Sozom.* V. 2. *Liban.* orat. V.

Gallus, learning the probable course of events in the case of his brother, warned him to be on his guard, and to esteem all earthly things as of no account in comparison of the religion of the one true God. The only effect of this fraternal admonition was to render Julian more cautious in his expressions and more hypocritical in his conduct.

After the murder of Gallus (A. D. 354), Julian was cast into prison, but having been released at the instance of the empress Eusebia, after he had been detained for seven months, he immediately set out for *Athens*. The young prince, who was now regarded by all as the heir and successor of the aged Constantius, was, as is usually the case with stars that are in their ascendant, courted and flattered by the votaries and representatives of Paganism, who sought to gain an influence over his mind by acts of obsequious attention.

With boyish vanity he ostentatiously paraded the mantle of the philosopher, and even at this time gave no uncertain tokens of what he would afterward become. *Gregory Nazianzen*, who attended school with him at Athens, prophetically said of him: "What a monster the Roman empire cherishes within its bosom."

Julian, who had never become thoroughly and intimately acquainted with the spirit and genius of Christianity, and who was therefore quite unequal to the task of grasping, in all their manifold relations, the dogmatic discussions and heretical tendencies of his age, or, in fact, of approaching them at all without danger of misapprehending them altogether, remained for a long time in an unsettled state of mind, uncertain as to what was true, and fluctuating in his belief—at one time enthusiastic for the doctrine of the Gospel, and at another equally so for the tenets of Paganism.[1]

When he had returned to Constantinople, he conducted himself—as he said, "*by the counsel of the gods*"—with so much duplicity and so obsequious flattery toward Constantius and his imperial consort, that he succeeded in having himself honored with the title, and adorned with the purple, of *Caesar* (A. D. 357). Constantius sent him into Gaul to punish the insolence of the barbarous tribes of the Franks and the Allemanni, and from the time that Julian took the supreme command of the army, victory followed its standards, and these triumphs turned the eyes of the soldiery to the youthful hero, as to one who would realize their fondest hopes.

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[1] *Julian.* ep. 38. *Liban.* or. X. *Ammian. Marcell.* XXII. 5. *Sozom.* V. 3.

Julian was not slow to take advantage of this favorable disposition among the soldiers, and had himself proclaimed Augustus by the army, without even the knowledge or the consent of Constantius. Under pretense of consulting for the public good, he insidiously and treacherously excited a rebellion against the emperor, and was, in matter of fact, at the head of his army, marching against his benefactor, when news reached him of his uncle's death (A. D. 361), and he now became sole ruler of the Roman empire.

He was no sooner elevated to the supreme dignity than he openly declared in favor of *Paganism.* He endeavored to give it dignity and moral elevation by skillfully combining it with Christianity, and so changed was it, after having passed through the amalgamating process, that while retaining the name of ancient Paganism, it presented the most monstrous and ludicrous travesty of Christianity.[1] He hoped that by giving to the ancient religion its former rights and magnificence, he would also impart to the Roman empire its former power and glory. He deprived the Christians of all state favor, drove them from offices of public trust, put an end to the distributions of corn received by both the Christian clergy and the people, withdrew independent jurisdiction, and abrogated all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the clergy, such as exemption from taxation and from public duties.

Julian, besides these measures of active persecution, also initiated a policy of Pagan propagandism. He forbade the Christians *to have schools of their own, and interdicted to them the use of the Pagan classics,*[2] that he might, by thus depriving the

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[1] *Julian.* ep. 49, 52. *Greg. Nazianz.* or. III. *Sozom.* V. 16.

[2] *Julian.* epp. 22. *Socrat.* III. 12, 13, 16, 22; IV. 1. *Sozom.* V. 18. *Theodoret.* hist. eccl. III. 6, 16, 17. *August.* de civit. Dei XVIII. 52: An ipse non est ecclesiam persecutus, qui (Julianus) Christianos liberales literas docere ac discere vetuit? Even *Ammianus Marcellinus*, XXII. 10, says on this: Illud

Christian youth of the advantages to be derived from a liberal study of Greek letters, force them to frequent the schools of Paganism. "If," said he, in his usual tone of sarcasm, "if the Christians fancy that the sentiments of our classic authors are derogatory to the majesty of their God, then let the Galileans be content to explain Matthew and Luke in their churches." He deprived them of their worldly goods, and excused himself by ironically remarking that he did so to facilitate their progress heavenward; "for," said he, "wealth, according to their admirable law, prevents them from attaining the kingdom of heaven, which is promised only to the poor."

He gave permission to the bishops who had been sent into exile during the reign of Constantius, to return to their dioceses; but this act was prompted, not by any motive of clemency, but by a malicious desire to have them engage in controversy with their opponents, that in this way the two parties might mutually draw upon each other the contempt and ridicule of all classes.[1]

But failing in this design, he had recourse to more violent, and perhaps less effectual, measures. At *Antioch*, he caused the remains of the holy bishop *Babylas*, who had been buried in the grove of Daphne, and near the temple of Apollo, to be removed, because his presence was displeasing to the god. When Julian visited the temple of Apollo, he expected to see the ancient Pagan ceremonial carried out in all its former magnificence and imposing grandeur, with processions, victims, libations, incense, and youths dressed with a grace becoming their age; but, instead of all this, he complained,

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autem erat inclemens, obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos ritus Christiani cultores, p. 234. Cf. XXV. 4.

[1] Conf., on this point, the perfidious attempt of Julian, as narrated by *Ammian. Marcell.* XXII. 5: Utque dispositorum roboraret effectum, dissidentes Christianorum Antistites cum plebe discissa in palatium intromissos monebat, ut civilibus discordiis consopitis quisque nullo vetante religioni suae serviret intrepidus. Quod agebat ideo obstinate, ut dissensiones augente licentia, non timeret unanimantem postea plebem: nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum, expertus. Saepe dictitabat: audite me, quem Alamanni audierunt et Franci, etc., p. 301 sq.

that on entering the temple he found but a solitary priest, with a single goose for sacrifice.

Although he had repeatedly declared that the "Galileans" should not be molested, tortured, or put to death, he, however, took no active measures to prevent, and perhaps he positively connived at, the persecutions which, incited by the fanaticism of Pagan civil and military officials, or the violence of a disorderly populace, were carried on in many cities of the empire, and in which many Christians obtained the crown of martyrdom.

The conduct of Apronianus, prefect of Rome, is an example of this policy, who, having banished Flavianus, the former prefect, ordered the execution of his wife *Dafrosa*, and of his two unmarried daughters, *Bibiana* and *Demetria*. Another instance is that of the two brothers *John* and *Paul*—the former the steward, the other the secretary of the virgin *Constantia*, daughter of the emperor Constantine. They were summoned by Julian either to offer sacrifice to Jupiter or to suffer death. Ten days were given them for deliberation. On the tenth day, Terentianus, prefect of the Praetorian guard, was sent to execute the imperial threat. They both received the palm of martyrdom by being beheaded—not publicly, out of fear of public indignation, but privately, at their own house, on Mount Coelius, at Rome. The Christians suffered also from the violence of the mob at Alexandria, Bostra, and many other cities of the empire.[1]

Although Julian despised the *Jews* quite as much as he did the Christians, still he granted privileges to the former inimical to the interests of the latter. These, while they were not bestowed from any sentiment of love for the Jews, outraged the feelings of the Christians, and are indicative of the malicious hatred with which Julian pursued the Galileans. *Twice did he order the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem*, and twice was the work interrupted by divine interference. It had been foretold, both by the prophet Daniel and by our Lord, that Jerusalem should remain desolate forever, and that its temple should not rise from its ruins. When the workmen were digging down and clearing away for a foundation, violent noises were heard under their feet, earthquakes shook the ground, balls of fire burst from the earth, covered the place with smoke and flame, and the work which they had already done was shattered to pieces. Many were killed, others injured, and all, both Jews and Pagans, who, from a common feeling of hatred to Christianity, had united in this enterprise, were obliged, after ineffectual and repeated efforts, to leave off the work and give up the hope of erecting a temple against which Heaven had decreed. The particulars of this event come to us, not on Christian, but on *Pagan* authority, and from writers united to Julian both by the obligations of office and the bonds of friendship.[1]

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[1] Conf. *Ginzel*, Church History, Vol. II., p. 35 sq.

A cross once more appeared in the heavens, seeming to indicate that Christ, having built His Church upon a Rock, would permit no power to destroy her, and that what He had destroyed, no power of man could build up again. Once more did the omnipotent God witness to the divinity of His only begotten Son, and rescue His honor from the disgrace men were about to put upon it; and once more did He admonish these blasphemers that they would be finally converted.

Julian wrote a *work against Christianity in seven books*, and it is in this attack on the faith of Christians that the hatred and malice which possessed his soul obtained the fullest expression. He promised, at starting, to give his reasons for having abjured the doctrine of the "*Galilean*," and embraced the Hellenic teaching concerning the gods.[1] He pompously announced that he had "*read, understood, and condemned*" Christianity, and fancied that this laconic sentence would suffice for its destruction.

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[1] *Julian.* ep. 25. *Ammian. Marcell.* XXIII. 1. Ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolymam templum, quod post multa et interneciva certamina—est expugnatum, instaurare sumtibus cogitabat immodicis: negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat ·Antiochensi, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro praefectis. *Quum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciae rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo elemento destinatius repellente, cessavit inceptum*, p. 350. Cf. *Julian.* ep. 25. More explicit are the Christian writers. Cf. *Socrat.* III. 20. *Sozom.* V. 22. *Theodoret.* hist. eccl. III. 20. *Rufin.* hist. eccl. X. 37. *Gregor. Nazianz.* orat. VI. seu in Julian invect. II. *Chrysost.* hom. III. adv. Jud., sermo XIV. de laudib. S. Pauli. *Philostorg.* VII. 9, 14. Full extracts from the sources, in *Dieringer's* System of Divine Actions, Vol. I., p. 380–392; 2d ed., p. 259 sq.

The fanatical zeal of the emperor and Pontifex Maximus carried Julian so far beyond limits of decency in his desire to advance the interests of Paganism that even the Pagans themselves began to ridicule his numerous sacrifices of bulls, and wittily congratulated both themselves and these four-footed horned cattle that the conqueror had not been permitted to return home from his victorious career in the Persian war.[2] Julian fell in a battle against the Persians, A. D. 363, at the age of thirty-two, and, when dying, cried out, "*Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!*"[3]

The conflict of Julian with Christianity was rather beneficial than injurious to its cause, as many who were Christians only in name left the Church at the approach of persecution. The efforts of Julian, besides failing to retard the progress of Christianity, failed also to excite any considerable degree of sympathy for the time-honored but effete form of Paganism. *St. Athanasius* truthfully characterized the policy of Julian when he said, "*It is but a passing cloud.*"

§ 100. *The Church under Jovian and His Successors.*

By the death of Julian the last representative of the numerous family of Constantine became extinct, and *Jovian*, his successor, was, as frequently happened during the preceding century, elevated to the imperial dignity by the suffrages of the army. Jovian, during his short reign (he died

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[1] It is a little remarkable that the work of *Julian* and that of *Celsus*, both written with the same purpose, have both shared the same fate. Of the latter, we have only the fragments preserved in the refutation of *Origen*, and of the former, only those contained in the refutation of *Cyril* of Alexandria.

[2] *Ammian. Marcellin.* XXV. 4: Praesagiorum sciscitationi nimiae deditus, superstitionis magis quam sacrorum legitimus observator, innumeras sine parcimonia pecudes mactans, ut aestimaretur, si revertisset de Parthis, boves jam defecturos.

[3] According to a tradition in *Sozom.* h. e. VI. 2. *Theodoret.* h. e. III. 21 and 25.

A. D. 364), felt obliged, owing to the events that took place under the government of the preceding emperor, to proclaim unrestricted religious liberty to all, hoping by this seeming indifference to the influence of Paganism to eventually triumph over it. He prohibited sorcery,[1] and, as his religious sentiments were by no means a matter of secrecy,[2] the Christians made bold to ask for the restoration of the privileges of which they had been deprived by Julian. The emperor heard their petition with favor, and though he refused to comply with their full request, he restored the most important of their former rights and immunities.

The unlimited religious liberty proclaimed by Jovian was also maintained by his successors, *Valentinian I.*[3] in the West, who died A. D. 375, and the Arian *Valens*[4] in the East, who died A. D. 378.

Valentinian, while professing to allow every one to worship according to the dictates of his conscience, did not always observe a policy in keeping with his professions. He forbade the bloody midnight sacrifices,[5] and altogether pursued Paganism with such relentless severity that it gradually disappeared from the cities, and was confined almost wholly to the country. It derives its name from this circumstance, as having been the religion of the *pagani*, or the peasants.

Valens in the East persecuted the former favorites of Julian, and particularly the sophists, rhetoricians, and Pagan priests, and punished those who practiced the arts of magic and divination as guilty of high treason.

During the first years of the reign of *Gratian* (375–383), and during the reigns of his brother and successor *Valentinian II.* (378–394) in the West and of *Theodosius* in the East, matters remained in pretty much the same condition as under Valentinian and Valens, because the unceasing invasions of the barbarous nations counseled the emperors to heal as far as possible all internal dissensions, and to discountenance any attempts to revive them. But notwithstanding this general policy, Gratian resolved to put aside the dress and the title of Pontifex Maximus, and he, moreover, ordered the altar and the statue of the goddess of Victory to be removed from the Roman Curia, or senate chamber (A. D. 382), withdrew the revenues and estates from the temples, and deprived the Vestal Virgins of their privileges.[1] The Pagans made many energetic, but unsuccessful attempts to recover their former rights and immunities.

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[1] *Socrat.* III. 24, 25. *Themistii* or. circular. ad Jovian., ed. *Petav.*, p. 278.

[2] *Sozom.* VI. 3. Conf. *Theodoret.* hist. eccl. IV. 4, 19.

[3] *Cod. Theod.* IV. 16, 9 (A. D. 371).

[4] *Themist.* or. ad. Valent. de relig., only Latin, ed. *Petav.*, p. 499.

[5] *Liban.* *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν* (opp. ed. *Reiske*, T. II.) *Theod.* hist. eccl. IX. 24; V. 21.

§ 101. *The Church under Theodosius the Great.*

Jan. Stuffken, diss. de Theod. M., in rem christianam meritis, Lugd. Batav. 1828. *Flechier*, hist. de Theodose le Grand, Paris, nouv. ed., 1776. Cf. *Rüdiger*, l. l., p. 47 sq. *Augustin.* de civit. Dei V. 26.

Theodosius, who presided over the government of the East from A. D. 379 to 392, and afterward over the whole Roman empire (392–395), made up his mind to entirely suppress Paganism. At the commencement of his reign, he permitted libations to be made to the gods, and even ordered the temples to be kept open; but after the close of the second ecumenical council (A. D. 381), he prohibited apostasy to Paganism, under penalty of being incapacitated to make a last will,[2] and forbade any animal to be slain for the purpose of reading the future from an examination of its entrails. He refused or neglected to punish the excessive zeal of the monks, by whose counsel numbers of the Pagan temples were destroyed, and remained obdurate and unmoved by the *apology of Libanius* in favor of these venerable monuments of an ancient belief. The efforts of *Symmachus* to obtain the repeal of the ordinances of Gratian, and the restoration of the altar of the goddess of Victory, were equally ineffectual.[3] In the year

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[1] *Auson.* gratiar. actio ad. Gratian., c. 10, 12. *Zosim.* IV. 36. *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 10, 20. See *Tillemont*, T. VII., p. 322 sq.

[2] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 7, 1. His, qui ex Christianis Pagani facti sunt, eripiatur facultus jusque testandi, etc. Conf. XVI. 10, 7.

[3] *Aurel. Symmachus* praefectus urbis (his *letters* and *orations* ed. *Cioppius*, Mogunt. 1608, 4to; *Pareus*, Franeft. 1642), by his epp. 10, 54, called forth the reply of *St. Ambrose* (ep. 17, 18), and later that of the poet *Prudentius* (libb.

392 Theodosius promulgated a law, forbidding all persons to frequent Pagan temples, and enforcing the edict published by Valentinian (A. D. 391) to the same effect. St. John *Chrysostom* had raised his voice against such indiscriminate persecution, but his powerful protest passed unheeded. "It is not," said he, "lawful for Christians to abolish error by force and violence. The salvation of men should be brought about rather by convincing them of their error, by persuading them to embrace the truth, and by deeds of charity." When *Theophilus*, Archbishop of Alexandria, with the consent of the emperor, took possession of the great temple of Serapis, or the *Serapeion*, and exposed in the public market-space the obscene symbols used in Bacchic and Osirian mysteries, the Pagans, indignant at this treatment of their sacred symbols, and driven to desperation by the ridicule of the Christians, broke out into open revolt, and murdered many Christians, sacrificing some on the very altars of the gods that they had outraged. The Serapeion, which, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, was one of the wonders of the world, was destroyed by order of the emperor A. D. 391, and this was the only punishment inflicted on the Pagans, because, as Theodosius said in his rescript, it was not becoming to ask vengeance for the blood of Christian martyrs who had been so happy as to lay down their lives for their Redeemer.[1]

When, in the year 392, Theodosius became sole ruler of the Roman empire, he prohibited every sort of idolatrous worship under the severest penalties, and after he had defeated *Eugenius* and *Arbogastus* (A. D. 394), with whom perished the last hopes of Paganism, he entered Rome,[2] and pronounced a spirited harangue before the Senate, in which he exhorted all Pagans to give up forever the worship of idols, and embrace the *one true faith*, in which alone they could hope to obtain pardon for their sins. "Then," as St. Jerome writes in a tone of declamation, "then might be seen all the temples of Rome

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II., contra Symmachum). Conf. *Schmieder*, The Arguments of Symmachus and the Retorts of Ambrose, Halle, 1790. *Villemain*, de Symmaque et de St. Ambroise (mélanges II., p. 36 sq.)

[1] *Socrat.* V. 16. *Theodoret.* V. 22. *Sozom.* VII. 15. *Rufin.* XI. 22–30.

[2] *Ambros.* ep. 15. *Rufin.* XI. 43. *August.* de civ. Dei V. 26.

disfigured with soot and cobwebs, and the inhabitants of the city hastening to pray at the tombs of the martyrs."[1]

When the barbarians assaulted the empire, the zealous Pagans of the West rose up and declared, with open effrontery, that its ruin had been brought on by the Christians, and by the neglect of the gods.[2]

§ 102. *The Church under Honorius, Arcadius, and Their Successors.*

During the reigns of *Arcadius* (395–408) and *Theodosius II.*, who reigned till A. D. 450, no opposition was made in the East to the strict enforcement of the laws of Theodosius the Great against Paganism.[3] Arcadius threatened with capital punishment any officer, or magistrate, who should fail to execute promptly and rigorously every requirement of these laws. He ordered the removal of all statues of the gods, and the zealous monks, encouraged by his favor, destroyed a number of temples, and obliterated, as far as possible, every vestige of idolatrous worship. St. Ambrose and St. Augustine protested in vain against this violence, and exhorted these zealots *to drive the idols of Paganism from the hearts of men, rather than from the temples of the gods. Hypatia*, a distinguished and esteemed female philosopher, was murdered at Alexandria A. D. 415, and no attempt was made to bring the perpetrators of the deed to punishment. Even the philosophers of Athens had scarcely the courage to raise their voices against Christianity. It was such a condition of affairs that warranted the extravagant expressions of Theodosius II., who, in a law published A. D. 423, implied that in the East every trace of Paganism had disappeared. Hence also the origin of the beautiful legend of the seven Christian youths, who, as the tale runs, went to sleep at Ephesus during the persecution of Decius, and awoke in the reign of Theodosius II., filled with astonishment and joy at seeing the triumphant banner of the Cross raised over their own city, and victorious throughout the world.[1]

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[1] *Hieronymus*, ep. 7.

[2] Cf. *Beugnot.* hist de la destruction du Paganism en Occident, Paris, 1835, 2 vols. *Chastel*, hist. de la destr. du Paganism dans l'empire d'Orient, Paris, 1850.

[3] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 5, 43–47; XVI. 10, 13–19.

Owing to the incursions of the barbarians, with which the West was threatened on all sides, the faith did not spread here as rapidly or as peaceably as in the East. Here also *Honorius* (395–423) proceeded against the Pagans with less vigor than Theodosius, and while he ordered the destruction of all the rural temples,[2] he also gave instructions that those in the cities should be spared, and their treasures preserved, as works of art.

Still later on, *Gregory the Great* caused this ordinance to be everywhere observed.

Valentinian III. (A. D. 423–455), who himself published laws against idolatrous worship,[3] was nevertheless obliged to interfere to prevent the destruction of Pagan temples, because the disasters which the invasions of the barbarians had brought upon the Roman empire were generally attributed to the neglect of the worship, and the contempt of the gods of Rome.[4] This opinion obtained such general credence, and was so widely diffused among the people, that *Orosius*, *St. Augustine*, and *Salvian* felt called upon to write refutations of the specious fallacy. By such shifts as these, the scattered fragments of what had once been the stupendous fabric of Paganism, maintained a precarious existence, particularly in the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, in spite of the severe proscriptions to which its votaries were exposed. *Leo I.* and *Anthemius*[1] punished idolatry with confiscation of property, deprivation of office and dignity, and, between the years 467 and 472, even with corporal punishments; and *Justinian I.* (A. D. 527–565) condemned to capital punishment all those who adored idols.[2] He also closed the *School of Athens*, after it had existed for nine hundred years, and forbade all those infected with the madness of the Hellenes to teach any science, "lest, under pretense of communicating knowledge, they might destroy souls." Men of distinction and possessing a taste for letters, were intrusted to the Jacobite bishop John,[3] an expedient which proved as unsuccessful as it was inadequate.

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[1] *Gregor. Turon.* de gloria martyr., Paris, 1640, p. 215. *Reineccius* de septem dormientib, Lps. 1702. Sanctorum 7 dormientium historia, Romae, 1741. Cf. *Freiburg Eccl. Cycloped.*, Vol. III., p. 65. This legend most probably owes its origin to the equivocal meaning of the word *κοιμᾶσϑαι.* These Christians likely took refuge in a cave near Ephesus, to escape the violence of their persecutors, but the Pagans, having discovered their retreat, walled up the entrance, and left them to the chance of perishing either by a sudden or a lingering death. When, therefore, their bones were discovered, after a lapse of two hundred years, the natural expression of the people in speaking of the circumstance would be that "they had rested there two hundred years,"—*διακόσια ἔτη ἐκεῖ ἐκοιμήσαντο.* But since *κοιμᾶσϑαι* signifies both a *natural* sleep and the sleep of *death*, the words above quoted might also be taken to mean that these martyrs had in reality slept two hundred years in the cave. *Hefele*, art. *Decius*, in l. c. (Tr.)

[2] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 5, 42.

[3] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 10, 17, and 18.

[4] Cf. *Zosim.* IV. 59, and *August.* de civ. Dei XXIII. 13.

§ 103. *Polemics of the Pagans—Christian Apologists.*

Döllinger, Hist. of the Church, Vol. I., Div. II., p. 50–91; Engl. transl. by *Cox*, Vol. II., p. 7 sq. *V. Drey*, Apologetics, 2d ed., Vol. I., p. 36 sq. *Kellner*, Hellenism and Christianity, p. 251–441. *Werner*, Hist. of Apologetical and Polemical Literature, Vol. I., p. 233 sq.

The struggle between Paganism and Christianity was embittered and prolonged by the arrogant and aggressive spirit which animated the polemical writings of Pagan philosophers and rhetoricians, and which no change of circumstances either interrupted or softened. *Jamblichus*, who died A. D. 333, was teaching and working earnestly at Alexandria, pursuing the same course that *Porphyry*,[4] his teacher, had pursued before him (cf. § 68). He was perhaps more addicted than his master to theurgy, or the art of communicating with the gods by means of magic, and of obtaining from them miraculous powers and exalted knowledge. In his work "*De Mysteriis Aegyptiorum*," he endeavored to defend this art by arguments drawn from science; and in his "*Life of Pythagoras*," he represented that philosopher as a noble, philanthropic, and beneficent demon, as an incarnation of the Deity, and a sort of intermediate being, of whose more exalted nature miracles and prophecies were the tokens. He also defended the Pagan practice of worshiping the images of the gods in a work, now lost, bearing the title, "*On the Images of the Gods.*"

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[1] *Cod. Justinian.* I. 11, 7–8. *Phot.* cod. 242.

[2] *Procop.* hist. arc., p. 302. *Theophan.* chronogr., p. 152. *Malalae* chronogr. (about 600), Ven., Pt. II., p. 63, 82.

[3] *Assemani* bibl. oriental. T. II., p. 85.

[4] See p. 292.

The writings of the emperor Julian the Apostate contain certainly the most venomous and perhaps the most dangerous attacks on Christianity. His work, entitled the "*Caesars,*" is full of satirical irony. In it he ridiculed the emperor Constantine as an effeminate rioter and prodigal spendthrift, and sneered at the zealous interest Constantius took in religious affairs. He also took occasion to asperse Christianity whenever opportunity offered, in his "*Misopogon,*" which was intended for a satire on the people of Antioch, who had been rash enough to ridicule his philosophy, and courageous enough to reject his religion.[1] The work which he composed in the year 363, during his Persian campaign, against Christianity, is the most important of all his writings, and the Pagans pointed with pride to the masterly production of their imperial representative. It consisted, according to St. Jerome, of seven books—but of three, according to St. Cyril of Alexandria. The imperial controversialist labored to prove that "the conspiracy of the Galileans," as he called the work of redemption, "was a human invention;" after which he went on to take up the doctrines of Christianity, and refute them, one by one.

The fragments of this work that have come down to us, naturally associate him in our minds with Celsus and Porphyry. They contain frequent references to the Old Testament doctrine of creation; the fall of the first man; the Mosaic code of morality; the mysteries of the Son of God, and the death of Jesus, who, said Julian, did nothing entitling Him to any special distinction. He also attempted to prove that Paganism and Judaism were essentially one and the same, from which Christianity was an unwarrantable apostasy, and which, taken at its best, was but a miserable religious make-shift, deserving the contempt of all men.[1]

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[1] He declared to the bishops sneeringly: *ἀνέγνων, ἔγνων, κατέγνων.*—Read, understood, condemned. Whereupon the latter gave an equally laconic answer: *ἀνέγνως, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔγνως, εἰ γὰρ ἔγνως, οὐκ ἂν κατέγνως.*—Read, but not understood; for, hadst thou understood, thou wouldst not have condemned. *Sozom.* hist. eccl. V. 18.

The presbyter *Philip Sidetes*, *Cyril*, and *Photius*, Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Constantinople*, all wrote against Julian, but the refutation of Cyril, which does not cover the whole ground, is the only one of the three that has come down to us.

The dialogue entitled "*Philopatris*," published about the same time as the works of Julian, was also a very dangerous and insidious attack on Christianity. The author took every opportunity to asperse the character and call in question the patriotism of the Christians; assailed the apostle St. Paul with sarcastic bitterness, traduced the monks, and attempted to ridicule the doctrines of Christianity, and particularly those of baptism and the trinity.[2]

But these attempts were impotent to check, much less to stay, the progress of events. Christianity went steadily forward, gaining ground as time went on. We have seen that Christian emperors withdrew the privileges and immunities formerly enjoyed by Pagans, and prohibited all idolatrous worship, and that the *Apology*, addressed by the rhetorician *Libanius* to the emperor Theodosius, *protesting against the destruction of the Pagan temples* by the Christians, and the petition of the Roman prefect *Symmachus*, begging that the altar of Victory, which had been removed from the senate chamber, might be restored, were equally ineffectual to excite the sympathy of the emperor.

There were, however, many Pagans whose minds were less prejudiced and more open to receive the truths of Christianity. Such were *Themistius*, *Chalcidius*, and the historian *Ammianus Marcellinus*.[1] But, on the other hand, there were some whose hostility increased as Christianity gained ground. This was notably the case with the disciples of the *Neo-Platonist schools* of Alexandria and Athens, and of those of Asia Minor. Their most distinguished representatives were Hypatia, Hierocles, Aedesius, Eustathius, Maximus of Ephesus, Hierocles the Younger, Chrysantius, Eunapius, Zosimus the historian, Plutarch the Younger, Syrianus, Proclus, and others. *Eunapius*, in his "Lives of Philosophers and Sophists," and *Libanius*, in several passages of his writings, complained bitterly against the unnecessary and sometimes violent destruction of temples. "Violence," said the latter,[2] "even according to your own notions of religion, is unlawful. These advocate belief from motives of *conviction*, and condemn coercion. Why, therefore, do you destroy our temples? Is this the way to convince? Is it not rather an example of coercion? And, in pursuing this line of conduct, do you not violate your own religious principles?" And, in matter of fact, *Gregory of Nazianzum*, and other churchmen, did indeed deprecate so dishonorable a course. "I pray that the Christians," says Gregory, "may not return evil for evil to the Pagans, by making a bad use of the power which a change of circumstances has placed in their hands."

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[1] The various editions of Julian's works are given above, p. 476. For fragments of the larger work (according to *Socrates βιβλία κατὰ χριστιανῶν*), see *Cyrilli Alex.* adv. Julian, libb. X., specially published in "défensedu Paganisme par l'empereur Julien par le Marquis *d'Argens*, III. ed., Berl. 1769. *Ang. Mai* discovered fragments of *nine* more books of Cyril's work (nova Patr. St. bibliotheca, Rom. 1844 sq., in the 2d vol.; reprinted in *Migne's* ser. gr. T. 76.

[2] This dialogue in *Luciani* opp. ed. *Reitz*, Tom. III., p. 708 sq. The above date is ascribed to the work by *Gessner*, de aetate et auct. dialog. Lucianei, qui Philopatris inscribitur, disput. ed. III., Götting. 1748. According to *Niebuhr*, praefat. T. XI. Corp. scriptor. hist. Byzant. ed. Bonn., p. IX., this dialogue was composed only under the Emperor Phocas (608 or 609). The proofs for this chronological assumption are gratuitous. See *Kellner's* work.

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[1] *Themistii* orationes, ed. *Harduin*, Paris, 1684, fol. *Ammian. Marcell.* hist. XXII. 11; XXVII. 3, p. 480 sq. He defends, notwithstanding his admiration of the Christians, the divination from the flight of the birds, the entrails of animals, etc., XXI. 1, p. 263 sq. He says, conformably with his spiritualized Paganism, that Mercury was but the mundi velocior sensus, XVI. 5, p. 115. *Chalcidius* (in the fourth century), comment. in Platon. Timaeum (opp. St. Hippolyti, ed. *Fabricius*, T. II.) For adverse views concerning him, and an inquiry as to whether he was a *Christian*, see *Fabricius* bibl. lat. T. I., p. 566; or more probably a Pagan *syncretist*, see *Moshem.* animadvers., in *Cudworth*, system. intell., p. 732 sq.

[2] *Libanii* orationes, ed. *Reiske*, Altenburg, 1791–1797, 4 vols. *Jamblichi* de mysteriis Aegypt., ed. *Gale*, Oxon. 1768 fol. *Hierocles*, de providentia et fato etc., comment. The extracts contained in Photius, ed. Lond. 1673, 2 vols. 8vo: Comment. de aureis Pythag. versibus, Romae, 1475 (Paris, 1583); ed. *Gaisford*, in T. II., by *Stobaei* eclogar. physic. et ethic., libb. II., Oxon. 1850; ed. *Müllacken*, Berol. 1853.

Some Pagans like *Proclus* used the specious, but insidious argument, "that the philosopher should not be confined to any particular form of religion or national worship, but should be superior to all religions, and, as it were, the great high-priest of the universe." And the prefect *Symmachus* expressed himself in pretty much the same tone. "What matters it," said he, "by what way one arrives at the truth? It is indeed so mysterious an affair that there should be *many* ways leading to it." Others, again, with a view of conforming to all shades of opinion, asserted that the greater the diversity of religious worship, the more pleasing would such homage be to God; for, besides giving an opportunity for the unrestrained play of aspirations peculiar to every people and nation, it would serve as an incentive to devotion, and prompt a generous and holy rivalry.

Zosimus, the historian, attributed to Christianity the decline of the Roman empire and the disasters that came upon it, and, as usual in times of excitement, when people are glad of any excuse that will shift the responsibility from themselves, his words of crimination did not fall upon deaf ears.

Proclus, who died A. D. 485, took the same view as Zosimus, and, apprehensive of the dangers that threatened the empire from the invasions of the barbarians, advocated a return to Pagan worship, to demonology, and to the arts of divination, and made every effort to revive the ancient superstitious practices. He also combated Christianity from an Aristotelian point of view, and gave eighteen reasons for not accepting the doctrine of *creation in time and out of nothing*.[1] *John Philoponus* refuted him, and he was in turn assailed by *Simplicius*, in his commentary on Aristotle, with considerable spirit, but with little success. This was one of the last of the Pagan scholars, and lived in the reign of Justinian.

The intellectual conflict between Christianity and Paganism did not entirely cease till the latter had totally disappeared from the Roman empire.

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[1] *Procli* ἐπιχειρήματα ιη (18) κατὰ χριστιανῶν, together with their refutation, in *Philoponi* de aetern. mundi, libb. 18 gr., Venet. 1535; lat. vert. *J. Mahatius*, Lugd. 1557. ***Simplicii*** **ὑπομνήματα, ed. *Aldus*, Venet. 1526.**

The unscrupulous and insidious method adopted by Pagans in combating Christianity called forth many able apologists, who undertook the task of fairly representing its cause. *St. Ambrose* replied forcibly and comprehensively to the theory of religious eclecticism and the subjective views to which it gives rise. "We should learn," said he, "upon earth to live the life of heaven; while we abide here below, our conversation should be above. *Let not man, who does not himself know the secrets of heaven, teach them to me, but the God who created me.*" *Apollinaris the Elder and Apollinaris the Younger*, at Laodicea, in Syria, also illustrated and defended the truth of Christianity, and exposed and refuted Paganism. When the emperor Julian prohibited the reading of Pagan classics in Christian schools, these two accomplished scholars set to work to supply, in some measure, the want consequent upon the carrying out of the imperial command. They adapted biblical facts to heathen models and literature, and thus, by skillfully changing the persons and the circumstances, while retaining the elegant and stately diction of the Pagan authors, produced Christian works in poetry, history, and rhetoric.[1]

Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, who died A. D. 340, and *Athanasius*, Archbishop of Alexandria, were the last of the Greek apologists, and the two, by the different character of their writings—the former being exhaustive, and the latter severely methodical—fitly brought the series to a close. Both indicated and exemplified the *scientific* method of refuting Paganism on the one hand, and of establishing the truths of Christianity on the other.[2]

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[1] On Apollinaris, cf. *Hieronym.* catal., c. 104. St. Jerome was acquainted with his thirty books against Porphyry. On his imitation of classic authors, see *Socrat.* hist. eccl. III. 16. *Sozom.* hist. eccl. V. 18.

[2] *Euseb. Caesar.* *παρασκευὴ εὐαγγελική*—praeparatio evangelica—libb. XV., ed. *Vigerus*, Paris, 1628, in *Migne*, ser. gr. T. XXI.; ed. *Gaisford*, Oxon. 1843. *ἀπόδειξις εὐαγγελική*—demonstratio evangelica—libb. XX. (whereof but I.–X.), c. notis *Montacutii*, Paris, 1628. Supplements in *Fabricii* delectus-argumentor. et syllab., etc. See Literature, heading § 69, in *Migne*, ser. gr. T. XXII.; ed. *Gaisford*, Oxon. 1852; ed. *Dindorf*, Lps. 1867. Both the praeparatio and demonstratio evangelica together, ed. Coloniae, 1688. *Haenel*, commentar. de Euseb. Caesar. rel. chr. defensore, Götting. 1844. *Athanasii* *λόγος κατὰ Ἑλλήνων* and *περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ λόγου*—on the incarnation of the Word—(opp. ed. *Montfaucon*, Par. 1698, T. I.) *Böhringer*, Vol. I., Pt. II.

Firmicus Maternus[1] seems to have been excessively zealous in defending Christianity, and to have totally mistaken its genius. He wrote a work, in which he made a liberal use of passages from the Old Testament[2] to support his cause, and made such application of them as to excite both Constantius and Constans to adopt violent measures in the suppression of Paganism.

Gregory of Nazianzum,[3] a man of brilliant parts and gifted with powers of eloquence and a taste for poetry, successfully defended Christianity against the savage sarcasm of the emperor Julian, whose contemporary he was.

Cyril, the energetic patriarch of *Alexandria*,[4] was not less successful in exposing the cunning duplicity and in refuting the insidious sophistry of the imperial polemic.

The learned and pious *Theodoret*, bishop of Cyrus, who was a contemporary of Cyril, and died A. D. 458, wrote a work, in which he endeavored *to place Paganism*, as far as possible, *in a proper light*, by contrasting the sublime truths of Christianity with Heathen superstitions, the prophecies of the Bible with the oracles of Paganism, the apostles of Christ with the heroes and lawgivers of Greece and Rome, the pure and exalted morality of the Gospel with the corrupt and degrading teachings of Pagan philosophers.[5]

The work entitled the "*Conference*" was also probably written about this time. It consists of a dialogue carried on between the Christian, Zacheus, and the Pagan philosopher, Apollonius.[6] The latter argues in favor of the worship of idols, by drawing a parallel between it and the *homage* paid to the statues of the emperors, and Zacheus takes up the argument and vindicates the truth, by bringing out the essential distinction between the two acts.

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[1] *Firmicus Maternus*, de errore profanar. relig. ed. (cum Minucio Felice) Lugd. Batav. 1709; ed. *Franc. Oehler*, Lps. 1847; ed. *Bursian*, Lps. 1856; ed. *Halm* cum Minuc. Felice, Vindob. 1867.

[2] Deut. xiii. 6–10.

[3] *Greg. Nazianz.* in Julian. Apostat. invectivae duae (*Migne*, ser. gr. T. 35).

[4] *Cyrill. Alex.*, libb. X., contra impium Julian. (opp. ed. *Aubertus*.), together with opp. Julian., ed. *Spanhem.*, Lps. 1606. *Migne*, ser. gr. T. 76.

[5] *Theodoret.* *Ἑλληνικῶν θεραπευτικὴ παθημάτων*—cure of Pagan maladies—(opp. ed. *Schultze*, T. IV.); ed. *Gaisford*, Oxon. 1839, in *Migne*, ser. gr. T. 83, p. 775 sq.

[6] Consultatt. Zachaei Christiani et Apollonii philosophi, libb. III. (*d' Achery*, spicileg. T I., p. 1–41; *Gallandii* bibl. T. IX., p. 205 sq.)

Orosius, a Spanish priest of Bracara,[1] who lived in the fifth century, wrote a work, entitled "*Miseria Humana*," in which he refuted the odious calumnies of the historians *Eunapius* and *Zosimus*, who asserted that the invasion of the barbarians and the fall of the Roman empire were a consequence of the neglect of the ancient gods of Rome.

This refutation, which Orosius, at the suggestion of *St. Augustine*, had written from an historical point of view, was not satisfactory to the great bishop of Hippo, and he therefore set to work himself to compose another, which should correspond to his idea of a refutation of Paganism and a defense of Christianity, and in which the same line of argument should be carried out. He then gave to the world his profound work[2] on the origin, nature, progress, and final triumph of the "*City of God*," as opposed to city of the world and to Paganism. The work is at once *historic*, *apologetic*, and *dogmatic*, and also contains a masterly exposition of the *philosophy of history*. In the *first ten* books St. Augustine skillfully brings out the political, poetical, and philosophical aspects of Paganism; shows its numerous contradictions, considered in these three relations, and thus overthrows the vast social and political fabric that had grown up under its auspices. In the *twelve* following books, starting with the fundamental truth, that only in Christ and through Him is the knowledge of God possible, and that through Christ it is not only possible, but really acquired, he traces the origin, constitution, growth, and development of the City of God from the creation of the world and fall of man, down through both the Old and the New Testaments, and onward to the last judgment, when the just shall receive their eternal reward, and be possessed of happiness without end.[1]

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[1] *Orosii* adv. Paganos, etc. See above, p. 38, note 2.

[2] *Augustin.* de civit. Dei cum comment. Ludov. de Vivis, Basil. 1522, fol. cum comment. Lud. Vivis et Leonis Coquaei, Paris, 1656, fol.; likewise, ed. Hambg. 1661, 2 T. 4to; Lps. (1825) 1863, and Col. 1852, 2 T. 8vo. Germ. transl. by *Silbert*, Vienna, 1827, 2 vols.; Engl. transl. by the *Rev. Marcus Dods*, M. A., Edinburgh, 1871, 2 vols.

St. Augustine, like a fearless champion of Christianity, confidently asserts that,[2] "if the kings of the earth and all their subjects; if all princes and judges of the earth; if young men and maidens, old and young, every age, and both sexes; if they whom the Baptist addressed, the publicans and the soldiers, were altogether to hearken to and observe the precepts of the Christian religion regarding a just and a virtuous life, then should the republic adorn the whole earth with its felicity, and attain in life everlasting the pinnacle of kingly glory."

And in another place, admitting the *civic* virtues of the ancient Romans, and recognizing their effects on Christianity, he goes on to say:[3] "God demonstrated, by the extraordinary degree of prosperity reached by the Roman empire, what civic virtues could accomplish even in the absence of the true religion, that men might the better understand that, when to these virtues religion was added, they should become citizens of a higher kingdom, where truth reigns and charity rules, and which is destined to endure forever."

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[1] *Aug.* retract. II. 43: Interea Roma Gothorum irruptione, agentium sub rege Alarico, atque impetu magnae cladis eversa est: cujus eversionem deorum falsorum multorumque cultores, quos usitato nomine paganos vocamus, in christianam religionem referre conantes, solito acerbius et amarius Deum verum blasphemare coeperunt. Unde ergo erubescens zelo domus Dei adversus blasphemias eorum vel errores, libros de *civitate Dei* scribere institui. . . . His ergo *decem* (prioribus) *libris* duo istae vanae opiniones Christianae religioni adversariae refelluntur; sed ne quisquam nos aliena tantum redarguisse, non autem nostra asseruisse reprehenderet, id agit *pars altera* operis hujus, quae *libris duodecim* continetur, etc. Cf. *Reinkens*, The Philosophy of History of St. Augustine, Schaffh. 1866.

[2] *Augustin.* de civitate Dei II. 19.

[3] *Augustin.* epist. ad Marcellin. 158, n. 17. Qui vitiis impunitis volunt stare rempublicam, quam primi Romani constituerunt auxeruntque virtutibus, etsi non habentes veram pietatem erga Deum verum, quae illos etiam in aeternam civitatem posset salubri religione perducere; custodientes tamen quandam sui generis probitatem, quae posset terrenae civitati constituendae, augendae conservandaeque sufficere. Deus enim sic ostendit in opulentissimo et praeclaro imperio Romanorum, quantum valerent civiles etiam sine vera religione virtutes, ut intelligeretur *hac addita* fieri homines cives alterius civitatis, cujus rex veritas, cujus lex caritas, cujus modus aeternitas (ed. *Bened.* T. II.)

Finally, *Salvian*, a priest of Gaul, the *Jeremias* of his age (died A. D. 484), wrote an apologetic work,[1] whose purpose was similar to that of the "*City of God*," and in which he demonstrates that the terrible calamities that came upon the Roman empire should not be ascribed to the propagation of Christianity, but should be regarded as manifestations of the just judgments of God upon degenerate Pagans and faithless *Christians*.

§ 104. *Obstacles to the Propagation of Christianity.*

It was not only the *polemics* of philosophers and rhetoricians that retarded the progress of Christianity within the Roman empire, but *the lives of many Christians* themselves, which had now become *sadly changed* for the worse, also deterred many from entering the Church. Many Pagans, too, desirous of participating in the privileges granted to Christians, entered the Church from interested motives, without either understanding or accepting her teachings, and remained merely *nominal Catholics*, only because it was profitable to be such. There no longer existed among the members of the Church that holy conversation which had distinguished the early Christians, whose virtues had won the hearts and subdued the intellect of their Pagan countrymen. *St. Augustine*, calling attention to this state of things, says: "One may find many Pagans unwilling to embrace Christianity, and who defend their course by appealing to the straightforward honesty of their lives. What more, they say, is necessary, than that one should lead an honest life? Could Christ Himself require more? You ask me to become a Christian. Well and good, but for what purpose? A Christian has defrauded me, and I, Pagan as I am, have never dealt dishonestly with any one. I have been the victim of a perjured Christian, and I myself have never yet violated an oath."[2]

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[1] *Salvian. Massil.* (about 440) de gubernatione Dei (opp. ed. *Baluz.*, Paris, 1684, 8vo, max. bibl. T. VIII.; *Galland.* bibl. T. X.; *Migne*, ser. lat. T. 53).

[2] *Aug.* tractat. 25, n. 10, in Joan. vi. 26; ennarat. II., n. 14; in Ps. xxv.

Notwithstanding that these and many obstacles of a like nature seriously interfered with the spread of Christianity, they were nevertheless unable to overcome *its inherent power and vitality.* The learning and virtue of the Doctors, and the piety and perseverance of the monks, were also arguments in its favor. Even the persecution of Diocletian contributed, in its way, to spread the truth. It drove confessors of the faith and witnesses to the doctrine of Christ into far distant lands, whither the light of the Gospel had never penetrated. Finally, wars, though in character most opposed to the pacific doctrines of the Savior of the world, were a most efficient means of carrying its truths into distant countries.

§ 105. *Propagation of Christianity in Asia.*

* *Uhlemann*, The Persecutions in Persia in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries. (*Niedner*, Periodical for Historic Theology, 1861, p. 1–362.) † *Ginzel*, Hist. of the Church, Vol. II., p. 53–73. † *P. Zingerle*, Genuine Acts of the Holy Martyrs of the East; translated from the Syriac, Innsbr. 1836, 2 pts.

From the close of the preceding epoch, many Christian communities began to be formed in Persia, presided over by a metropolitan, the bishop of Seleucia—Ctesiphon. When, however, Christianity became the established religion of the Roman empire, the *Persians*, who were severely oppressed by the Romans, took alarm at this close alliance between Christianity and their enemies, and these suspicions were so far aggravated by the efforts of both the Magi and the Jews, that the policy of the Persian government, from being one of toleration and good-will toward the Christian religion, changed to one of proscription and bitter hatred.

Constantine warmly recommended the Christians to the kindness and consideration of *Shapur II.* (A. D. 309–381), in a letter which he wrote to that prince, but his good offices seem to have been without effect.[1] War was shortly afterward declared between the Romans and the Persians, and Shapur, out of hatred of the Roman name and its alliance with Christianity, caused *Symeon*, bishop of *Seleucia*, and a hundred priests and deacons, to be put to death (A. D. 341). The Persian priests were active in their exertions against the Christians, and at their suggestion the latter were subjected to a long and bloody persecution.[1] The episcopal see of Seleucia, after two successors to Symeon had been executed, remained vacant for the space of twenty years. Sozomenus states that the number of Christians who suffered during this persecution amounted to sixteen thousand, without taking into account those of whom no knowledge could be had. Notwithstanding this rigorous severity, it was to no purpose that Christians were commanded "to adore the sun, to drink blood, to venerate the divinity of Shapur, the king of kings, and to abjure the religion of the Romans."

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[1] *Euseb.* vita Const. M. IV. 9–13.

Maruthas, bishop of *Tagrit*, in Mesopotamia, was deputed by the Christians to represent their cause to the Persian king *Jezdedsherd I.* (A. D. 400–420), the successor to Shapur. He succeeded in producing a favorable impression upon the king, and in gaining some indulgence for the Christians. But the hopes that the Christians entertained of a better state of things were soon dissipated by the indiscreet zeal of *Abdas*, bishop of *Susa*, who, about the year 418, caused the destruction of a Persian pyreum, or fire-temple; and upon this provocation the persecution was renewed against them, and during the reign of *Bahram V.* (A. D. 420–438), the great enemy of the Christians, raged with such violence, and was carried to such a refinement of cruelty, that the victims were *sawed in pieces.* Theodosius II., seeing that every other means would be ineffectual, resolved to put an end to this persecution, by carrying the terror of his arms into the tyrant's country. He was ably seconded in his attempt by the *noble and generous resolution of Acacius, bishop of Amida*, in Mesopotamia, who disposed, by sale, of the precious vessels belonging to his church, and from this source obtained sufficient money to purchase the ransom of seven thousand prisoners.[2]

Besides these persecutions from without, the Church was obliged to encounter dangers no less threatening from within in combating the *Nestorian* heresy.

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[1] *Sozom.* hist. eccl. II. 9–14.

[2] *Theodoret.* hist. eccl. V. 39. *Socrat.* hist. eccl. VII. 18–21. Cf. Acta Martyr. Orient. et Occid. (probably by Bp. Maruthas of Tagrit), *Steph. E. Assemanus*, Rom. 1748 fol., Pt. I. *Döllinger*, Ch. H., Vol. I., div. II., p. 108–126.

When, later on (A. D. 614), *Chosroës II.* became master of *Jerusalem*, he severely oppressed the Christians of Palestine, and carried away as a trophy of his victory the wood of the true Cross, which had been discovered by the empress Helena, but which the emperor *Heraclius* (A. D. 621–628), after having delivered Jerusalem from the power of the enemy, recovered, and again brought back in triumph, to the great joy of the whole Christian world.

In *Armenia*,[1] where scattered seeds of the true faith had been strewn, Christianity now took root, sprung into life, and grew in strength and vigor. King *Tiridates* was converted in the beginning of the fourth century by *St. Gregory the Illuminator*,[2] who was descended from the Armenian house of the Arsacidae. At the opening of the fifth century, *Mesrop*, who had formerly been the king's secretary, together with the patriarch *Sahag*, put forth his most active exertions in favor of Christianity, and provided the Armenians (A. D. 428), to their great joy, with a *translation of the Bible in their own tongue.*[3]

When, in the year 429, Armenia became a Persian province, and an attempt was made to forcibly introduce the religion of the Zendavesta, the Armenians offered so determined a resistance (A. D. 442–458) that they were allowed the free exercise of their religion. Many, but ineffectual attempts were afterward made to introduce the teachings of Zoroaster among them, but these were energetically and successfully resisted. The enemy might indeed lay waste their country, but he could not break their courage and constancy.

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[1] *Saint-Martin*, mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie, Paris, 1818 sq., 2 T. Narratio de rebus Armeniae a S. Gregorio ad ultimum eorum schisma (*Combefisii* bibl. PP. auctar. T. II.) *Agathangeli* acta S. Gregorii, gr. et lat. (acta SS. ed. *Bolland.* m. Septbr. T. VIII., p. 321–400). *Windischmann* (Jr.), Facts of Armenian Ch. H., Ancient and Modern. (Tübing. Quart., year 1835, p. 3 sq.) *Samueljan*, Conversion of the Armenians by St. Gregory Illuminator, Treatise worked out from National Hist. Sources, Vienna, 1844.

[2] *Sozom.* h. e. II. 8. *Moses Chorenens.* (about 440), hist. Armeniae armen. et lat., ed. *Whiston*, 1736; ed. by *Zohrab.*, Venet. 1805; texte armén. et trad. franç., by *le Vaillant de Florial*, Ven. 1841, 2 vols.

[3] *Hug*, Introd. to the N. T., Pt. I., p. 398 sq., 3d ed., and in *Saint-Martin*, T. I. p. 7 sq. **Goriun's* Biography of St. Mesrop, transl. from the Armenian original text, and illustrated from Armenian sources, by *v. Welte*, Tübing. 1841. (Programme.)

While this conflict was going on, *Moses of Chorene* wrote his history of Armenia, which has since remained the principal source of information concerning that age.

When the Nestorian heresy began to threaten Armenia, *Proclus*, patriarch of Constantinople, sent notice to the bishops, priests, and abbots of that country, warning them against the errors of Nestorius.

A Christian female slave of distinguished piety has the honor of having carried the tidings of salvation to *Iberia*, at the foot of the Caucasus, during the reign of Constantine. The queen of that country having been miraculously cured of a disease through the pious ministration of this slave, she and King *Miraeus* had themselves instructed in the Christian religion. The king is said to have requested *Constantine the Great* to send him Christian missioners. The *Albanians* and other neighboring peoples obtained a knowledge of Christianity from the Iberians,[1] but the *Lazi* (Colchians) and the *Abasgi* had probably no knowledge of Christianity before the sixth century.

About the year 350, the emperor *Constantius* sent an embassy, composed of the most distinguished persons, to the Sabeans or Homerites (*vide* § 63), a people inhabiting *Southern Arabia*, to conciliate them, if possible, to Christianity. *Theophilus*, the Arian bishop, *an Indian* of Diu, who was at the head of the embassy, made an effort to obtain from the king certain privileges for the Christians.[2] These were granted, and the king himself, yielding to the eloquence and reasoning of Theophilus, embraced Christianity, and provided for the building of three churches—one at *Tapharan*, the capital; another at *Aden*, and a third at *Ormuz*, a port of the Persian gulf.

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[1] *Rufin.* hist. eccl. X. 10; XI. 23. *Socrat.* hist. eccl. I. 20. *Sozom.* h. e. II. 7, 24.

[2] *Philostorg.* h. e. II. 6; III. 4. Cf. *Delitzsch*, Eccl. Chronicle of Arabia Petraea. (Periodical for Universal Lutheran Theol. and Church, 1840 and 1841.)

Monks from the frontiers of Palestine labored zealously during the fourth and fifth centuries among the nomadic tribes. The most distinguished of these were *Hilarion* of the fourth and *Euthymius* of the fifth century, the latter of whom converted *Ashebetus*, the chief of a Saracenic tribe, and, having baptized him and given him his own Christian name Peter, consecrated him bishop.[1] *Symeon the Stylite* also exercised a lasting influence over the nomadic tribes of the East. The roving and unsettled life of the Arabians and the influence of the Jews, great numbers of whom inhabited these regions, greatly retarded the progress of Christianity; and when, in the sixth century, the country passed under the domination of the Jewish king *Dunaan* (Dhu-Novas), the Christians experienced all the rigors of a cruel persecution. The city of Negran was treacherously burnt (A. D. 523) by order of the king, and during the conflagration more than twenty thousand Christians lost their lives.[2] *Elesbaan*, king of Abyssinia, hastened to render aid to his brethren in the faith, engaged and defeated the Jews under Dunaan, and from this period Christian sovereigns ruled over the country until its subsequent subjugation—first by the arms of Persia, and afterward by Islamism, when the Church, weakened by internal divisions, and deprived of her legitimate influence by the favor shown to the Nestorians, was no longer able to resist the religion of Mohammed.

From the fourth century onward, the Persian Christians established many churches in *India*. *Cosmas Indicopleustes* (Indianeer, then monk) in the year 635 formed Christian communities in *Taprobane* (Ceylon), *Malo* (Malabar?), and at *Calliana* (Calecut? or Calamina, and still later, Meliapore),[3] and in the last-named place, he met a bishop. These communities being dependent on Persia, fell under the influence of Nestorianism.[4] It is said that the Nestorian priest *Jaballah* carried the faith into *China* in the seventh century, and enjoyed the favor and protection of the emperor.[1]

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[1] Vita Euthymii, in *Cotelerii* monum. eccl. gr. T. II., c. 18 sq., 38 sq.

[2] This martyrdom is also mentioned in the Koran, Sure 85, verse 4. Acta S. Aretae (anecdota graeca, ed. *Boissonade*, T. V., Paris, 1833). Cf. *Assemani*, bibl. Orient. T. I., p. 365 sq. Cf. *Abrah. Ecchelensis*, hist. Arabum, p. 171.

[3] Cf. *Assemani* bibl. Oriental. III. 2, 33.

[4] *Euseb.* Caes. comm. in Jes. (*Montfaucon*, collect. nova. etc., T. II. 521.)

§ 106. *Propagation of Christianity in Africa.*

During the reign of Constantine the Great, *Frumentius* and *Aedesius*, two youths who accompanied *Meropius*, a learned merchant of Tyre, on a commercial voyage to the shores of Abyssinia, first preached the Gospel in that country. They had the good fortune to excite the sympathy and escape the cruelty of the pirates who captured the vessel of their friend on its return from Abyssinia, and murdered both him and his crew. The two youths were taken captive, admitted into the service of the king, and by their ability and attainments rapidly rose to favor and influence. Frumentius, having been intrusted with the education of Prince *Aizana*, succeeded in converting him to Christianity, and, during his minority, administered the government. About the year 326 he was consecrated bishop of Abyssinia by Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, and took up his residence at *Axuma*, the capital of the country. Aedesius returned to his own country, and related the events that had transpired during his absence to *Rufinus*, at Tyre.[2] Frumentius, by his energy and activity, built up and firmly established the Church of Abyssinia, and the *Homerites* had reason to bless his memory when, in the sixth century, the descendants of those whom he had converted to Christianity liberated them from the horrors of a bloody persecution. After the *Monophysite heresy* had gained

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Cosmas Indicopleustes, *τοπογραφία χριστιανική* (A. D. 535), libb. III. 179. (*Montfaucon*, l. l., T. II. *Galland.* bibl. T. IX. *Migne*, ser. gr. T. 88.)

[1] According to a Syro-Chinese lapidary inscription, found in 1625 now placed in the (principal) Library of Paris. Cf. *Kircheri*, China illustrata, Rom. 1667, fol. *Mosheim*, hist. eccl. Tartarorum, Appendix, nr. 111. *Panthier*, de l'authenticité de l'inscription Nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou relative à l'introduction de la religion chrétienne en Chine dès le septième siècle de notre ère, Paris, 1857. By the *same*, Chinese text, with Latin and French transl. and beautiful fac-simile, Paris, 1858.

[2] *Rufin.* X. 9. After him, *Socrat.* h. e. I. 19. *Sozom.* h. e. II. 24. *Theodoret.* h. e. I. 22. *Athanas.* apol. ad Constant., n. 31. Cf. *Hiobi Ludolfi.* historiae Aethiopicae, libb. IV., Francft. 1681, fol.; ejusdem. comm. ad hist., Aeth. 1691, fol. *Le Quien*, Oriens Christian. T. II., p. 642.

a foothold at Alexandria, it unfortunately made its way into Abyssinia also.

It is rather a striking and significant circumstance, that the Church founded by this holy bishop has continued to exist after so many changes and vicissitudes, and surrounded by Pagan and Mohammedan people and institutions, and that so many Christian churches are to be found, even at this day, scattered up and down through Abyssinia. It may be that what remains of the once flourishing church of this country is still destined, under the providence of God, to become a blessing to the whole continent.[1]

But while the command, given by our Lord to His Apostles, to announce the Gospel to all nations, is daily approaching nearer its fulfillment, and the Church is extending her limits in every clime and country; there is, on the other hand, an inscrutable providence, known to the Invisible Head of the Church, but hidden from our weak minds, by which the glorious churches of St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, and so many others in *northwestern* Africa, were doomed, toward the close of the fifth century, to pass through a sea of troubles, brought upon them by the *Vandals* and their kings, *Geiseric* and his successor *Huneric*, only to be afterward, together with the churches of entire countries of Asia, entirely lost in the flood of *Islamism*, that swept over these ill-fated lands.

Observation.—The conversion of the Goths, Vandals, Alans, Suevi, Lombards, Franks, and other nations of either Germanic or Slavic origin, which had already taken place, and the propagation of Christianity among the immigrant Saxons of the British islands, belong, at least in their historic development, to the Second Period of this history, where a general and comprehensive survey will be taken of all the missions established among these nationalities, and where, therefore, the history of Christianity among the former nations will be most conveniently and appropriately treated. For a similar reason, the history of *Mohammedanism*, and its *encroachments* upon Christianity in Asia and Africa, will be given in the same period.

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[1] The strong love and unalterable attachment to the Blessed Virgin, which is so characteristic of that country, and to which Oviedo and Nunnez bore witness in a past age, and Abbadie in our own day, may be taken as an earnest that this hope will yet be realized. (Tr.)

CHAPTER II.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, OCCASIONED BY THE RISE OF HERESIES—IT IS CAST INTO SCIENTIFIC FORM.

†*Petavii* Theolog. Dogmat. T. IV., V., de incarnatione Verbi, libb. XVI., T. III. de Pelagianor. et Semipelagianor. dogmat. hist., p. 307 sq. †*Hock*, Outlines of a Hist. of Philos. during the First Eight Centuries. (*Bonn. Period.* of Philos. and Cath. Theol., No. 17.) *†*Schwane*, Hist. of Dogmas during the Age of the Fathers, Münster, 1867, Vol. II. State interference in this doctrinal development exposed by †*Riffel*, in l. c., p. 273–480, and in *Hefele's* Hist. of Councils, Vols. II., III. passim.

§ 107. *Character of the Doctrinal Development of this Epoch.*
(Cf. §§ 80, 81.)

There is properly no history of the doctrines of the Church. They suffer no change, and are at present precisely what they have been from the beginning; there are no new doctrines to-day, and no modification of the old. We are not, therefore, giving here a history, but a *development* of the Church's doctrine; that is to say, we propose to show, as *St. Vincent of Lerins* aptly remarks, how a *doctrine*, while *remaining one and immutable*, may gradually acquire a more precise expression, a more determinate outline and shape, and a more rigorous definition; may, in a word, undergo a process analogous to what takes place in the human body, which, while preserving its essential identity and retaining the same number of members and the same character of organs, increases and assumes a more fixed and recognizable mold as time goes on.[1]

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[1] Sed forsitan dicet aliquis: Nullusne ergo in ecclesia Christi profectus habebitur intelligentiae? habetur plane et maximus: sed ita tamen, ut vere *profectus* sit ille fidei, non *permutatio*. Si quidem ad perfectum pertinet ut in semet ipsa unaquaeque res amplificetur, ad permutationem vero, ut aliquid ex alio in aliud transvertatur.—*Imitetur animarum ratio rationem corporum*, quae licet annorum processu numeros suos evolvant et explicent, eadem tamen, quae

During the present epoch, there were many circumstances which called forth such a development of Christian doctrine: 1. The attacks made by Pagan philosophers on the teachings of the Church; 2. The rise of numerous heresies, and the necessity of having them refuted by men, such as the Doctors of the Church, who, besides being skillful theologians, were also thoroughly acquainted with classic literature; 3. The bearing of Christian doctrine on the different forms of scientific research, and the controversies to which these gave rise. There is perhaps no age of ecclesiastical history in which these various circumstances exercised so vital an influence upon the development of Christian doctrine. Indeed, the very life of the Church depends upon the successful and triumphant *defense of her doctrine*, and at no time in her history has it been so violently assailed or so definitely brought out, or made so distinctively the common property of all the faithful, as during the present epoch, when numerous ecumenical *councils* put its precise meaning into rigorous formulæ.

In the East the controversy turned on the nature and object of the *Church*, on the *divinity* and *humanity* of *Jesus Christ*, and on the divinity of the Holy Ghost; and in the West on *Christian anthropology*. The heroic devotion and the unflinching courage, which animated the champions who fought the battles and gained the victories and secured the triumphs of the Church during this season of conflict and trial, compensate, in great measure, to the historian for the deplorable acts of violence and outbursts of passion which he so often finds interwoven with the ecclesiastical affairs.

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erant, permanent. *Vincent. Lerin.* commonit., c. 29. Similarly in the sixteenth century, *Melchior Canus*, the celebrated Dominican: Nullusne in Christi ecclesia profectus habetur intelligentiae? Minime vero gentium; possumus enim vetustis novitatem dare, obsoletis nitorem, obscuris lucem, fastiditis gratiam, dubiis fidem, omnibus naturam suam et naturae suae omnia. Loc. theolog., libb. VII., cap. 4. †*Lorinser*, Development and Progress of the Church's Doctrine according to *Dr. Newman*, Breslau, 1847.

§ 108. *Sources of the Doctrine of the Church—Holy Scripture and Tradition—Canon and Ecclesiastical Interpretation of Holy Scripture.*

The sources of Catholic doctrine of this, as of the preceding epoch,[1] were oral Tradition and the Canonical Books of Holy Scripture. "Faith," says *St. Vincent of Lerins*, in the beginning of his *Commonitorium*, "is established in two ways—first, *by the authority of Divine Law, and* secondly, *by the Tradition of the Catholic Church*." The Canonical Books were always regarded as the *utterances of the Holy Ghost*, and, when quoted, always accompanied with the remark, "As the Holy Ghost says." *St. Augustine* expressed his unshaken belief in the *Divine Inspiration* of Holy Scripture in the following words: "I believe most firmly that none of the authors ever erred in any single particular; and when I find anything that seems to contradict the Truth, I am forced to conclude that either my copy is vitiated, or that the translator did not catch the meaning, or that I myself do not correctly understand it."

There were various opinions relative to the *extent* of Inspiration—some, like the School of *Alexandria*, maintaining that it extended to the very words (*ad verbum*), or that it was verbal; others, like the School of *Antioch*, held that it included no more than the essential meaning of the separate sentences (*ad sententias dogmaticas et morales*), or that it was sentential. The narrower or wider sense in which the rule of interpretation was accepted by the different schools of thought, exercised a very marked influence upon the exposition of Holy Scripture, rendering it difficult in some places and easy in others, according to the character of the canon of interpretation adopted by each. Real or apparent contradictions in points of no consequence also increased the embarrassment.

With regard to the *character* of the books of Holy Writ, some were in the fourth century universally recognized as inspired ὁμολογούμενα), others were believed to be doubtful (ἀντιλεγόμενα or νόθα), and others entirely rejected as spurious and apocryphal (ἄτοπα and δυσσεβῆ, or ἀπόκρυφα).[1]

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[1] Conf. p. 360.

The ultimate judgment on the genuineness or spuriousness of any book of Scripture depended wholly upon the *Church*,[2] and the Synod of Hippo, held A. D. 393, and the *third* and *sixth* Councils of Carthage, held respectively A. D. 397 and 419, had already enumerated in their *Canon* all the Sacred Books included in the Canon of the fourth session of the Council of Trent.[3] In the West (Africa) there were many versions of the Old Testament in use, translated into Latin from the Greek Septuagint. The best known of these was the "*Itala*," which St. Jerome revised by order of Pope Damasus. St. Jerome also made his own translation of the books of the Old Testament, with the exceptions of the Psalms and several "deuterocanonical books," from the original Hebrew and Chaldaic texts, and this version has, since the thirteenth century, gone under the name of the "*Vulgate*."[4]

Besides the authority of the Divine Law, says St. Vincent of Lerins, in those well-known words, "we acknowledge also the *Tradition* of the Catholic Church, *which has been believed everywhere, at all times, and by all;*"[5] and the tradition being the complement and fullest expression of the living teaching of the Church, was put forth with great prominence during this epoch, and was regarded as absolutely necessary to the correct understanding of Holy Writ.[1]

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[1] This classification by *Euseb.* h. e. III. 3, 25; VI. 25. Conf. IV. 22. On τὰ λεγόμενα ἀπόκρυφα, see *Maier's* Introd. to the N. T., Freiburg, 1852, p. 488 sq.

[2] *Cyrill. Hieros.* catech. IV.: Disce studiose *ab ecclesia*, quinam sint V. T. libri, qui vero N. T.; neque mihi legas quidquam apocryphorum.

[3] Conc. Carthag. III., capit. 47. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 968. *Mansi*, T. III., p. 891. Cf. can. 36, conc. Hippon. *Mansi*, T. III., p. 924.) On the authenticity of this *complete* enumeration, see notes 98 and 99, in *Mansi*, T. III., p. 935 sq. Conf. *Kirchhofer*, Collection of Documents toward a Hist. of the Canon of the Books of the N. T., Zurich, 1843.

[4] Conf. *Kaulen*, Hist. of the Vulgate, Mentz, 1869. By the *same*, Manual of the Vulgate: its characteristic Latin idiom, Mentz, 1870.

[5] Commonitor. pro catholicae fidei antiquitate et universalitate adv. profanas omnium haereticor. novitates, c. 3, cum Salviani op. de gubernat., etc.; ed. *Stephan. Baluz.* †*Klüpfel*, Vindobon. 1809, together with the work of *Tertullian*, de praescript. haereticor., ed. *Hurter*, Oenipont, 1870. Conf. †*Gengler*, On the Rule of St. Vincent of Lerins (*Tüb. Quart.*, 1833, No. 1.) On the Criterion of Catholicity set up by St. Vincent in his Commonitor. (*The Catholic*, 1837, Febr. No.) *Rozavens*, Review of the same (*Bonn Periodical*, No. 20, p. 203). †*Elpelt*, The Commonitorium, Life and Doctrine of St. Vincent of Lerins, Breslau, 1840. †*Hefele*, St. Vincent of Lerins and his Commonitorium (Tüb. Quart., 1854, and Contrib. toward Ch. H., Vol. I.)

St. Augustine did more than perhaps any other single man of this epoch, to illustrate this article of faith and place it clearly before the whole Church. The *Manichaeans*, who boasted that they were able to clear up all mysteries and release man from the shackles of earth, succeeded, by their magnificent promises, in captivating for a time the mind of the great Augustine. But he was soon undeceived, and the cruel experience which this trial cost him served, on the one hand, to strengthen his faith in the doctrine of Christ, and on the other to give point and vehemence to his controversy with his old allies.[2] He attacked the psychological teachings of the Manichaeans, but principally their doctrine of the existence of *two* souls, one of which, they affirmed, is essentially bad, and hence, they concluded, man can not be a free agent. Secundus, admitting this premise, was forced to accept the conclusion, that *one* of the souls in man is constantly sinning of its own *free-will*.

St. Augustine, who spoke from bitter experience, assailed the vaunted pretense to science and universal knowledge claimed by the Manichaeans, and having exposed so palpable a delusion, asserted the *necessity of some teaching authority*, which, he said, could be found only in the Catholic Church. And, when refuting the rationalistic method of interpretation, which explains away the clear statement of the text and furnishes heresiarchs an opportunity and an excuse for contradicting the unanimous testimony of the Church, and justifies them in rejecting the authenticity and the integrity of the Holy Scriptures, he gave expression to this fundamental and Catholic sentiment: "*Were I not constrained by the authority of the Church, I would not believe the Gospels themselves.*"

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[1] *Vincent.* commonitor: Quia sacram scripturam pro ipsa altitudine alius aliter interpretatur, ut pene quot homines tot illinc sententiae erui posse videantur. Aliter namque illam Novatus, aliter Sabellius, etc., exponit; quocirca necesse est, *ut Propheticae et Apostolicae interpretationis linea* propter tam varii erroris anfractus secundum norman aliquam—(universalem tanquam ecclesiae regulam a Deo praescriptam) *dirigatur*, c. 20 and 27.

[2] The writings of *St. Augustine* against the Manichaeans, in T. VIII., opp. ed. *Bened.* The sentiment expressed at the conclusion, "Evangelio non crederem, nisi me ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas," is to be found in ctr. ep. Manichaei, quam vocant, Fundamenti, c. 5. Conf. Oracles of Christian Antiquity on the Right Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. (*Frint's* Theol. Journal, years 1812 and 1813.) *Alzog*, explicatio Catholicor. systematis de interpret. litterar. sacr., Monasterii, 1835. †*Friedlieb*, Scripture, Tradition, and Ecclesiastical Interpretation, Breslau, 1854.

The *proofs* necessary to establish this, as every other, *tradition*, were now just what they had been in the third century, and consisted in the conditions necessary to constitute a Rule of Faith. These were either the *consent of* all *the bishops*, assembled in council, and expressed by solemn definition, or their assent, when dispersed over the whole Catholic world; or the unanimous agreement of all the *Fathers* of the Church, who, distinguished by learning and sanctity, persevered until death in her communion (*consensus Patrum Catholicorum in regula fidei*). That such was the teaching of this age, is evident from the examples of the *Ecumenical Council of Ephesus*, from the line of argument pursued by St. Vincent of Lerins against Nestorius, and by St. Augustine against Pelagius.[1]

§ 109. *The Catholic Idea of the Church and of the Sacrament of Penance, as brought out by the Donatist Controversy.*

I. Sources: *Optatus Milevitan.* (about 368), de schism. Donatist, ed. *Du Pin*, Par. 1700, which at the same time contain monum. Veter. ad Donati hist. pertinentia.—The controversial writings of *St. Augustine* Psalmus seu oratio contra partem Donati (393); contra epistol. *Parmeniani*, libb. III. (400); de baptismo contra Donatistas, libb. VII. (about 400); contra litteras *Petiliani*, libb. III. de unitate ecclesiae (402); contra *Cresconium* grammatt., libb. IV.

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[1] *Vincent.* commonitor., c. 39, and especially c. 42. *Irenaeus*, as we have seen above, p. 410, note 3, referred those in search of the true religion to the faith of the *Roman* Church; but *St. Augustine* points out another *short* way to adduce additional proof: Conspice in quorum conventum te (Julian. Pelag.) introduxerim. Hic est Constantinopolitanus Joannes, hic est Basilius, hi sunt et caeteri, quorum te movere debeat tanta consensio.—Hos itaque de aliis atque aliis temporibus atque regionibus ab Oriente et Occidente congregatos vides, non in locum quo navigare cogantur homines, sed *in librum, qui navigare possit ad homines* (ctr. Julian. Pelag., lib. I., nro. 7; lib. II., nro. 37).

(406); de unico baptismo (411); breviculus collation. cum Donatistis, libb. III. (411); contra *Gaudentium* episcopum, libb. II. (420) (opp. ed. *Bened.* T. IX.)

II. Works: *Valesius*, de schism. Donatist. as an appendix to his ed. Euseb. hist. eccl. Hist. Donatistar. ex Norisianis schedis excerpta (*Noris*, opp. ed. *Ballerini*, Veron. 1729, T. IV.) *Tillemont*, mémoires, etc., T. VI., p. 1–193. *Katerkamp*, Pt. II., p. 6–29 and 591-666. †*Ginzel*, St. Augustine's Idea of the Church (Tüb. Quart. 1849, p. 44–60). *Ribbeck*, Donatus and St. Augustine, or Struggle between Separatism and Churchism, Elberfeld, 1857. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. I., p. 162 sq.; Engl. transl., p. 172 sq.; and in the *Freiburg Eccl. Cycloped.*, Vol. III., p. 254–261.

The great Donatist controversy was but the reassertion of the Novatian principle, and the consequent denial of the validity of baptism when conferred by heretics. The whole controversy may be summed up in the following question: "Can an immoral priest validly confer the sacrament of baptism?" or more generally, "Can the *Church of Jesus Christ* tolerate in her bosom members who, by reason of the grievousness of their sins, are unworthy of this honor?"

It was during this controversy that *St. Augustine* gave his lucid exposition of the question at issue, and brought out with great force and brilliancy, both in his writings and oral discussions, the *proper idea of the true Church*, and the necessary distinction between her *visible* and *invisible* elements, which constitute, not two churches, but two different phases and conditions of one and the same church.

The origin of the schism dated back to the year 306, but an open rupture did not take place till A. D. 311, when, on the death of *Mensurius*, bishop of Carthage, *Caecilian*, his archdeacon, was chosen by the suffrages of the clergy and with the unanimous consent of the laity to succeed him. He was consecrated by *Felix*, bishop of the neighboring diocese of *Aptunga*, before the arrival and without the coöperation of the seventy bishops of Numidia, which, notwithstanding its having been afterward made a ground of complaint, was not required by any ecclesiastical canon. Botrus and Celestius, who aspired to the bishopric, had the election brought on by design before the arrival of the Numidian bishops, who, it seems, were invited by courtesy to attend, and when, instead of one of themselves, Caecilian was chosen, these disappointed presbyters organized an opposition, and based their charges against the newly elected bishop on the very circumstance which they had been instrumental in bringing about to favor their own ambitious purposes. An extreme and rigorous party was organized against Caecilian, headed by Donatus of Casae Nigrae, and strengthened by the wealth and influence of *Lucilla*,[1] a Spanish lady, residing at Carthage, to whom Caecilian had given offense, by reprimanding her while still a deacon for the superstitious use she had made of the supposed relics of some fictitious martyr. At the invitation of this party, seventy Numidian bishops, bribed by Lucilla, met at Carthage A. D. 312, under *Secundus* of *Tigisis*, their metropolitan, and cited Caecilian to appear before the synod. They asserted that because of their absence the election of Caecilian was void, and his consecration invalid, since Felix, the chief consecrator, had been a *Traditor*, and, as Caecilian refused to obey their summons, they excommunicated him, and consecrated a rival, the Lector *Majorinus*, a member of Lucilla's household, in his place. They also maintained that both Felix and Caecilian could no longer remain in the Church, unless they confessed their crime, and obtained reconciliation by sincere repentance.

The people of the other cities, following the example of their brethren at *Carthage*, which they regarded as the center of unity for Latin Africa, divided into two distinct parties, under *two* separate *bishops*—the one adhering to Caecilian and the other to Majorinus, and later to his successor Donatus.

The party of Majorinus now appealed to the emperor, and gave the first example of referring spiritual matters to the decision of *civil judges*. The emperor was no less surprised than indignant at their conduct,[2] but he nevertheless acceded to their request, and appointed Melchiades, bishop of Rome, to whom he joined the bishops of Cologne, Autun, and Arles, to settle the difficulty. This commission afterward included altogether twenty bishops, principally from Italy, who assembled at the Lateran, in Rome, A. D. 313, to try the case, under the presidency of Melchiades. After a searching examination of all the charges brought forward against Caecilian, the holy bishop was declared innocent.

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[1] Conf. *Optatus Milevit.* de schism. Donatist. I. 16.

[2] Ibid. I. 22. Constantine, in a rescript addressed to Bishop Caecilian, as early as A. D. 313, and preserved in *Euseb.* hist. eccl. X. 6, declared, in pointed terms, against the Donatists: "As it has come to my knowledge, said he, "that certain *perverse men* are endeavoring, by wicked schemes, to lead astray the people of the Holy Catholic Church, I would have you know that I have sent verbal instructions to the Proconsul Anulius, and to the Vice-Governor of Africa, to keep an eye upon them. Should they persist in their *insane course*, you will apply to the officers named above, who will bring the offenders to punishment."

Still his enemies insisted that he had been consecrated by Felix, a Traditor, and Constantine ordered the accusation to be examined at Carthage, by Aelian, the Proconsul of Africa, where the decision was again in favor of Caecilian.

The defeated party did not, however, cease to annoy the emperor until he had the great western *Synod of Arles* convened (A. D. 314), among whose members were the representatives of so many countries that it has been very properly considered a *General Synod of the West.* The sentence of this Synod was again favorable to Caecilian. The thirteenth canon declares that ordinations by Traditor bishops are valid if the ordained possess the necessary qualifications. The fourteenth canon threatens false accusers with excommunication, and the eighth condemns the practice of *rebaptizing* heretics,[1] required by the party of Majorinus. This same synod passed many decrees concerning the celebration of Easter, celibacy, and other points. The Schismatics were still unsatisfied, and appealed from the decision of the synod to the judgment of the emperor,[2] and *this is the first instance of an appeal from the decision of bishops to the tribunal of a secular judge. Constantine* became indignant at this, and sharply reprimanded the unruly sect, stating, "that they had approached him, as Pagans might, to insolently protest in their blind rage against the judgment of their bishops, which they, as he, should regard as the decision of Christ Himself."

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[1] *Concil Arelat.*, can. 13, 8. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 266. *Mansi*, T. II., p. 472.) Conf. *Hefele*, in l. c., Vol. I., p. 170 sq.; Engl. transl., Vol. I., p. 180.

[2] According to the account of *Optat. Milevit.*, this protest was first entered by Donatus of Carthage, but St. Augustine is probably more correct in saying that the appeal had been already made by Majorinus. Cf. *Tillemont*, T. VI., note 4, to the History of the Donatists.

Majorinus died (A. D. 315) shortly after this appeal, and was succeeded by *Donatus*, called "the Great" by his followers, and who, together with his friend, *Donatus* of Casae Nigrae, gave to the party the name of *Donatists*. The latter had been, even during the episcopacy of Majorinus, the real head and soul of the whole movement. Constantine, much against his will, again admitted an appeal, and had the question once more examined at *Milan* (A. D. 316), but no change was made in the former decisions. More rigorous measures were now taken against the schismatics, and *Ursacius* having been charged with their execution, he was regarded by the Donatists as their first persecutor. The conduct of the emperor produced violent outbreaks among the Donatists; but he, with great mildness and clemency, again adopted conciliatory measures, and exhorted the African bishops not to return evil for evil, but "to leave their insane conduct to the judgment of God." The indulgence employed by Constantine, and still later by *Constans*, was entirely without effect, and when the Catholics, upon the death of Caecilian, elected *Gratus* his successor in the episcopal see, the Donatists resisted him as stubbornly as they had his predecessor. They even went so far as to resist the imperial officers, who were charged with distributing food to the poor, and this conduct forced Constans, much against his will, to proceed against them with extreme rigor (A. D. 347).

Vexed by repeated defeats, Donatus of Carthage now declared the party independent of all civil power, saying: "What business has the emperor to interfere with the Church?"

Many of the most distinguished members of the party were sent into exile, and their churches were taken from them. This so enraged the schismatics that the country rose in rebellion, and, roving in bands through Numidia and Mauritania, inflicted severe injuries upon the Catholics, and instigated the people to revolt. They were on this account called Circumcellions, or Circellions, and they also styled themselves Milites Christi and Agonistici. Their fanaticism rose to such a degree of frenzy for the honor of their cause, that they became formidable to the Donatist bishops themselves. They remained in exile till the reign of Julian, who, to increase the dissensions among Christians, granted their petition to return home, took them under his protection, and restored many of the churches of which they had been deprived (A. D. 362).

Optatus, Bishop of *Mileve*, in his work on the Donatist schism, characterizes the controversy as one "*born of anger, nurtured by ambition, and strengthened by avarice.*" This writer hoped to effect the reconciliation of the schismatics with the Catholic Church, but his efforts were for the most part ineffectual, as the great body of the Donatists seemed to cling to their errors with an obstinacy that increased as the refutations of the Catholic bishops became more numerous and convincing. They now declared that "Caecilian, having been consecrated by Felix, was, by that very fact, stained with the sin of the latter; that his guilt passed on to his followers, because God rejects the sacrifices of sinners, since the Church is without spot or wrinkle; that after the Synod of Arles, the Church had ceased to be the true Church; that according to the authority of Cyprian, 'valid sacraments exist only in the *one* Catholic Church, and they alone possessed these sacraments.'" The testimony of the Donatists was, however, not harmonious on all these points, for, besides the evidence of *Parmenianus*, the successor to Donatus the Great, the priest *Tychonius*, one of the most learned of the schismatical leaders, openly asserted in one of his works, that to affirm that the whole Church outside the Donatist congregations had fallen from the truth, would be an unfounded pretension.

The great *Augustine*, a presbyter, and afterward Bishop of Hippo, was raised up by God to put an end to this schism. He divided the original controversy into two questions, the first of which related to the fact as to whether or not Felix was really a Traditor (*quaestio de schismate*),[1] and the second related to the character of the fact, supposing it to be admitted, that is, whether or not the surrender of the Sacred Books should be held equivalent to a denial of Christ (*quaestio de ecclesia*). The great Doctor brought all the power of his genius to bear upon the controversy, and endeavored, by his *numerous writings*, animated as they were by the spirit of God, to reawaken in the Donatists a desire of being once more united and at peace with the Church. He constantly appealed to Eph. i. 23, and to 1 Cor. xii., where the Church is called "the body of Christ, and Christ" is spoken of as "her Head," and to the words of *St. Cyprian*, who affirmed that schism and heresy are the most grievous of crimes, because they tear in pieces the *Body of Christ.* He branded as false the doctrine, that the minister conferring a sacrament, *communicated* to the recipient, by the very performance of the function, his own spiritual character, whether of holiness or guilt, of justice or of crime. *It is,* said he, *Christ Himself who baptizes* (cf. p. 424). He also refuted those who asserted that sinners should not be tolerated in the true Church of Christ, by quoting the very words of Christ Himself in the parable of the good seed and the cockle, and gave a profound and comprehensive exposition of the sacrament of penance, declaring that its efficacious and healing powers extended to all, even the most grievous sins. He, furthermore, demonstrated the error of the Donatists and the untenableness of their position, by referring to their internal dissensions, and to the fact that they had already split into numerous and hostile parties.

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[1] The distinguishing feature of the Diocletian persecution was an attempt to get hold of all the sacred books, and those who delivered them up were called *Traditores*. (Tr.)

The increasing violence of the Circumcellions induced the Catholic bishops—although St. Augustine at first opposed such a policy—to invoke the intervention of the emperor Honorius (A. D. 404), who ordered these fanatics, under the severest penalties, to return to the Catholic Church before the month of February, A. D. 405.

This measure was not so successful in reducing the schismatics to submission as was anticipated, but better fruits attended the *general conference*, which, at the request of the Catholic bishops, took place at *Carthage* A. D. 411, and at which *Marcellinus* the Praetor presided. Its object was to settle the disputed points between the schismatics and the Catholics, and although the former refused for a time to take part in it, saying that "the sons of martyrs could have nothing to do with the sons of Traditors," they finally consented to attend. There were present two hundred and eighty-six Catholic and two hundred and seventy-nine Donatist bishops, who respectively elected seven speakers to represent them. The most distinguished of these on the Catholic side were *St. Augustine* and *Aurelius* of Carthage. Before entering upon the business of the conference, the Catholic bishops pledged themselves to give up their bishoprics, and submit to the Donatists, if the latter could prove that the Catholic Church had ceased to exist everywhere except among themselves; while, if the Catholic bishops succeeded in showing the contrary, they agreed to receive the Donatist bishops, who would return to the Catholic Church with all their ecclesiastical dignities, and to permit them to alternate in the exercise of the episcopal functions with the hitherto opposing bishop; but should this not be satisfactory to the people, both were to resign and a new one to be elected. St. Augustine, at this conference, exerted all the energy of his intellect and the power of his eloquence to bring back the Donatists, and many of the communities passed, together with their bishops, over to the Church.[1]

Those who stubbornly held out against the Catholic cause were summarily dealt with by the secular authority, and, despite the exertions of St. Augustine to save them, many were put to death. The Vandals, who invaded Africa (A. D. 429), persecuted both Catholics and Donatists. This sect was not entirely extinct in the reign of Gregory the Great.

§ 110. *Doctrine of the Catholic Church on the Son of God, as opposed to Arianism—Council of Nice.*

Sources and Works: The writings of Arius: ep. ad Euseb. Nicomed., in *Epiphan.* haer. 69, n. 6, and in *Theodoret,* h. e. I. 5; ep. ad Alexandrum, in *Athanas.* de synod. Arim. and Seleuc., n. 16, and *Epiphan.* haer. 69, n. 7; *θάλεια* (banquet), in prose and verse; conf. *Sozom.* h. e. I. 21, lost, but fragments in *Athanas.* orat. I. contr. Arian., n. 5 and 6. Conf. *Epiphan.* haer, 73, 75 sq. On the fragments, conf. *Fabricii* bibl. gr. T. VIII., p. 309 sq. Fragm. Arianor., in *Ang. Maji,* Scriptor. vett. nova collectio, Romae, 1828, T. III. For accounts of the rise and progress of Arianism, see *Theodoret, Socrates,* and *Sozomenus.* The fragments of the Ch. II. of the Arian *Philostorg.*, ed. *Gothofred,* Genev. 1643, 4to; ed. *Valesius,* in T. III. of Greek Church Historians.

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[1] Cf. *Mansi,* collect. concilior. T. IV., at the beginning. *Harduin,* T. I., p. 1043 sq.

Tillemont, T. VI., p. 239-687, p. 737 sq. †*Maimbourg*, S. J., Hist. de l'Arianisme, Paris, 1675. *Walch*, Hist. of Heretics, Pt. II., p. 385 to the end. †*Möhler*, Athanasius the Gr. and the Church of his Age, Mentz, 1827, 2 vols., 2d ed., 1844. *Voigt*, The Doctrine of St. Athanasius and his Struggle with Opposing Heretics, Bremen, 1861. Important works on *Chronology* are *Mamachi*, de ratione temporum Athanasiorum deque aliquot synodis IV. saeculo celebratis epistolae quatuor, Florent. 1748. The epistolae festales St. Athanas., recently discovered in Syriac, with a preliminary account, ed. *Cureton*, Lond. 1848 (in *Ang. Maji* nova Patr. bibl. T. VI.; in *Migne's* ser. gr. T. XXVIII.); German transl. by *Larsow*, Berlin, 1852. *Wetzer*, restitut. verae chronolog. rer. ex controv. Arian. inde ab anno 325–350, exortar., Frcft. 1827. *Dorner*, Christology, Pt. I., p. 806-832. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. I., p. 227–426; Engl. transl., Vol. I., p. 239–447, and in the Tüb. Quart., 1851, p. 177–223. †*Palma*, praelect. h. e. T. I., Pt. II., p. 69–84.

The discussion of the Arian heresy will open up a series of controversies on others, such as the Nestorian, Eutychian or Monophysite, and Monothelite heresies, all of which are intimately and essentially related to and dependent upon each other. The question at issue in this angry and protracted struggle between error and truth, was one of the utmost importance, on which depended the very life of the Church, for in its very earliest phase it impugned the *Divinity of Christ*, and, as a consequence, that of His religion.

Arianism seems to have been the natural issue, first, of the religious philosophy of the Jew *Philo* prevalent at Alexandria; secondly, of the *vague modes of expression used by Origen, and which seemed to favor* an inequality or *subordination in the three Persons of the Holy Trinity;*[1] and thirdly and principally, the *rationalistic principle of the Anti-Trinitarians.*

This principle was taken up and worked out by Arius, a priest of Alexandria, who had been a pupil of *Lucian*, a priest of *Antioch*. Arius acquired a rich store of exegetical learning while under his distinguished master, was naturally eloquent, possessed a cultivated mind, was trained in the rhetorical and dialectical habits of thought so characteristic of the School of Antioch, and was, moreover, proud and arrogant. A man of such a temper of mind, having once gone astray, would not be likely to listen to the warning voice of his bishop, and hence, when Arius, while yet a deacon, had been excommunicated because of his connection with the Meletian Schism, he had himself promoted to the priesthood in spite of his bishop, who undoubtedly made every effort to reclaim this erring son from his evil ways.

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[1] Conf. *Wolf*, on the Relation of Origenism to Arianism. (Period. for Universal *Lutheran* Theology and Church, 1842, No. 3, p. 33 sq.)

Arius gave the first definite evidences of his opposition to the faith of the Church when he publicly maintained, against his ordinary, *Alexander*, Bishop of Alexandria,[1] that the doctrine of the *eternal* generation of the Son of God from the essence of the Father[2] was erroneous, and that there was not a perfect equality of nature in the Father and the Son. He had adopted the teachings of *Philo* on the Trinity, who, as we have seen, affirmed that, considering the surpassing majesty and glory of Divine Essence, it was impossible that the Eternal God should come into contact with this corrupt world, whether as a Creator or as a Conservator. But, since the idea of the world was in the mind of God, and should have some mode of expression, another Being was created to carry out the work. This was the *Logos*, or Son of God. *Athanasius* relates that the following "*foolish*" proposition was adopted by Arius and his followers: "When God was about to call into existence this world of creatures (*τὴν γεννητὴν φύσιν*), conscious that His hand was too pure and holy to participate immediately in the act, He brought forth His Only One, whom He called the *Son*, or the *Word*, and who, acting as an Intermediator (*μέσος γενόμενος*) between God and the world, might create all things." Arius, adopting such principles as these, which, besides being contradictory in themselves, ran counter to the positive teachings of Holy Writ, and confounding the *divine* generation with the *human* procreation, imagined that he detected contradictions in the Church's doctrine on the mysteries of the Blessed Trinity, and asserted that the divinity of Christ was incompatible with the *unity* of God. He endeavored, moreover, to establish his heretical assertions, by putting a false and silly interpretation upon the well-known *texts* of Luke ii. 40, 52; Matt. xxvi. 39, and xxvii. 46; John xiv. 28; Philip ii. 6–11.

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[1] Ps. ii. 5, cix. 3. As is usual with such men, Arius was disappointed because Alexander, instead of himself, was elected to the see of Alexandria. *Theodoret.* hist. eccl. I. 2. (Tr.)

[2] *Athanas.* orat. II. contr. Arian., n. 24, at the end. As for the argument deemed conclusive by Arius in favor of his own doctrine, Ibid. nrs. 25, 28, and 29. Confer **Möhler*, Vol. I., p. 175–198.

As time went on, these errors assumed more definiteness, and were, by their author, thrown into the following form: The Father alone is *not begotten* (ἀγέννητος), and He alone exists of Himself. If such is the character of the *Divine Being*, such the condition of *divine unity*, then the Son must have been begotten (not συναγέννητος, συναΐδιος, ἄναρχος), is not eternal, and began His existence in time. Therefore, the very principle of His being and cause of His existence is something outside of and *distinct* from Himself; but such a being can not be God, and must be of a substance different from that of the Father. He is consequently but a *creature* (ποίημα, κτίσμα), more exalted indeed than others, because brought forth by the free will of God (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων), before any other creation took place (μονογενής),[1] that he might take upon him the office of Creator of the world. There, then, was a time *when the Son was not* (ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν). Arius asserted, moreover, that, although it was possible for the Son to sin, still, by making a more perfect use of free will and grace, He approached nearer and nearer to the divinity, and that God, foreseeing His perseverance, honored Him with distinguished titles, such as υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, λόγος, and πλήρης θεός, to which He could lay no claim by any right inherent in His nature. Arius also held, in common with *Sabellius*, that God had not been the Father from all *eternity*, but became so only after His Son had gone out from Him, as an agency or mode of action to create the world. Adopting such a theory, Arius was of course obliged, like the Gnostics and Manichaeans, to make the whole work of Christ's redemption consist merely in His *teaching* and in the *example* of His life.

Alexander, Arius' bishop, made many efforts to draw him from his errors. He first remonstrated with him privately, then held a conference of the clergy, in which he himself gave the Catholic doctrine on the Holy Trinity. Arius was allowed to reply, and, in doing so, accused Alexander of being a Sabellian. Alexander then (about the close of the year 319), finding that it was impossible to come to a peaceable accommodation with the heretic, wrote a pastoral letter, which was signed by the majority of his priests and deacons, and in which he exhorted those who had embraced the heresy of Arius to renounce it and return to the allegiance of the Church.

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[1] Prov. viii. 22.

But the heresy spread so rapidly, and the followers of Arius grew so numerous, that he was forced to have recourse to some more authoritative way to meet the increasing danger. "It had spread," says Alexander, "through all Egypt, Libya, and Upper Thebais. Then we, being assembled with the bishops of Egypt and Libya, nearly one hundred in number, anathematized both them (the Arians) and their followers."[1] This synod was held at Alexandria, A. D. 321, and Arius was by it degraded from his priestly office and "expelled from the Church which adores the *divinity of Christ*." Among the adherents of Arius excommunicated by this synod were two bishops, Secundus and Theonas, and six deacons.[2]

The heresiarch, however, paid little or no attention to the excommunication, and set to work to create a party, and gain over bishops to his side, and in both attempts he was successful. At *Alexandria* the old struggle with Gnosticism was still fresh in the memory of many, and the lingering remains of Sabellianism occasionally struggled into life, and from both these parties Arius gained daily fresh accessions to his cause. Arius, in consequence of his sojourn at Antioch, was well known in *Asia*, where, by dishonestly concealing his doctrine and by equivocally exposing it, he secured the good-will and protection of many Oriental bishops. Such was the courtier-bishop, *Eusebius of Nicomedia*, a man whose ambition is well known, and who, during the course of his episcopal life, changed his see three times; and such, too, was *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Caesarea*, both of whom were also *Origenists*.

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[1] *Athanasius* Hist. of Arians, Trans., § 3. *Concil. Alexandr.*, A. D. 321, in *Harduin*, T. I., p. 295–308.

[2] *Socr.* hist. eccl. I. 6.

Through their exertions Arius obtained favor at the Imperial Court, and had the prospect held out to him of being reinstated in his former office and dignity. Constantine the Great, who was still a catechumen, imagining that the controversy was a trivial matter, involving no more than a conflict over the meaning of words, which, taken in any of the controverted senses, would come to about the same thing, ridiculed the quarrel as one in which "plebeians" might indeed indulge, but which was "childish and unworthy the dignity of priests."

Hosius, Bishop of *Cordova*, however, made him thoroughly conversant with the importance of the question at issue. The emperor, who had overcome all his foreign enemies, and had just triumphed at the battle of Byzantium (A. D. 323) over Licinius, *a persecutor of the Christians*, wished also to put an end to these growing dissensions of the Christian Church. *Upon the advice of the most eminent bishops*,[1] Constantine summoned a *general assembly* of the bishops of his empire, to be held *at Nice*, in the province of Bithynia, in June, A. D. 325.

ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF NICE.

At this Council three hundred and eighteen bishops assembled, the greater part of whom were Orientals. From the West were Vitus and Vincentius, who represented Pope *Sylvester I.;* from Spain, *Hosius* of Cordova; from Africa, *Caecilian* of Carthage, who represented both Numidia and Mauritania; from Calabria, Bishop *Marcus;* from Gaul, *Nicasius*, Bishop of Dijon; from Illyria, *Bunius*, Bishop of Stobi, and *Domnus*, Bishop of Stridon, and *Protogenes* of Sardica. Of the whole number of bishops assembled at this Council, only twenty-two favored the doctrine of Arius. The council was presided over by *Hosius*, Bishop of Cordova, and by the two Roman priests, Vitus and Vincentius, the representatives of Pope Sylvester, and was held in a *church*, which, "by disposition of Divine Providence, had been made so spacious (εἰς

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[1] *Rufin.* h. e. X. 1. Tum ille (Constantinus) ex *sacerdotum sententia* apud urbem Nicaeam episcopale concilium convocat. *Euseb.* vita Const. III. 7.

οἶκος οἰκτήριος) that it accommodated all the bishops who came from so many provinces."

The principal defenders of the Catholic faith were *Eustathius* of *Antioch*, *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, but preëminently the young Alexandrian deacon *Athanasius*, who, to the faith and gifts of an apostle, and to the heroic courage and fortitude of a martyr, added the keen penetration and dialectic skill of a philosopher, and the persuasive power and sweeping eloquence of a true orator.

The Council condemned the writings of Arius, and ordered them to be burnt.[1]

The Catholics framed a new *Profession of Faith*, based on the Symbol of the Apostles.[2] Eusebius and his followers were continually *equivocating* about the doctrine, and skillfully *concealed* their real purpose by ostentatiously parading such texts as "*Son of God*," "*from God*," "*like to the Father*," which, they said, were in many instances applied in Holy Writ to men. To meet the adroit shifts of their opponents, and to cut off all chance of equivocation, the orthodox bishops inserted in the creed a word which should serve as a crucial test of orthodoxy in the doctrine of the Trinity, and that word was "Homöousion."[1] The Profession of Faith declared, in the name of the Holy Ghost, that the Son "was *true God*, *born*[2] of God not made, and *consubstantial* with the

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[1] *Gelasius Cyzicenus* (Bp. of Caesarea in Palestine about 476), historia Concil. Nicaeni, libb. III., whereof, down to most recent times, the third book contained only three letters. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 346–462. *Mansi*, T. II., p. 754–946.) Some portions of the third book, found in a codex Ambros., were published by *Ang. Mai* (collect. scriptor. vett. T. II., Pt. I.), thereupon complete by *Ceriani*, monumenta sacra et profana. *Hefele*, Acts of the Council of Nice: the Symbolum and the twenty genuine, together with the eighty or eighty-four supposititious *Arabic* canons. (History of Councils, Vol. I., p. 249 sq., and Tübing. Quarterl., 1851, p. 41 sq.) Further accounts of the Nicene Council see in *Combefis*, novum auctuarium., Paris, 1648, T. II., p. 574 sq.

According to Gelasius, Hosius *presided* over the council in the name of Pope Sylvester. Ipse enim Osius ex Hispanis nominis et famae celebritate insignis, qui *Silvestri Episcopi maximae Romae locum obtinebat*, una cum Romanis presbyteris Vitone et Vincentio cum aliis multis in concessu illo adfuit, lib. I., c. 5. Moreover, the name of *Hosius* stands first among the signatures; but these are often deficient in the ancient General Councils. Conf. *Tillemont*, T. VI., note 3, sur le conc. de Nicée. *Natal. Alex.* h. e. saec. IV., diss. II. **Gams*, Ch. H. of Spain, Vol. II., ch. II., p. 144–165. The sitting in the imperial palace, mentioned by *Euseb.* vita Constant. M. III. 10, had nothing to do with the affairs of the Church. These, as *Euseb.* relates, were treated in a *spacious church*. That sitting had no other object in view than to bring *harmony* among all the bishops, in which, however, the emperor was not successful. Cf. *Katerkamp*, Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 66–73.

[2] Symbol. Nicaen. *Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεόν, πατέρα παντοκράτορα πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν. Καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τον υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς. θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί. δι' οὑ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ. τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοῦς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα. παθόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοῦς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.* Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ὅτι ἦν

ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν, τρεπτὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.—Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, omnium visibilium et invisibilium effectorem. Et in unum dominum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei, genitum ex patre unigenitum, hoc est, ex substantia Patris: Deum ex Deo, lumen ex lumine, Deum verum ex Deo vero: genitum non factum, consubstantialem Patri: per quem omnia facta sunt, sive quae in coelo sive quae in terra sunt: qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit; et incarnatus est, homo factus est, passus est, et resurrexit tertia die, ascendit in coelos, et veniet judicaturus vivos et mortuos. Et in Spiritum Sanctum. Illos vero qui dicunt, fuit aliquando quum non esset, et, antequam genitus est non erat, et, ex non existentibus sive ex nihilo factus est, vel qui Dei Filium ex alia hypothesi vel substantia esse, aut creatum esse, aut mutari vel converti posse sentiunt, anathemate ferit catholica Ecclesia. On the manner of expression, adopted in this profession of faith, compare *Athanas.* ep. de decretis Synodi Nicaenae, and *Euseb. Caesar.* ad suae paroeciae homines, placed after the letter just quoted, in Athanasii (opp. ed. *Bened.*, Patav. 1777, T. I., p. 162–190). *Theodoret.* h. e. I. 11. *Socr.* h. e. I. 8. Conf. *Mansi*, T. II., p. 759. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 421, cap. 26. *Kuhn*, Catholic Dogmatics, Vol. II., p. 386 sq.

[1] The plain question at issue was whether our Lord was *God* in as full a sense as the Father, though not to be viewed as separable from Him; or whether, as the sole alternative, He was a *creature*, i. e. whether He was literally of and in the One Indivisible Essence, which we adore as God, *ὁμοούσιος Θεῷ*, or of a substance which had a beginning. The Arians said that He was a creature, the Catholics that He was very God, and all the subtleties of the most fertile ingenuity could not hide the fundamental difference. *Newman's* Arians, pp. 272, 273. (Tr.)

[2] As the knowledge of one's self is a necessary consequence of the constitution of the human mind, so also does the consubstantiality of the Son come necessarily from the essence of the Father. "The Logos abides in the Father, and the Father in the Logos, and are as essential to each other as the sun and its effulgence." *Athanas.* de decretis Synodi Nicaen., c. 20.

Father (ὁμοούσιος, consubstantialis, i. e. coëternal and equal in majesty with the Father); hence let no one presume to assert that He is *created* or *changeable* or *variable*." The signatures of all the orthodox bishops were subscribed to this Profession. *The emperor* exiled to Illyria, Arius, and the Egyptian bishops who espoused his cause, such as *Theonas* of Marmarica and *Secundus* of Ptolemais; and, three months later, *Eusebius* of Nicomedia and *Theognis* of Nice shared the same fate.

The Fathers of the Council of Nice also put an end to the controversy about the *celebration of the Easter festival.* They decided that the festival should be celebrated everywhere on the first Sunday after the spring full-moon. But as there still existed discrepancies in fixing the day, Pope *Leo* ordered the Bishop of Alexandria to calculate beforehand the precise time for the celebration of Easter, and to send the result to the Apostolic See, whence it would be communicated to the whole Church.[1]

The council also endeavored, by conciliatory measures, to heal the *Meletian schism.* It ordained that its author, *Meletus*, Bishop of *Lycopolis* (see § 91), should, while enjoying the title and honors of his episcopal office, and the privilege of remaining in his episcopal city, be deprived of the right of selecting and ordaining either bishops or priests for any church whatever. Those on whom he had already conferred orders were to be admitted to the communion of the Church, and restored to the dignity and permitted to exercise the functions proper to their rank, but were enjoined to yield precedence in every diocese and church, both of honor and jurisdiction, to those who had been ordained by the Bishop of Alexandria.

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[1] *Athanas.* de Synodis, n. 5 (opp. T. I., p. 575). *Euseb.* vita Constant. M. III. 5. *Leon.* M. ep. 121. Paschale etenim festum, quo sacramentum salutis humanae maxime continetur, quamvis in primo semper mense celebrandum sit, ita tamen est lunaris cursus conditione mutabili, ut plerumque, sacratissimae diei ambigua occurrat electio, et ex hoc fiat plerumque, quod non licet, ut non simul omnis ecclesia, quod nonnisi unum esse oportet, observet. Studuerunt itaque SS. Patres occasionem hujus erroris auferre, omnem hanc curam *Alexandrino episcopo* delegantes,—per quem quotannis dies praedictae solemnitatis sedi Apostolicae indicaretur, cujus scriptis ad longinquiores ecclesias indicium generale percurreret. (Opp. ed. *Ballerini*, Venet. 1753, T. I., p. 1228.)

Finally, the Fathers of the Council of Nice, after having put an end to these disputes, turned their attention to the *discipline of the Church.* They drafted and passed twenty canons,[1] referring to various points, such as the qualifications requisite for elevation to the clerical state; the celibacy of the clergy; the election of *bishops*, and their confirmation by the metropolitan; the holding of synods twice a year, in spring and fall; the primacy of the Roman Church, and the hierarchical rank of the Patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch; and the prerogatives of honor attached to the church of Aelia. They also guarded the lawful jurisdiction of Caesarea, the metropolitan see, passed several decrees relating to the reconciliation with the Catholic Church of heretics and lapsi, or such as had fallen away in time of persecution; ordained that no bishop, priest, or deacon should pass from one city to another, or leave off the exercise of his ministry, or engage in usury or other practices of avarice; that deacons should not take it upon themselves to distribute Holy Communion to priests; that heretics, except the Paulianists or followers of Paul of Samosata, who would return to the bosom of the Church, should not be again baptized; and that the faithful should stand during prayer on Sundays and at Pentecost.

§ 111. *Continuation of the Arian Controversy—Athanasius the Great.*

Athanasius, who, on the death of Alexander, *Archbishop of Alexandria*, and when only thirty years of age, was selected to fill that important see (A. D. 328), was ever afterward the most powerful and uncompromising antagonist of the Arians, who impugned the Divinity of Christ and of His holy religion; and although he endured, during the course of the forty-six years of his episcopate, all the hardships of five successive terms of exile, his resolute soul was still unsubdued.[1] In his polemical writings against the Arians, he thus characterizes their fundamental error:[2] "Instead," says he, "of asking why Christ, being *God*, became man, they, on the contrary, inquire how He, being man, can make Himself God. In this they follow the example of the Pharisees, who, being witnesses of the most manifest signs of the Divine mission of the Savior of the world, sneeringly asked Him how He, being but man, could presume to declare Himself God? He then impressed upon them the momentous truth that without a full knowledge and proper appreciation of the Divinity of the Savior, it would be impossible for them to acquire an adequate idea of any single Christian doctrine; that all the doctrines of the Christian religion were most intimately bound up with that of the Divinity of Christ, from which they all radiated as from a common *center*."

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[1] All the acts and decrees in *Mansi*, T. II., p. 947–1064; *Harduin*, T. I., p. 309–344; and *Hefele*, l. c.

The great Doctor, who was a *severe reasoner*, and expounded *Scripture texts* with remarkable lucidity and exactness, demonstrated, in his lengthy and ably sustained controversy against the Arians, that their exegesis was both erroneous and fallacious, and, putting the *Catholic interpretation* upon all the texts of Holy Scripture referring to the Divinity of Christ, drew out that *doctrine* and brought it home to Catholic minds with wonderful clearness of thought and brilliancy of style. Inquiring into the sense in which the Arians understood the *generation of the Son of God*, he asks: "Are we to understand that this generation took place after a human manner?" And he answers: "By no means; for as men are not like God, so neither is God like men. Hence, when reasoning on human things, one should not make them analogous in every respect to what takes place in God; and, on the other hand, when reasoning on Divine things, we should not confound them with what takes place in the case of man."

In the *speculative* portions of his refutation he dwells with pointed emphasis upon the fundamental error of the Arians, according to which the Supreme God was far too elevated and holy to come into immediate contact with the world, and, conversely, the world too degraded and sinful to be worthy of any direct action of God in its affairs. Athanasius retorted by an *argumentum ad hominem.* "This," argued he, "forces you to contradict yourselves; for if, as you say, an All-perfect God can create nothing imperfect, how could He have brought forth His Son, who, according to your own witness, is an imperfect Being? But if, on the other hand, it is possible for Him to call such an imperfect Being into existence, what is to hinder Him from creating an imperfect world directly, and *without the interposition of any such intermediate Being?*" After this, Athanasius goes on to show, by almost every conceivable method of illustration and argument, that, since Christ was but a creature, one could not expect that He would be capable either of setting man *free from the bondage of sin*, or of *reconciling* him and uniting him again with his God, since every creature stands in need of a mediator, and is therefore incapable of himself of working out this union between him and his God. "*We stood in need of a Redeemer,*" said Athanasius, "*who should be by nature our Lord, that, being redeemed; we might not again fall under the power of false gods.*"

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[1] *Athanas.* opp. gr. et lat. ed. *Bernard. de Montfaucon*, Paris, 1689 sq., 3 T. fol. *Justiniani*, Patav. 1777, 4 T., according to which our quotations are made. Cf. *Tillemont*, T. VIII.

[2] A luminous exposition of it see in *Möhler's* Athanas, 1st edit., Vol. I., p. 241-297; 2d edit., p. 217-267; and *Dorner*, Pt. I., p. 833 sq.

The exiled Arius endeavored, both by court favor and by pretending to conform his faith to the decrees of the Nicene Council,[1] to conciliate the good-will of the emperor, who, it appears, was deceived by his specious professions. Constantine recalled Arius from exile A. D. 328, and received, as a proof of his orthodoxy, a declaration of faith, couched in moderate phraseology, in order to avoid exciting any suspicion of dishonest dealing. In it Arius employed general terms and vague phrases, and called the Son of God "*God the Word begotten of the Father before all ages,*" but studiously avoided committing himself to the doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son. It was adroitly represented that if this profession of faith were adopted instead of that of the Nicene Council, the peace and harmony of the Church would be promoted; for, if it did not fully express, it said nothing directly against, the Catholic doctrine on the Divinity of Christ.

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[1] It is related in Concil. Hieros. (*Harduin,* T. I., p. 551 sq. *Mansi,* T. II., p. 1155–1158.) That of Euseb. and Theognis in *Sozom.* h. e. II. 16.

Eusebius of Nicomedia, on whom lay a dangerous suspicion of having been connected with the interests of Licinius during the late struggle for the empire, and Theognis of Nice, a faithful adherent of Eusebius and his companion in exile, now returned to their respective sees. They stated to the emperor in the petition which they addressed to him, begging to be reinstated in their dioceses, that they had not refused their signatures to the Nicene Creed, but to the anathema pronounced against Arius and his followers; that "their obstinacy arose, not from want of faith, but from excess of charity."

The Arians were not content with being allowed to return to their churches, and to enter into the possession and enjoyment of all their former dignities and honors. Their party daily increased both in numbers and influence at the Imperial Court, and they took advantage of their newly acquired power to revenge themselves upon the most distinguished of their opponents, and to rid themselves of the burdensome decrees of the Nicene Council. They accused *Eustathius*, Bishop of Antioch, of Sabellianism and other crimes,[1] and deposed (A. D. 330) him from his see in spite of the desperate resistance made by the orthodox community, who refused to recognize either the competency of the imperial tribunal, or the justness of the imperial edict, by which he was, besides being deprived of his episcopal dignity, banished to Thrace.

Athanasius, who offered a most determined opposition to the reinstatement of Arius at Alexandria, was also represented to the emperor as having been guilty of serious crimes.[2]

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[1] Conf. *Socrat.* h. e. I. 24. *Sozom.* h. e. II. 19. *Theodor.* I. 21. *Athanas.* hist. Arianor, n. 4 (opp. T. I., p. 247). *Euseb.* vita Constant. M. III. 59 sq.

[2] He was charged with having taxed Egypt to provide linen vestments for the clergy; with having held treasonable correspondence with one Philumenos, an enemy of the emperor, and with having engaged with him in a conspiracy, by

This party, by *uniting with the Meletians*, gained fresh strength, and at the Eusebian Synod of Tyre (A. D. 335) succeeded in bringing about the deposition of Athanasius.[1] The emperor, feeling that it was necessary or expedient to sacrifice Athanasius, banished him to the distant city of Treves.

Marcellus of Ancyra, who was accused of Sabellianism, and *Paul*, the orthodox bishop of Constantinople, met with a similar fate. Arius, having made another profession of faith before the emperor, was on the point of being restored by force to the communion of the Church at Constantinople, when, on the eve of the day fixed for his triumphal entry into the Church of the Apostles, he was taken off by sudden death (A. D. 336).[2] Constantine died on the Feast of Pentecost, in the following year, and his two sons, Constantine II. and Constans, were zealous defenders of the Nicene creed. They counteracted the adverse influence of Constantius, who was infected with the Arian heresy. Through their influence, but particularly through the efforts of Constantine II., Athanasius was again restored to his see A. D. 338.

But the resources of the *Eusebians*[3] were not yet exhausted. They accused him before the three emperors and Pope *Julius* of most disgraceful crimes.[4] Constantius seconded their ef-

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sending to him a box filled with gold. He was also charged with having overturned an altar and broken a chalice. A certain Ischyras had presumed to exercise the functions of a priest in the town of Mareotis, within the diocese of Athanasius, and the latter sent Macarius to prevent Ischyras from officiating in his usurped dignity. This was the ground of the charge against Athanasius. He was, besides, accused of having caused the murder of Arsenius, a bishop attached to the Meletian heresy, and of having attempted to prevent the arrival of the fleet which supplied the city of Constantinople with corn.

[1] Synod. Tyr. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 539 sq. *Mansi*, T. II., p. 1123 sq.

[2] *Athanas.* ep. de morte Arii expresses his sentiments on this event in a most touching manner. Cf. also ep. ad Serapion. and ad Episcopos Aegypti et Libyae, n. 19.

[3] They were called *Eusebians* from Eusebius, a man of boundless ambition, who was, first, Bishop of Berytus, then of Nicomedia, and lastly of Constantinople. He regarded it as discreditable to his dignity to follow the teachings of one who was only a priest. Athanasius styled his followers *οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον*.

[4] It was alleged that the return of Athanasius to Alexandria caused great distress in the city; that he was connected with seditious plots, and had committed several murders; that he had intercepted the corn destined for the army, and had again entered upon his episcopal office without ecclesiastical sanction.

forts, and Athanasius was again driven from his see, and *Pistus*, an Arian priest, set up as a rival bishop (A. D. 339), without, however, any attempt being made to depose the Catholic archbishop, St. Athanasius.[1] An assembly of bishops, numbering nearly one hundred, and coming from Egypt, Libya, Thebais, and the Pentapolis, met at Alexandria, and declared Athanasius innocent. Pope *Julius*, to whom both the Synod and the Eusebians appealed, confirmed this judgment. The Synod also sent an address to the three emperors on behalf of Athanasius, and Constantine and Constans received the envoys graciously, granted their request, and dismissed the accusers of Athanasius with scant courtesy.[2] For a time, peace and harmony prevailed throughout the Patriarchate of Alexandria, and the conduct of Athanasius met the entire approval of the Church; but all of a sudden, and without the semblance of a canonical deposition to warrant the act, the Prefect of Egypt surprised every one by the publication of a decree, dated from Constantinople, in which it was said "that *Gregory of Cappadocia* had been *appointed by the Court* (i. e. by the emperor) *the successor to Athanasius*." Athanasius affirms repeatedly, and in pointed language, that this change of circumstances was brought about by the intrigues of the *Eusebians*.[3] He also testifies that Gregory, while collector of revenues at Constantinople, was guilty of peculation,[4] and, in an encyclic addressed to the Catholic world, gives a vivid description of the acts of violence which attended the installation of Gregory in the see of Alexandria. Previously to his arrival, the people flocked to the churches in great numbers to prevent them from passing into the possession of the Arians. But the Prefect of Egypt and the apostate, *Philagrius*, a countryman of Gregory, drove them out by main force, and countenanced every sort of violence and outrage inflicted on the Catholics, by both Jews and Pagans.[5]

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[1] See *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. I., p. 471 sq.

[2] Hist. Arian. ad monachos, c. 9.

[3] *Athanas.* encyclica epistola ad episc., c. 2, p. 89, ed. *Patav.* and Hist. Arianor. c. 9, p. 276.

[4] Hist. Arianor. ad monachos, c. 75, p. 307.

[5] *Athanas.* epist. encycl. ad episcopos, n. 3, pp. 89, 90

This scene took place in Lent, and it was the desire of Gregory to get possession of Athanasius by attacking the church of *Theonas*,[1] in which the latter was accustomed to officiate at this season.[2] But Athanasius had fled,[3] as he informs us in his preamble to his Festal Letters, on the 19th of March, after having baptized a great number of persons, just four days previous to the arrival of Gregory. The intruder took possession of the church of Cyrinus on Good Friday, and signalized his triumph by deeds of blood and brutal violence.[4] Other scenes quite as disgraceful took place in other churches of the city,[5] and were followed by numerous judicial prosecutions. Many of the most distinguished men and women of the highest degree were cast into prison and publicly scourged, for daring to make any opposition to the new bishop.[6] These events took place, if not earlier, certainly not later than A. D. 340, and the date A. D. 341, which is usually given, is incorrect.[7]

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[1] Preamble to the newly discovered Festal Letters of *St. Athanasius*, ed. by *Larsow*, p. 38, No. XI.

[2] *Athanas.* ep. encycl. ad episc., c. 5, p. 91.

[3] Ep. encycl., c. 5, p. 91, and Hist. Arian. ad monach., c. 11, p. 277.

[4] Ep. encycl. ad episc., n. 4, p. 91, and Hist. Arian. ad monach., c. 10, p. 276.

[5] See the plan of the city of Alexandria, with its churches, as given by *Larsow*, on the third plate of his Germ. ed. of *Athanasius*' Festal Letters.

[6] Ep. encycl. ad episcop., c. 4 and 5, p. 91.

[7] An expression made use of by Pope *Julius*, and preserved by Athanasius in his Apologia contra Arianos, c. 29 and 30, has given rise to the supposition that Gregory was appointed Bishop of Alexandria by the Synod of Antioch "in encaeniis," and consecrated only at Easter, A. D. 341, and that he was brought to Alexandria under a military escort. *Socrates*, II. 9–11, and *Sozomenus*, III. 6, have also adopted this date, and add that the synod first appointed *Eusebius* of *Emesa* to the see of Alexandria, but, on his refusal, took up *Gregory*. The recently discovered *Festal Letters* of *St. Athanasius* prove, beyond all manner of doubt, that the assumed date is incorrect; for the *thirteenth* of the "Literae Festales," which was intended to announce the Lenten season and Easter cycle for the year 341, must have been written at the beginning of this year, and was dated at Rome. It seems quite evident, therefore, that Athanasius must have withdrawn to Rome at least as early as A. D. 340. This date being established, it necessarily follows that the statement of Pope Julius, who says "that Athanasius having been deposed at Antioch, the Cappadocian was consecrated in his stead, and conducted to Alexandria under military escort," must be taken in a sense quite different from that which has been usually attributed to it. This will be clear enough, if we refer the Pope's

Athanasius, with two holy monks, Isidorus and Ammonius, meanwhile withdrew to Rome, and, having arrived there after Easter of A. D. 340 (or 339), requested the protection of Pope Julius, and demanded an examination into his case.

Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra; Asclepas, Bishop of Gaza; Lucius, Bishop of Adrianople; and Paul, Bishop of Constantinople, who, like Athanasius, were enduring the hardships of exile, also went to Rome.

The Pope wished to hold a Synod, and extended repeated invitations to the Eusebians to attend, but they returned an indignant and intemperate refusal. As, however, many bishops from Thrace, Coelesyria, Phoenicia, and Palestine, together with many priests sent as proxies for their bishops, arrived *in Rome*, and likewise complained of the violent conduct of the Eusebians toward them, the Pope determined to go on *and hold the Synod* (toward the end of A. D. 340). It finally convened A. D. 341, and after investigating the conduct of the exiled bishops, declared them all innocent, and condemned their opponents as fomenters of faction and apostates from

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words, not to the celebrated Synod of Antioch "in encaeniis" (ἐγκαινίοις), but to one held by the Eusebians at a still *earlier* date, certainly not later than the first months of the year 340, and before Gregory's arrival at Alexandria. When, moreover, we call to mind that Athanasius ascribes the fault of his deposition to the *Eusebians*, and constantly affirms that the *emperor*, or *court*, or *imperial household*, sent the Cappadocian to take possession of the see of Alexandria, the statement of Pope Julius may be perfectly harmonized with the chronology above given. The two accounts supplement each other, thus: "The Eusebians having obtained the emperor's consent to depose St. Athanasius in the assembly at Antioch, and consecrate Gregory in his stead, the emperor then sent the newly consecrated bishop to Alexandria under military escort."

It now seems clear that *Socrates*, II. 9–11, and *Sozomenus*, III. 6, confounded the earlier Synod of Antioch, convoked by the Eusebians for the purpose of deposing Athanasius and electing Gregory, with the more famous one "in encaeniis," and on this account better known to them. The fact that the latter synod probably *confirmed* the deposition, and sought to justify the act by special canons, was calculated to mislead the historians. Moreover, this violent and illegal proceeding against Athanasius could easily have been carried through by the emperor in the year 340, because at that time Constantine the Younger and Constans, the two powerful defenders of orthodoxy and protectors of St. Athanasius, were themselves engaged in a fratricidal war, which ended only with the death of Constantine, in April, A. D. 340. *Tillemont*, hist. des Empereurs, T. IV., p. 327 sq. [These additions to the text and notes of this section are the translator's, from *Hefele's* Hist. of Councils, Vol. I., p. 470 sq.]

the Nicene Creed. These latter were rebuked by the Pope in severe terms.

By the death of Constantine II., who perished near Aquileia, Athanasius lost his most powerful protector, and the Eusebians, who were in the majority at the Synod of *Antioch*, held A. D. 341,[1] in honor of the dedication of Constantine's "Golden" church, took advantage of their numerical strength to introduce among the other twenty-five unobjectionable canons, two, bearing the respective numbers four and twelve, aimed directly at St. Athanasius,[2] and designed to thwart the expressed will of Pope Julius, who desired that the case of Athanasius should be submitted to a new trial. These enacted that no bishop who should officiate after having been canonically deposed, should ever be either restored to his see, or even obtain a hearing before any competent tribunal, and, in effect, confirmed the deposition of Athanasius.

Athanasius, having been formally deposed at the Synod of Antioch, and Pistus having been removed, Gregory, a Cappadocian, was consecrated bishop of Alexandria. He forced his way to the episcopate over the bodies and through the blood of those who had been slain by the imperial soldiers and his own partisans. He obliged the Egyptians by force to recognize him as bishop, and in passing through the country he uniformly treated bishops, monks, and nuns with every sort of disrespect and insult. The Eusebians, in the meantime, assembled at Antioch, and, in order to escape the imputation of Arianism, drew up *four* distinct creeds, approaching as nearly as possible that of *Nice*, but in which they studiously avoided the test-word "*ὁμοούσιος*."

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[1] Conf., however, our note 7 above, on p. 533.

[2] *Concil. Antioch.* (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 595. *Mansi*, T. II., p. 1310.) Conf *Tillemont*, T. VI., p. 317 sq. Can. 4 runs thus: Si quis Episcopus a synodo fuerit depositus, vel presbyter vel diaconus a proprio Episcopo condemnatus, et praesumpserit sacerdotii seu sacri ministerii aliquam actionem; non ei amplius liceat, neque in alia synodo spem restitutionis habere, neque assertionis alicujus locum. Sed et communicantes ei abjici omnes ab ecclesia, maxime si, postquam cognoverunt sententiam adversus eum fuisse prolatam, ei contumaciter communicarunt. Conf. can. 12. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. I., p. 483–510, and, above all, his discussion on the various hypotheses by which it has been tried, to give a satisfactory view of this council "in encaeniis."

SYNOD OF SARDICA.

Owing to the hostile attitude of Constantius, Pope Julius could obtain no more from the indulgence of the two emperors than the liberty of convoking the great *Synod of Sardica*, which continued its sittings *during the autumn of* 343 *and the spring of* 344,[1] and was, with the exception of the Council of Nice, the greatest event of the fourth century.

The Synod convened, to use the words employed in the act of convocation, for a triple purpose: first, to remove all matters of dispute, and particularly such as related to St. Athanasius, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Paul of Constantinople; second, to clear the truths of the Catholic Church of all misconception and misrepresentation; and third, to strengthen faith in Christ. About one hundred and seventy bishops, from both East and West, attended this Synod, of whom seventy-six belonged to the Eusebian party. *Hosius*, who had presided at the Council of Nice, enjoyed the same distinction at Sardica, but the honor was probably shared by *Archidamus* and *Philoxenius*, the two priests who represented Pope Julius at the Synod. The Eusebians, fearing that they would have but a poor chance for the triumph of their cause, and under the pretext that Athanasius, on account of having been deposed by the Synod of Antioch, had no right to be present, refused, from the very beginning, to take any part in the proceedings, and finally withdrew altogether, and retired to Philippopolis, in Thrace, where they held a rival council of their own.

The orthodox bishops paid little attention to the secession of the Eusebians, and went on with their synodical work. They declared the exiled bishops, Athanasius, Marcellus, Asclepas, and their companions, innocent, and restored to them their former offices and dignities; they deposed by name and excommunicated eight bishops of the Eusebian faction, who had, up to this time, been tolerated within the

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[1] *Hefele*, Hist. of the Councils, Vol. I., p. 513–600, where the important points of the Synod of Sardica are discussed. These are, first, the decree concerning *appeals to Rome*, etc.; second, the question as to whether it was or was not of an *ecumenical character.*

Church. The Fathers of Sardica did not deem it necessary to draw up a new profession of faith, as the *Nicene* Symbo covered the whole question under discussion, in all its doctrinal bearings. They did, however, draw up a number of canons relating to *ecclesiastical discipline*, the most important of which is the one on the *right of appeal* to the Bishop of Rome (cf. § 130).

An embassy was sent to the emperor Constantius, who was then at Antioch, to request that the exiled bishops might be allowed to return to their sees, and that all further secular interference in religious affairs should be prohibited. The intrigues of the Eusebians became so notorious, and their circular letter formed so deplorable a contrast with the Synodal Letter of the orthodox bishops, that Constantius, filled for the moment with shame for the cause he had espoused, resolved, now that Gregory was dead, to yield to the advice of his brother Constans, who was at Treves, and allow Athanasius to return to his see (A. D. 346). The holy bishop was received with every evidence of respect and joy by the people of Alexandria; but what, more than everything else, contributed to and completed his triumph, was the public recantation of *Ursacius* of Singidunum, in Moesia, and *Valens* of Mursia, in Pannonia, two of his most bitter antagonists. Paul of Constantinople, Asclepas of Gaza, Marcellus of Ancyra, and other bishops, on entering their dioceses, received equally flattering and honorable marks of respect and reverence from their people.

These tokens of the loyal allegiance of the faithful to their orthodox bishops, excited the utmost fury of their adversaries, and prompted them to measures of revenge. They accused Marcellus of Ancyra of Sabellianism, and deposed him at the Synod of Sirmium, in Pannonia (A. D. 351); they also accused Athanasius before his deadly enemy, Constantius, who, by the death of Constans, murdered A. D. 350 by Magnentius, had become sole ruler of the whole Roman empire. He was represented as having been engaged in treasonable plots,[1] and of a design to maintain the independence of the Church at the expense of the imperial power.

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[1] Athanasius, it was said, had incited Emperor Constans, before his murder by the German Magnentius, to hatred against Constantius; had even been in

Liberius, who had succeeded to the Papal throne, in order to prevent further complications and recriminations, requested that a *Synod* should be convened *at Arles* (A. D. 353). He wrote to the emperor: "Do not interfere in ecclesiastical affairs, or make any laws concerning them, for it is more fitting that you should learn in such matters from us." Constantius was present, and so far influenced the action of the bishops, by threats of violence, as to cause them to condemn Athanasius, and even the Papal Legates, headed by Vincent of Capua, were weak enough to subscribe to this condemnation.

But these acts of imperial violence were carried to a still greater length at the great *Council of Milan* (A. D. 355), at which three hundred bishops assisted. "*My will*," said the emperor to the bishops in a tone of excited vehemence, "*my will must be your canon;* the bishops of Syria have yielded me this measure of submission, and it remains for you to choose between either obedience to my will, or banishment from your sees."

In vain did the bishops beseech the emperor not to mix up the affairs of the Church with the affairs of the State, and not to countenance, by the weight of his authority, the introduction of the Arian heresy into the bosom of the Church. He used his imperial authority and the tyranny of his power to bring about the condemnation of Athanasius, and to force the bishops to subscribe to Arian propositions.

Liberius, the Roman Pontiff, whom Constantius sought to gain by presents, rejected all his advances, was unmoved alike by persuasion and menace, and as a punishment for his constancy was sent into exile. The courageous *Lucifer* of *Calaris*, *Hilarius* of *Pictavium*,[1] *Paulinus* of *Treves*, the mild and

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alliance with the usurper Magnentius; finally officiated solemnly in an unconsecrated church of Alexandria. Cf. *Möhler*, Athanasius, Vol. II., p. 114 sq.; 2d ed., p. 403 sq.

[1] *Hilar. Pictav.* de Trinit., libb. XII.; ad Constantin.; de synodis adversus Arianos; de synodis Arim. et Seleuc.; comment. in Psalm. et in Matt. opp. ed. Bened., by *Constant.*, Paris, 1693. *Maffei*, Veron. 1730, 2 T. fol.; Venet. 1749-

prudent *Eusebius* of *Vercelli*, *Dionysius* of *Milan*, and even the venerable centenarian, *Hosius* of *Cordova*, all experienced the emperor's anger, and were driven from their sees into a distant exile. *Athanasius* was expelled from his see A. D. 356 by General Syrianus, at the head of five thousand Pagan soldiers, and having eluded the eager pursuit and vigilance of his persecutors by a circumstance little short of miraculous, he arrived a few days after in the desert, where he was surrounded by his dear friends in religion, who welcomed him among them as an angel from Heaven.

THE PARTIES OF THE ARIANS, ANOMOEANS, AND SEMI-ARIANS.

The opponents of the Nicene Symbol had, from the very beginning, held divergent views, respectively represented by the two Eusebii. Eusebius of Caesarea was not inclined to follow the Arian principles to their last consequences, and did not care to assert so great an inequality between the Father and the Son as was implied in the teachings of Arius. Hence he substituted, instead of the orthodox word *ὁμοούσιος*, or of the same substance, the word *ὁμοιούσιος*, or of a similar substance, as the term that properly indicated the relations between the Father and the Son. Eusebius of Nicomedia rejected even all *similarity* of substance, and maintained that the substance of the Son was *ἑτεροούσιος*, or one quite different from that of the Father. Both, however, very well understood how to insinuate a doctrine while concealing their true meaning, and they were continually at work inventing new symbols to meet the exigencies of the moment, some of which gave a simulated prominence to orthodox teachings, while others were conspicuously Arian. To the *four* creeds drawn up at Antioch A. D. 341, *another* still more lengthy (*ἔκθεσις μακρόστιχος*) was added,[1] in which the nature of the Son was

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1750, 2 T. fol. We quote from the latter. Pocket edition, *Oberthür*, Wirceb. 1785 sq., 4 T. *Ang. Maji*, scriptor. vett. collect. T. VI. *Tillemont*, T. VII., p. 432–469. †*Reinkens*, Hilarius of Pict., Schaffh. 1864.

[1] The four formulae to be found in *Athanas.* de synod., nros. 22–25 (opp. T. I., p. 587–589). Conf. *Walch*, bibl. symbol. vetus, p. 109 sq. *Möhler*, Athanas., Vol. II., p. 56 sq.; 2d ed., p. 350 sq, *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. I., p. 503 sq. and 652 sq.

admitted to be truly and in every sense divine, and His generation defined to be the free act of the Father's will, and He declared similar to the Father in all things; but the word "consubstantial," or *ὁμοούσιος*, was studiously avoided.

After the Arian decrees of the Synod of Milan had been forcibly substituted for those of Nice, the thorough-going Arians, feeling confident of the triumph of their cause, began to throw off all disguise, and to advance doctrines distinctively Arian. The teachings of Arius were pushed to their last consequences by Aëtius, a Cappadocian, a deacon at Antioch, and by *Eunomius*,[1] Bishop of *Cyzicus*, in Mysia, a province of Asia Minor (died 395), who, though a man of superficial attainments, carried his premises to their legitimate conclusions. He denied that there was anything in divine things which might not be grasped by human reason, and pretended that the knowledge of God and His Divine Essence had been reached by himself.

"As," said he, in speaking of the Divinity of Christ, "as there is an infinite distance between the Creator and the creature, so also in the case of Christ, who, though far surpassing any created being, is, for all that, of a substance quite different from that of the Father"—*ἀνόμοιος κατ᾽ οὐσίαν καὶ κατὰ πάντα*, i. e. unlike not only in substance, but in every other respect. These heretics were, from the distinctive character of their doctrine, called *Anomoeans* (*ἀνόμοιοι, ἑτεροουσιανοί* or *ἐξουκόντιοι*); while the more moderate, or those who held that Christ, though not of the same substance as the Father, was of a similar substance, were called *Semi-Arians*, or Homoiousians (*ὁμοιουσιανοί*), and of these *Basil*, Bishop of Ancyra, was the recognized head.

The conflicting opinions of the different schools of Arians grew daily more divergent, and became particularly conspicuous in the two conferences of Arian bishops—the one held at *Sirmium*, in Pannonia, A. D. 357, and the other at Ancyra, in

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[1] *Eunomii* ἔκθεσις τῆς πίστεως, first ed. *H. Valesius*, in notis ad Socrat. V. 10, and ἀπολογητικός, first in *Fabricii* bibl. gr. T. VIII., p. 262, both in *Canisii*, lection. antiq., ed. *Basnage*, T. I., p. 72 sq., and *Basil. M.* opp. ed. *Garnier*, T. I., p. 618 sq. *Klose*, Hist. and Doctr. of Eunomius, Kiel, 1833. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. I., p. 644 sq.

Asia Minor, A. D. 358. The former conference drew up a new creed, the *second* of *Sirmium* (the first had been drawn up A. D. 351), and dishonestly attributed its authorship to Hosius, who was then in exile. In this creed both the words "*ὁμοούσιος*" and "*ὁμοιούσιος*" were rejected, as at variance with Holy Scripture. The substance (*οὐσία*) is indeed described as surpassing all human comprehension; but the Father is spoken of as being superior to the Son in glory, in dignity, and in power, and the very name of Father is appealed to as proof that the Son is subordinate and inferior to Him in all things.

The conference at Ancyra, under the presidency of *Basil*, bishop of that city, approved the teachings of the *Semi-Arians*, and expressed, in unqualified terms, abhorrence of the strictly Arian tenets.[1]

The action of these two conferences gave fresh bitterness to the internal dissensions of the Arians.

Constantius wished to put an end to these acrimonious controversies, and *Ursacius*, in his desire to second the emperor's efforts, forged, at the "Great Assembly" of his party (A. D. 358), a third *Creed of Sirmium*, in which, while using obscure terms and expressions, capable of being explained away or differently interpreted, he seems to favor the teachings of the Semi-Arians, and declares that, *according to Holy Scriptures*, the Son is, in all things, like to the Father, *ὅμοιος κατὰ πάντα*, but is studiously silent with regard to the identity of Substance (*οὐσία*). By this specious profession and dishonest concealment of their real meaning, the Semi-Arians succeeded in deceiving even the aged *Hosius*, who, after having suffered all the hardships of exile and endured bodily punishment, consented to subscribe to the second Creed of Sirmium. Constantius, yielding to the prayers of the most estimable ladies of Rome, granted permission to Pope *Liberius* to return to his see; but it is thought that the menacing conduct of the Roman people, who openly protested against the imperial decree authorizing a rival bishop, and cried out in the circus that as there was but "*One God and One Christ*, there should be but *one Bishop*," contributed, more than anything else, to extort from the emperor this act of clemency. A similar line of conduct was afterward adopted toward Hilary of Pictavium, and the Arians then urged the measure.[1]

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[1] The second formula of Sirmium in *Hilary*, de synod., n. 11. *Athanas.* de synodis, n. 28. *Walch*, bibl. symbol., p. 133 sq. The *Semi-Arian* Synodal Letter of Ancyra, in *Epiphan.* haer. 73, nros. 2–11. Conf. *Katerkamp*, Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 212–228. *Möhler*, Athanas., Vol. II., p. 202–210; 2d ed., p. 483 sq.

The emperor, the better to reconcile the conflicting parties among the Arians, and to force, if possible, the Arian formularies upon the Catholic bishops, had recourse to the dishonest expedient of arranging for holding two Synods simultaneously.

THE DOUBLE SYNOD OF RIMINI AND SELEUCIA, A. D. 359.

A double council was appointed to be held, of the Western bishops at Rimini, a town on the Adriatic coast, and of the Eastern at Seleucia.[2] Above four hundred of the Western bishops assembled at Rimini, of whom about eighty belonged to the Arian party.

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[1] It has been frequently asserted, though as frequently denied, that *Liberius*, worn out by the sufferings of his exile, finally consented to subscribe the Arian formula. (*Athanas.*, Hist. Arianor. adv. Monachos, c. 41; Apologia contra Arianos, c. 89; *Hilar.*, Fragm. opp. T. II., p. 517–521; *Hieronymus*, in his *Chronic.* and *Catalog.*, c. 97.) But, considering *the silence of Socrates, Theodoret, Cassiodorus*, and *Sulpitius Severus*, there is a strong suspicion that this passage was *interpolated* in the above writers by the *Arians*, whose restless spirit stopped at nothing that might further their cause. The passage has, moreover, no connection in the *context*, either with what precedes or what follows. This is notoriously the case in Athanasius, for his Apologia contra Arianos was written, at the very latest, A. D. 350, or two years before Liberius was elected Pope. Again, his History of the Arians was also written prior to the supposed fall of Liberius (vide *Abbé Darras*, Pontificate of Liberius, n. 9). (Tr.) This damaging report, having been once set afoot, was not long in gaining credence, and at last found its way into the work of *Sozom.*, Hist. Eccl. IV. 15; and even *Rufinus*, who in his youth may have been acquainted with Liberius, says: "Liberius, Bishop of Rome, returned to his see during the lifetime of Constantius, but whether this permission was granted him because he consented to subscribe to the Arian formula, or because the emperor thought that he would conciliate the Roman people by this act of clemency, *I will not venture to say.*" Cf. *Palma*, l. c., T. I., Pt. II., p. 94–117; also *Reinerding*, Materials Contributed to the Vexed Question of Honorius and Liberius, Münster, 1865; contra, *Hefele*, Pope Liberius and his Relations to Arianism and to the Nicene Symbol, Tüb. Quarterly, 1853, p. 261 et sq.; also History of the Councils, by the *same* author, Vol. I., p. 657–673, and *Bossuet*.

[2] Conf. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 711 sq. *Mansi*, T. III., p. 293–335. *Athanas.* epist. de synod. Arimini et Seluciae celebrat. (opp. T. I., p. 572 sq.) Conf. *Katerkamp*, Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 228 sq. *Möhler*, Athanasius, Vol. II., p. 210 sq.; 2d ed., p. 491 sq. *Palma*, l. c., T. I., Pt. II., p. 117–128.

The doctrine of the Arians was so vacillating and inconsistent, that it seemed but the growth of yesterday, and gave occasion to the ironical remark, that they willingly bestowed upon the emperor the title of "*eternal*," which they refused to the Son of God. The Catholic bishops, on the contrary, declared that their faith was neither of yesterday nor of to-day, but of all time; that they had not come to be taught what they should believe, but to profess their belief, and to oppose every new alliance not in harmony with it. Notwithstanding their resolution and good intentions, the emperor succeeded, through the intrigues of Ursacius and Valens, and through *persistent* violence, in inducing them to subscribe to an insidious and equivocal symbol, in which the general proposition was laid down, "*that the Son was in all things like to the Father, according to the teaching of Holy Writ.*" Apart from all intrigue and duplicity, it is evident the Anomoeans, or Eunomians, through their alliance with the Semi-Arians, obtained here a decided victory.

Of all those bishops, only Pope *Liberius*, *Vincent* of *Capua*, and *Gregory* of *Elvira* resolutely refused to submit to imperial dictation.[1]

In the meantime there reigned in the Council of *Seleucia*[2] a spirit of irremediable discord, occasioned by the differences of the Anomoean and Semi-Arian views, and by the serious complaints against many of the bishops. The greater part were Semi-Arian, in so far as they censured nothing that was contained in the Nicene symbol, except the use of the word *ὁμοούσιος*, which, they imagined, might easily bear a Sabellian interpretation. Against nine bishops, who openly defended the Anomoean errors, and particularly against Acacius of Caesarea, the leader of the party, they pronounced sentence of deposition. But the ten deputies of the Council were compelled by the emperor to subscribe to the formula of Rimini, and thus to give up their term *ὁμοούσιος*. It is to this period that St. Jerome refers his well-known exclamation: "*The whole world groaned and marveled to find itself Arian.*"[1]

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[1] At Rimini, says *Döllinger*, in his Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 114, the Nicene symbol of faith was confirmed, with the rejection of all later formulas, and four Arian bishops were deposed. But the ten bishops, whom the council sent as deputies to Constantius, were so long harassed by the artful hypocrisy and threats of the emperor, and of the Arians at his court, and exhausted by long and tedious delays, that at length they subscribed to a formulary, similar to last of Sirmium, in which a mere likeness of the Son to the Father, "according to the Scriptures," was expressed. After this subscription, they entered into communion with the Arians. By the same acts of fraud, the bishops who had continued at Rimini were induced to take a similar step to that of their deputies. (Tr.)

[2] Tr. add. from *Döllinger's* Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 115.

This, however, was the last opportunity granted to the emperor Constantius to enforce his despotic authority.[2] He died A. D. 361, and after his death there was soon an end of the apostasy which he had violently imposed upon the Catholic bishops. *St. Hilary* and *Lucifer* of Calaris,[3] indignant at the conduct of Constantius, spoke of him in terms of severity, if not of open disrespect (cf. § 125).

§ 112. *Gradual Decline of Arianism—Second Ecumenical Council.*

The emperor *Julian*, in order to increase the embarrassment of the Catholic Church, published an edict, permitting all the exiled bishops to return to their sees. The Oriental bishops, who had hitherto suffered themselves to be intimidated, now openly broke with the Arian party, whose numbers were, by this secession, greatly reduced. The orthodox bishops, on the other hand, adopting in their dioceses the policy recommended by St. Athanasius at the *Synod of Alexandria* (A. D. 362), on his return from exile, showed the utmost kindness to the returning Arians, and granted full pardon to such as had not gone over to that heresy of their own free will, but under forcible compulsion, even permitting ecclesiastics to retain all their offices and dignities.

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[1] *Hieronym.* dial. adv. Luciferianos, n. 19: Ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est (opp. ed. *Vallarsii*, Venet. 1767., T. II., p. 191).

[2] Even the Pagan *Ammianus Marcellinus*, historiar. XXI. 16, gives the true character of Constantius, when he describes him as wishing to make the whole Christian world conform to his caprice: Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confundens; in qua scrutanda perplexius, quam componenda gravius excitavit dissidia plurima, quae progressa fusius aluit *concertatione verborum*: ut catervis Antistitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus per synodos, quas appellant, dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conatur arbitrium, rei vehiculariae succideret nervos., ed Valesii, p. 292.

[3] *Hilarius* ad Constantium August., lib. II.; contr. Constant. imperatorem (opp. T. II., p. 422–460). *Lucifer Calarit.* ad Constant., libb. II.; de regib. apostat.; de non conveniendo c. haeret.; de non parcendo delinquentib. in Deum; quod moriendum sit pro filio Dei (bibl. max. Patr. T. IV., p. 181 sq., opp. ed. *Coleti*, Venet. 1778, fol.)

Lucifer of *Calaris*, a man of severe austerity, protested against this lenient policy, and required that all bishops who had signed the Arian formula should be deposed; but, finding that his counsel was not favorably received, he forthwith placed himself at the head of a schismatical party, called after him *Luciferians*,[1] who revived the ultra-rigorist principles of the Novatian heresy, relative to the conditions required in the members of the Church for ecclesiastical purity.

St. Athanasius, while engaged in the glorious work of pacifying and reconciling all parties, was banished for the fourth time, but again returned in the short reign of Jovian (A. D. 363), and with him came also the triumph of his cause. He was again sent into exile, for the fifth time, in the joint reign of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, though only the latter of these persecuted the Church. He was checked in his mad career of violence by the firmness and dauntless courage of the great *Basil*.[2] It was found necessary to recall Athanasius from his place of banishment to quell an insurrection that had broken out in the city. This holy man died May 2, A. D. 373, but before departing from this for a better life, to receive the crown of justice he had so well earned in fighting the battles and securing the victories of the Church, he had the gratification of seeing his cause everywhere triumphant, and the divinity of Christ proclaimed throughout the whole earth.

The numerous parties into which the Arian heresy had split paved the way for its rapid downfall. Its ruin was completed by the labors of that noble array of Doctors of the Church, who took up and continued the work that the great Athanasius had commenced, and whose influence on the Christian people was wide-spread and enduring, simply because their own belief in the divinity of Christ was a thoroughly earnest and deep-seated conviction. They remained unmoved amid the storms of *controversy* that raged about them, because "*their ears were more holy than those of the priests.*" Among them were the three great Cappadocians—those three shining lights of the Eastern Church, who were united to each other alike by the bonds of friendship and of faith—*Basil the Great*,[1] *Gregory Nazianzen* the Theologian,[2] and *Gregory of Nyssa*,[3] distinguished as a popular writer. In this conflict for the faith, and against heresy, there were other conspicuous writers, such as the blind but energetic *Didymus*, *Amphilochius* (Bishop of Iconium), *Ephraëm the Syrian* (who composed a number of hymns), *Cyril of Jerusalem*, *Diodorus of Tarsus*, *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, *Epiphanius of Salamis*, *St. John Chrysostom*, and others. The universal harmony which at this time prevailed throughout the East and the West, was partially marred by the *Meletian Schism*[4] of Antioch.

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[1] *Hieronymi* dial. Luciferiani et Orthodoxi l. 1. *Walch*, Hist. of Heretics, Pt. III., p. 338 sq.

[2] Conf. *Katerkamp*, Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 321-325.

This schism originated A. D. 330,[5] when *Eustathius*, the

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[1] *Basil. M.* opp. ed. *Fronto-Ducaeus*, Paris, 1618, 2 T. fol. *_Garnier_, Paris, 1721 sq., 3 T., in *Migne's* Greek Fathers, T. 29–31. Conf. *Feisser*, de vita Basil. M., Groning. 1828. *Tillemont*, T. IX. *Klose*, Basil the Great, his Life, etc., Stralsund, 1835. All his works in German by *Wendel*, Vienna, 1776 sq., 6 pts.; also contained in the "Complete Ed. of the Fathers, Kempten, 1839, sq.," Vol. XX. sq.

[2] *Gregor. Naz.* opp. ed. *Morellius*, Paris, 1630, 2 T. fol. *_Clémencet_, Paris, 1778; for a long time but one vol., Paris, 1840, T. II., in *Migne's* Greek Fathers, T. 35–38. *Tillemont*, T. IX. *Ullmann*, Greg. of Naz., Darmstadt, 1825.

[3] *Greg. Nyss.* opp. ed. *Morellius*, Paris, 1615, 2 T. fol., append. add. *Gretser*, Paris, 1618; *ed. _Bened._, Paris, 1780, only T. I.; newly discovered fragm. in *Ang. Maji* collect., Rom. 1834, T. VIII.; in *Migne's* Greek Fathers, T. 44–46. *Tillemont*, T. IX. *Rupp*, Greg. of Nyssa's Life and Doctrine, Lps. 1834.

[4] *Walch's* Hist. of Heretics, Pt. IV., p. 410. *Hefele*, in the Freiburg Eccl. Cyclop., Vol. VII., p. 42 sq.

[5] Not in 311, as *Alzog* has it, probably through a misprint. Conf. *Döllinger*, Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 117; *Abbé Darras*, Ch. H., Vol. I., p. 402; *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. I., p. 434, who there quotes *Wetzer*, restitutio verae Chrono-

Catholic Bishop of Antioch, and one of the most uncompromising defenders of the Nicene Creed, and who on this account had made himself particularly odious to Eusebius of Nicomedia, was deposed by an assembly of Arians on a charge as infamous as it was untruthful. A series of Arian bishops succeeded to the see, who, besides being heretics, were also intruders. The Catholics of Antioch, indignant at this high-handed proceeding, repudiated the intruded Arian bishops, formed a separate community of their own, and, by way of drawing a sharp distinction between themselves and the Arians, went under the name of Eustathians. The schism was consummated A. D. 360, when *Meletius*, Bishop Sebaste, was appointed by the Arians to the see of Antioch. But at his installation, or on some other public occasion, he surprised every one by publicly professing the Nicene Creed, and was on this account expelled the city, and Euzoïus, an Arian, appointed to his place.

There was still another feature which rendered matters more complicated. The Eustathians did not like Meletius, even though he had explicitly rejected Arianism, because he had come into possession of the see through a line of intruders, and consequently they gave their allegiance to the priest Paulinus, who had been consecrated bishop by Lucifer, their own recognized leader. There were, therefore, three claimants to the see of Antioch—one Arian and two orthodox—and three corresponding parties. The controversy was still further embittered between the two orthodox parties by the different usage followed by each in the employment of the word Hypostasis—the Meletians, following the Eastern usage, adopted the formula of *Three* Hypostases in speaking of the Trinity; while the Eustathians, following the Western usage, adopted the formula of *One* Hypostasis and Three Prosopa.[1]

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logiae, etc., pp. 6, 7. *Tillemont*, T. VII., pp. 11 and 298, note 3, sur St. Eustathe. (Transl. Note.)

[1] Those who, in speaking of the Trinity, admitted but *One* Hypostatis, understood *ὑπόστασις* in the sense of *οὐσία* or essentia; while those who contended for *Three* Hypostases, understood in the sense of persona. Photinus, in attempting to revive Sabellianism, gave rise to this confusion of terms, and hence St.

The schism of Antioch was finally brought to a close A. D. 398, after it had lasted sixty-eight years. St. John Chrysostom and Theophilus of Alexandria succeeded in having *Flavian*, the successor to Meletius, *recognized by Rome*, as the legitimate bishop, and in this way the schism was practically closed. A party of extreme Eustathians held out till the year 415, when *Alexander*, the second successor to Meletius, had the joy of celebrating the beautiful *feast* of their return to the flock of their legitimate shepherd.

While the defenders of the Nicene faith were multiplying on every side, the Arian cause was weakened by the loss of its leader, *Euzoïus*, Bishop of Antioch, who died A. D. 376. His death was shortly followed by that of the emperor Valens, the most powerful protector of the Arians, who fell in battle (A. D. 378), fighting against the Goths. But the favor which this prince had all along extended to the Arians, was withdrawn toward the close of his life.

Young *Gratian*, having become sole master of the Roman empire, granted full religious liberty to all his subjects, except the Manichaeans, Photinians, and Eunomians, and permitted the exiled bishops to return to their sees. *Gregory Nazianzen* repaired to the capital to defend the Nicene faith, and assume the administration of the diocese. In the following year Gratian associated *Theodosius* with himself in the government of the empire, who, having rid the city of Constantinople of the Arian heresy, published (A. D. 380) his famous decree, in which he professed unquestioning belief in the faith of Nice, and ordained that all the faithful should adopt the name of Catholic Christians.[1]

Basil held it to be necessary to say τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, because Sabellius taught there was One Hypostasis, μίαν ὑπόστασιν, and Three Prosopa, τρία πρόςωπα. Cf. *Basil. M.*, ep. 38.

Still later on, it was found necessary, in order to express precisely the idea of *subsisting individuality* against those who opposed it, to use πρόσωπον ἐνυπόστατον; when, however, the meaning of ὑπόστασις had been rigorously fixed, it was again substituted. *Athanas.* Tom. (Epist.) ad Antioch. (opp. T. I., p. 615–620) ep. ad Epict. Episc. Cor. (T. I., p. 120 et sq.)

[1] *Cod. Theodos.* XVI. 1, 2: Cunctos populos, quos clementiae nostrae regit temperamentum, in tali volumus religione versari, quam divinum *Petrum Apostolum tradidisse Romanis* religio usque nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat quam-

Among the most prominent of those who labored earnestly to preserve and defend the purity of the orthodox faith in the West, were *Hilary* (the Athanasius of the Western Church), Popes *Julius*, *Damasus*, and *Innocent*, the bishops *Ambrose* and *Augustine*, and the priest *Jerome*.

At Milan, Arianism had enjoyed the protection of Bishop Auxentius; but when St. Ambrose, the orthodox bishop of that city, came into possession of the see (A. D. 374), he proved by his conduct that he was ready to resist even imperial orders when obedience to them would compromise his faith. He twice refused to yield to the emperor, who commanded him to surrender the Catholic Basilica to the Arians, replying to the request with a firmness and dignity worthy of a Christian bishop: "What is of God belongs to God; what is of the emperor belongs to the emperor: to the emperor, therefore, belong the palaces, but the churches to the bishop." Ambrose hastened to Sirmium, to secure the election of a Catholic bishop, and at the Synod of Aquileia (A. D. 381) vanquished two bishops in a controversy on Arianism, who, in consequence of their defeat, resigned their sees.

SECOND ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, A. D. 381.

This Council, assembled by order of Theodosius, exercised a great and beneficial influence on the Church, both in the East and in the West. It was attended by one hundred and fifty-three bishops, principally *Orientals*, nearly all of whom enjoyed the distinction of being either *saints* or *confessors*. Besides these, there were thirty-six bishops belonging to the sect of Macedonius. The Council was presided over successively by *Meletius*, Bishop of Antioch, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Nectarius*. The special work proposed to the Fathers

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que *Pontificem Damasum sequi declarat* et *Petrum Alexandriae Episcopum, virum apostolicae sanctitatis:* h. e. ut secundum apostolicam disciplinam evangelicamque doctrinam Patris et Filii et Spritus S. unam Deitatem sub parili majestate et sub pia Trinitate credamus. *Hanc legem sequentes Christianorum catholicorum nomen jubemus amplecti*, reliquos vero dementes vesanosque judicantes, haeretici dogmatis infamiam sustinere, nec conciliabula eorum ecclesiarum nomen accipere, divina primum vindicta, post etiam motus nostri, quem ex coelesti arbitrio sumpserimus, ultione plectendos.

was: 1. The election of an orthodox bishop for Constantinople; 2. The drawing up of a more explicit formula of faith against the Semi-Arians; and 3. The issuing of disciplinary canons called for by the special circumstances of the time.

The case of *Maximus*, surnamed the Cynic, was subjected to a careful examination, his consecration declared void, and he himself removed as an usurper. *Gregory Nazianzen*, who had deserved well of the Church of Constantinople by the intrepid and triumphant conflict which he waged against Arianism, was, after much opposition on his part, at length prevailed upon to accept the see from which Maximus had been driven. When the bishops from Egypt and Macedonia, who did not arrive till late, came to Constantinople, they disapproved of the election of Gregory, on the ground that he was *already in possession of the see of Sasima*, a circumstance which, if it had been true, as in matter of fact it was not, would have been entirely irrelevant according to the Eastern practice. But Gregory was only too glad to lay down so heavy a burden, and entering the Council he resigned the episcopal see, and took an affectionate leave of the assembled Fathers and of the church of Constantinople. *Nectarius* was chosen in his room, to fill the patriarchal throne of the capital.

This business disposed of, the Council proceeded to the condemnation of the Macedonians, who, besides refusing to subscribe to a formula containing the word ὁμοούσιος, as relating to the Divinity of Christ, also denied the *Divinity of the Holy Ghost*. They were on this account called *Pneumatomachoi*, or Adversaries of the Holy Ghost. This heresy was but a logical consequence of the rationalistic principles of the Anti-Trinitarians, an application of the same line of reasoning to the Holy Ghost. It illustrated what *Dionysius* of Alexandria had said of Sabellius: "His teaching is impious, and replete with blasphemies against the Omnipotent Father, and with infidelity against the Only Begotten Son; but as for the *Holy Ghost*, it takes no heed of Him at all." Many of the Fathers had already protested against this tendency to disparage the Holy Ghost, and notably *St. Athanasius*, *Didymus* of Alexandria, *Basil* the Great, and *Gregory Nazian-*

zen, had again and again asserted, in precise and emphatic language, the essential connection between the Divinity of the *Logos* and that of the *Holy Ghost*. Moreover, several Synods had explicitly declared the *Divinity* and *Consubstantiality* of the Third Person of the Trinity; as, for example, that of *Alexandria* (A. D. 362), and those held in Illyria and at *Rome* under Pope Damasus (A. D. 375). The doctrine was now defined more rigorously: "*We believe*," so run the words of the formula, "*in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father; who, together with the Father and the Son, is adored and glorified; who spoke by the Prophets.*"[1]

This Council, although not presided over by Papal Legates, has nevertheless obtained the rank and character of an *Ecumenical* Council through the sanction which its *dogmatic* canons have received from the Pope and from the Western bishops.[2] They, however, refused to approve the remainder of the canons, and took particular exception to *Canon XIV.*, in which it was enacted that "the Bishop of Constantinople shall take his rank next to the Bishop of Rome, because the former city was the *New Rome*."

After Theodosius had published civil laws (A. D. 384) to insure the faithful execution of these canons, Arianism disappeared entirely from the Roman empire, and these stringent measures forced those who professed it to take refuge among the various barbarous nations, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Longobards, where the heresy revived. We shall treat of these nations in the Second Period of this work.

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[1] Symbolum Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum (the Credo of our Mass) completes the Nicene Profession of Faith on the Holy Ghost: (Πιστεύομεν) *καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιὸν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον* (John xv. 25), *τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν. εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν.* Ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν *βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.* Ἀμήν.—Credimus et in Spiritum sanctum *Dominum et vivificatorem, ex Patre procedentum, cum Patre et Filio adorandum et conglorificandum: qui locutus est per prophetas.* Unam sanctam catholicam atque apostolicam ecclesiam. Confitemur unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum; expectamus resurrectionem mortuorum, et vitam futuri faeculi. Amen. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 814. *Mansi*, T. III., p. 565. *Kuhn*, Cath. Dogmatics, Vol. II., p. 411–419.

[2] The acts of this council, in *Mansi*, T. III., p. 521 sq. An abridgment of them, in *Hefele's* Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 1–32.

RESULT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF FAITH UP TO THE PRESENT TIME.

The dogma of *the Blessed Trinity* was uncompromisingly proclaimed to be, "*One God and Three Persons* (*ὑποστάσεις*), *namely, the Father, and the Son, and Holy Ghost, who proceed from Him.*" This dogma was characterized as the cardinal doctrine of the Catholic faith, and was expressed with the nicest precision and most rigorous exactness in the so-called *Symbolum Athanasianum*, which, however, is not of earlier origin than the sixth, or the beginning of the seventh, century.[1]

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[1] For exhaustive investigations on this symbol, its original composition in Latin and probable author, and the diverging versions in Greek, compare Diatribe in symbol., "Quicunque vult salvus esse" (opp. S. Athanas., T. II., p. 652–667). It runs as follows: Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus habet, ut teneat catholicam fidem. Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in aeternum peribit.—Fides autem catholica haec est, ut unum Deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate veneremur, neque confundentes personas, neque substantiam separantes. Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus sancti, sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti una est divinitas, aequalis gloria, coaeterna majestas. Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis et Spiritus sanctus. Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus et Spiritus sanctus; immensus Pater, immensus Filius, immensus et Spiritus sanctus; aeternus Pater, aeternus Filius, aeternus et Spiritus sanctus: et tamen non tres aeterni, sed unus aeternus, sicut non tres increati, nec tres immensi, sed unus increatus et unus immensus. Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens et Spiritus sanctus, et tamen non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens. Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et Spiritus sanctus, et tamen non tres Dii, sed unus est Deus. Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus et Spiritus sanctus, et tamen non tres Domini, sed unus est Dominus: quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam et Deum et Dominum confiteri christiana veritate compellimur, ita tres Deos aut Dominos dicere catholica religione prohibemur. Pater a nullo est factus nec creatus, nec genitus; Filius a Patre solo est, non factus, non creatus, sed genitus. *Spiritus sanctus a Patre et Filio*, non factus nec creatus nec genitus est, sed *procedens*. Unus ergo Pater, non tres Patres, unus Filius, non tres Filii, unus Spiritus sanctus, non tres Spiritus sancti. Et in hac trinitate nihil prius aut posterius nihil majus aut minus, sed totae tres personae coaeternae sibi sunt et coaequales, ita ut per omnia, sicut jam supra dictum est, et unitas in trinitate et trinitas in unitate veneranda sit. Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de trinitate sentiat.

Sed necessarium est ad aeternam salutem, ut incarnationem quoque Domini

While the *Greeks*,[1] in more fully developing the relations of the Holy Ghost to the Father and the Son, steadily adhered to the wording of the Symbol of Constantinople, and, dreading that the Holy Ghost might gradually be made subordinate to the other two Persons, used the formula, "*The Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father through the Son*" (διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ); the Doctors of the Western Church, such as *Hilary*, *Ambrose*, and *Augustine*,[2] seized with firmer grasp, and obtained a more steady view, and gained a deeper knowledge, of the economy of the Triune God and of the relations of the Three Divine Persons. These taught that "the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and *from the Son*." The addition of "*Filioque*" to the Niceno-Constantinopolitan formula of faith, was introduced *by way of explanation* at the Synod of Toledo (A. D. 589), and is also found in the *Symbolum Athanasianum*. This addition was the origin and

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nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credat. Est ergo fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Jesus, Dei Filius, Deus pariter et homo est. Deus est ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitus, homo ex substantia matris in saeculo natus: perfectus Deus, perfectus homo, *ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens*, aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem. Qui licet Deus sit et homo, *non duo tamen*, sed unus est Christus, unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carnem, sed assumtione humanitatis in Deum, unus omnino *non confusione substantiae*, sed *unitate personae*. Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita et Deus et homo unus est Christus. Qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in coelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris, inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos; ad cujus adventum omnes homines *resurgere habent* cum corporibus suis et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem; et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam aeternam, qui vero mala, in ignem aeternam. Haec est fides catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.

This last section gives a summary of the dogmatic decrees passed in the Third and Fourth Ecumenical Councils (A. D. 431 and 451) against Nestorius and Eutyches.

[1] *Didymi*, lib. de spiritu sancto, extant only in the Latin version of St. Jerome, and libb. III. de Trinitate ed. gr. et lat. *Mingarellius*, Bononiae, 1769, fol.; in *Migne's* ser. gr. T. 39.—*Basilii M.*, περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ad Amphilochium. *Gregorii Nazian.*, λόγοι θεολογικοί. Conf. †*Hergenroether*, The Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, according to St. Gregory Nazianzen, Ratisb. 1850.

[2] *St. Augustine*, especially in his profound work de Trinit., libb. XV. (opp. ed. *Bened.* T. VIII.) *Hilar.* de Trinit., libb. XII. *Ambros.* de St. Spiritu, libb. III.

occasion of most delicate and subtle points of difference between the Latin and Greek Churches.[1]

§ 113. *Origen: He is Persecuted as the Author of Arianism—Jerome, Rufinus, Theophilus, Chrysostom.*

Huetii, Origeniana (T. IV., opp. Orig. ed. *de la Rue*). *Doucin*, histoire des mouvemens arrivés dans l'église au sujet d'Origène, Paris, 1700. *Walch*, Hist. of Heresies, Pt. VII., p. 427 sq. †*Katerkamp*, Ch. H., Pt. II., p. 502–590. *Hefele*, in the Freiburg Eccl. Cyclop., Vol. VII., p. 844–850. In defense of Origen, *Alois. Vincenzi*, in St. Greg. Nyssen. and Origenis scripta et doctrinam, Romae, 1864 sq., Vol. III.

As early as the close of the preceding epoch, the entire orthodoxy of Origen began to be suspected, and the controversy once started, continued for centuries. He was accused of inclining to idealism, of a tendency to spiritualize and allegorize many of the dogmas of Catholic faith, and of not preserving, at least in his earlier writings, the proper distinction between the traditions of the Church and the conflicting principles of philosophy, which he endeavored to reconcile with each other, in order that Christian doctrine so allied might be more acceptable to Pagans and men of the world. Many *expressions applied to the Logos*, apparently implying an inequality or subordination in the Persons of the Blessed Trinity, were especially offensive. He was also accused of holding other errors.[2] In his ill-judged work on *First Principles* (*περὶ ἀρχῶν*), Origen had indeed laid himself open to such charges; but it is also true, that in his later writings he either entirely gave up or corrected many of his erroneous opinions. Moreover, he himself complained that many of his works had been corrupted by interpolations introduced by heretics, who were anxious to secure the sanction of his great name for their doctrines.

The manifest contradictions between these interpolations and the authentic texts of the writings in which they are found, should have sufficed for the detection of the fraud and the vindication of his orthodoxy; but in seasons of great religious ferment and in the heat of controversy, polemics is not, as a rule, conducted with a scrupulous regard for justice. A radical tendency toward materialism, which then began to appear, increased the bitterness of the controversy.

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[1] The Greek as well as the Latin Fathers of this epoch believed and asserted the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father AND the Son. See *Petav.*, De Trin. lib. VIII., c. 3 et seqq. *Perrone*, De Trin. c. V. Prop. I. (Tr.)

[2] Conf. p. 381, note 3, and *Kuhn*, Cath. Dogmatics, Vol. II., p. 217 sq.

At the opening of the fourth century, *Methodius*, Bishop of Tyre, who suffered martyrdom A. D. 309, attacked some of the errors of Origen, and Pamphilus, priest and martyr, took up the defense of the great theologian, in an Apology, which, after his glorious death, was finished by *Eusebius*, Bishop of Caesarea. While the Origenist controversy was going on, the Arian heresy broke out, and so powerfully agitated men's minds that the former was for a time given up. *Athanasius* had indeed condemned some of the errors of Origen, but he had also spoken in his praise; and *Basil the Great* and *Gregory Nazianzen*, the latter in his *Philocalia*, had taken extracts from his writings. But at the close of the fourth century, when Arianism, which had all along been sustained by secular power and influence, had declined, the more orthodox, not satisfied with its defeat, felt called upon to trace it to its very source, and to completely eradicate the heresy. The scope of such a task gave occasion to examine anew the writings of *Origen*, who was then styled the father of *Arianism*.[1]

The controvery between the Origenist and anthropomorphic monks raged with the greatest violence in Palestine and afterward in Egypt.

The contest was opened in *Palestine* (A. D. 392) by *Aterbius*, a bitter opponent of Origen. He was answered by *Jerome*, a native of Stridon, a town in Dalmatia († 420), but living at Bethlehem, and who, besides being an *enthusiastic advocate of monasticism*, is celebrated for his translation and interpretation of Holy Scriptures. *Rufinus*, a *priest* of Aquileia, who was then sojourning at Jerusalem,[1] and with whom St. Jerome had friendly relations, also took sides against Aterbius.

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[1] The very fact that Eusebius of Caesarea, who, later on, was entangled in the nets of Arianism, took upon himself the defense of Origen, served to strengthen the suspicion against the latter. Conf. *Hieronym.*, lib. I. ad Pammach., contr. Joan. Hierosol., c. 8: Sex libros Eusebius Caesareensis Episcopus, Arianae quondam signifer factionis, pro Origene scripsit, latissimum et elaboratum opus, et multis testimoniis approbavit, *Origenem juxta se catholicum, id est juxta nos Arianum esse.* (*Hieronym.* opp. T. II., p. 464.)

St. Jerome made an attempt to harmonize the different methods of Scriptural interpretation followed by the two Schools of Alexandria and Antioch, but while doing so was careful not to approve the dogmatic fancies of Origen. He declared to Aterbius that he condemned the errors of Origen; but Rufinus, who was not ready to go the length of Jerome, said nothing on these points.

Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, who is universally revered as a valiant defender of truth and an uncompromising opponent of heresy, fired with a holy zeal for the purity and integrity of the faith, now entered upon the controversy, and assailed *John*, Bishop of Jerusalem (A. D. 386–417), whom he denounced (A. D. 394) in his own church as an Origenist. John, in his turn, spoke out publicly in defense of Origen, and the discussion ran so high and began to assume such threatening dimensions, that both St. Epiphanius and St. Jerome refused to communicate with him in ecclesiastical affairs. Rufinus, however, would not break with him.

Three years afterward, A. D. 397, a settlement was effected through the kind offices of Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, and the talented and pious *Melania* the Elder, who had the care of a convent of females near Jerusalem.

But when, shortly afterward, *Rufinus* went to Rome, and was engaged in translating into Latin the Apology of Pamphilus for Origen, and several works of the latter, the controversy broke out afresh with increased warmth and bitterness. He made numerous changes in his translation of Origen's *First Principles*, and in his preface adroitly represented St. Jerome as an Origenist. The latter, who had also translated the First Principles into Latin, immediately replied to Rufinus, and a spirited correspondence was for some time kept up between them.[1]

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[1] *Hieronym.* opp. ed. Bened., by *Martianay*, Paris, 1693 sq., 5 T. fol. Best ed. by *Dominic Vallarsi*, Veron. 1734 sq., 11 T. fol.; Venet. 1766 sq., 11 T. gr. 4to. We quote from the latter. Vita Hieronymi ex ejus potissimum scriptis concinnata, in opp. ed. *Vallarsii*, Venet., T. XI., p. 1–343. *Tillemont*, T. XII., p. 1–356. Biography of St. Jerome, by *Colombet;* Germ. transl. by *Knoll*, Rottenburg, 1847. Compare also *Stolberg*, Ch. H., Pts. XIII., XIV., and XV., in the appendices. *Katerkamp*, Pt. II., p. 377–414.

When Pope *Anastasius* had decided against Origen, Rufinus, who had in the meantime retired to Aquileia, sent from this place (A. D. 400) an orthodox profession of faith in his own defense. Pope Anastasius then, together with several bishops, declared Origen a heretic, and the emperor *Honorius* forbade his writings to be read.[2]

These troubles were increased by the interference of *Theophilus*, Patriarch of Alexandria, between the Origenist and the anthropomorphic monks. He had himself been formerly an Origenist, and had made several attempts to reconcile the two conflicting parties; but, to the surprise of every one, he now (A. D. 401) declared against Origen, and espoused the cause of the anthropomorphic monks, who were especially conspicuous for their ignorance, grossness, and violence of temper, but in whose countenances *Theophilus*, with a well-bred indulgence, professed to recognize the *image of God*. He treated the monks of Nitria with great severity, because they refused to leave off reading the works of Origen at his bidding. He was especially severe on *Dioscorus*, *Ammonius*, *Eusebius*, and *Euthymius*, known as the "*Four Tall Brothers*," and who, though distinguished for learning and piety, were not very good ascetics. They had received Isidore, a priest, who had been ignominiously driven out of Constantinople, and two of them, Euthymius and Eusebius, had repeatedly taken refuge in the desert to escape coming into contact with Theophilus, from a feeling that any intercourse would be disagreeable to both parties.

St. John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople,[3] gave an asylum to these monks and other persons who fell under the displeasure of Theophilus; but, while receiving them hospitably, he neither shared their opinions nor would he admit them to Holy Communion, because they still lay under the sentence of excommunication, passed upon them by their own bishop. This *eloquent orator and admirable interpreter of St. Paul* exerted, in times of greatest moment,[1] a powerful influence for good, by his wonderful discourses and the example of his virtuous life. He was at first a priest of Antioch, but afterward, in spite of his own wishes, and contrary to the will of Theophilus, he was chosen (A. D. 398) by the emperor Arcadius to fill the patriarchal throne of Constantinople. He was a second St. John Baptist, and no respecter of persons. He deeply offended the empress Eudoxia and the chamberlain Eutropius, by severely rebuking them for their unwarranted interference in ecclesiastical affairs.

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[1] The letters of SS. Jerome and Epiphanius, of Rufinus and Theophilus, in *Hieronymi* opp. ed. *Vallarsii*, T. I. Ep. Hieronym. ad Pammach. de erroribus Orig. et epp. ad Pammach. et Ocean: *Rufini* apologia adversus (not invectivae in) *Hieronym.*, libb. II.; Hieronym. apologia adversus Rufinum, libb. III. (Hieronym. opp. T. II.) Conf. *Socrat.* VI. 3-18. *Sozom.* VIII. 7-20.

[2] Conf. *Baronii* annales ad a. 400, nros. 33-35, and ad a. 402, nro. 49.

[3] *Chrysost.* vita, by *Palladius*, in ejus opp. (T. XIII.), ed. *Montfaucon*, Paris, 1718-1738, 13 T. fol., ed. II., Parisina, 1834-1840, 13 T. 4to, in *Migne's* Greek Fathers, T. 47 sq. *Tillemont*, T. XI., p. 1-405. *Katerkamp*, Ch. II., Pt. II., p. 528-586. *Neander*, John Chrysostom and the Church in his Age, 3d ed.,

Theophilus, when called to Constantinople by the emperor to answer, in an ecclesiastical court presided over by St. John Chrysostom, to charges of a serious nature, brought against him by the monks of Nitria, was skillful enough to avail himself in his defense of the offended pride of the empress; and so great was his success that, through the intrigues of Eudoxia, St. John Chrysostom was accused by the bishop of Alexandria of being an Origenist, and was called upon to clear himself of the charge before a court presided over by the Alexandrian bishop at Chalcedon. *St. Epiphanius*, who had been cunningly detained at Constantinople by the vindictive Theophilus, left that city only after he had learned that he had been made the victim of the latter's deceit.

Chrysostom wrote to him, asking him if it were true that "he, the wise Epiphanius, had favored his banishment." To which Epiphanius replied: "O, athlete of Christ, bear up under this trial; it will pass away, and then will come your triumph."

To those bishops who accompanied St. John to the vessel

Berlin, 1848. †*Silbert*, Life of St. Chrysostom, Vienna, 1839, 2 vols. *Alzog*, Patrolog., 2d ed., p. 263–278.

[1] Cf., especially, the Homilies "de statuis," in *Wagner*, St. Chrysostom's Homilies on Statues, Vienna, 1837. *Katerkamp*, Ch. II., Pt. II., p. 481–493.

to see him off, he said: "I must hasten away. I leave to you the city, the palace, and the theater." He seemed to be hurried forward by a presentiment of his death, which did in fact occur during the journey overland to his distant place of exile.[1]

Chrysostom was adjudged guilty of Origenism by Theophilus, at the *Pseudo-Synod of the Oak*, a country-seat of the imperial minister Rufinus, and, by order of the court, sent into exile. But a father, who had endeared himself by so many ties to his people, could not be taken from them without a struggle, and so great a commotion was raised in Constantinople, after his banishment to Bithynia, that he was recalled to prevent further tumult among the people. The persecution did not, however, cease after he had regained his episcopal throne, and the holy man turned for comfort to the Pope, the common father of all the faithful, and *Innocent I.*, who then sat in the Papal chair, received him and his companions, on their arrival at Rome, with the greatest cordiality and affection.[2] Honorius, the emperor of the West, interposed his kind offices with his imperial brother Arcadius, in favor of St. John, but to no purpose. Chrysostom, now "tried by suffering, and still unconquered," was deposed a second time, and sent again into banishment (A. D. 404). The notorious fourth and twelfth canons of the Council of Antioch (A. D. 341) were made the ground of this deposition. By the first, it was decreed that any bishop who had been deposed by a council could not exercise his ministry as before, and should have no hopes of being again restored to his dignity in another council, and that his defense should not even be heard; and, by the second, that if a bishop deposed by a council should appeal to the emperor, instead of to a council, his defense should not be heard, and he should be cut off from all hope of restoration. St. John set off on his exile, and after having suffered incredibly from the difficulties of the way, the inconvenience of travel, the violence of fever, and the persecution of his enemies, died at Comana, in Pontus, September 14, 407, before having reached his destined place of exile, still farther on, and at a greater distance from Constantinople. Thus did St. John Chrysostom, the greatest man of his age, and the brightest light of the Eastern Church, pass from this world to his reward. His last words were, "*Let God be praised for all things.*" They were constantly on his lips during life, and fully express the principle which guided his whole conduct. The people of Constantinople, on hearing of his death, were stricken with grief. It was a poor, though consoling comfort to have the melancholy pleasure, during the reign of Theodosius II., of welcoming in their midst the mortal remains of their spiritual father. Everything was done on the occasion of their translation that enthusiastic love and filial veneration could suggest, and his body was laid to rest in the Church of the Apostles in the year 438, after having passed in procession through the brilliantly illuminated streets of that Byzantine city, whose glory on this occasion was mirrored on the bosom of the Hellespont, and reflected again with fresh beauty.[1]

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[1] *Eberhard*, St. Epiphanius' Share in the Origenist Controversy, Treves, 1859.

[2] Cf. *Baronii*, annales ad a. 404. *Chrysost.* epist. ad Innocent. Papam and Innocent ad Chrysost.: also in *Galland.* bibl., T. VIII., p. 569 sq.

The wily Theophilus and the monks afterward came to an understanding on the questions involved in the Origenist controversy, but this was not the end of the trouble. Origenism again came up later on, allied with new errors. (Cf. § 122.)

§ 114. *Controversies arising out of Arianism—Photinus and Apollinaris.*

Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, one of the ablest defenders of the Nicene Creed, was accused of Sabellianism, and deposed from his see on account of some obscure expressions of which he had made use.[2] It has been frequently asserted that his errors arose entirely from the looseness of his language. This opinion is hardly correct, for a close examination into his teaching will warrant the conclusion that he *denied the divinity of Christ in any proper sense*, and held that *the Word of the Father descended upon and acted through the man Jesus by some mysterious economy* (*μόνῃ τῇ τῆς πράξεως ἐνεργείᾳ*).

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[1] The relics of St. John Chrysostom, Doctor of the Church, are now at *St. Peter's*, Rome. For a beautiful sketch of the life of St. John Chrysostom, see *Newman's* Historical Sketches, Vol. III. (Tr.)

[2] The principal writing of *Marcellus* is, de subjectione Domini Christi, of which fragm. in *Rettberg's* Marcelliana, etc., Götting. 1794. Of the writings of his adversaries, still extant: *Euseb. Caesar.* *κατὰ Μαρκέλλου* and *περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς θεολογίας*, after *Euseb.* demonstr. evang., Paris, 1628; in his favor, *Athanas.* contr. Arianos, nros. 21–35, de synodis, nros. 26 sq. (T. I., p. 589 sq.)

This doctrine was more explicitly taught by his scholar *Photinus*, a deacon of Ancyra, and later on Bishop of Sirmium, who insisted on a sharp distinction between the *Word* and the *Son*.

According to Photinus, the Sonship of Jesus was no more than an indwelling of the Word in the man Jesus, and, consequently, His existence began only with his birth from Mary. He furthermore distinguished the word into the *ἐνδιάθετος*, or an *indwelling* energy, and the *προφορικός*, or the divine reason of the Father *working* ad extra, and hence maintained that the world had been created by the latter. In explanation, he said that the Word was an *expansion* of God, but implied no real division of the Divine Substance. He was condemned by the Semi-Arians at Antioch, A. D. 345; by the orthodox at Milan, A. D. 347 or 349; and by the first Synod of *Sirmium* A. D. 351, and was in consequence deposed.[1] The last named synod also confirmed the condemnation of the Sabellian theory of dilatation and contraction[2] in the Divine Substance.[3]

Epiphan. haer. 72. (T. I., p. 833 sq.) *Socrat.* h. e. II. 19. *Hieronym.* de vir. illustr., c. 107. Marcellus is defended by *Montfaucon*, diatribe de causa Marcelli Ancyr. (ejusd. coll. nova PP., T. II., p. 51 sq., Paris, 1707; opp. Athanas., T. III., p. xxxiii–xli). Conf. *Möhler*, Athanas., Vol. II., p. 22–36, and p. 71. More justly appreciated by † *Willenborg*, The Orthodoxy of Marcellus of Ancyra, Münster, 1860. *Zahn*, Marcellus of Ancyra, Gotha, 1867.

[1] *Mansi*, T. III., p. 179 sq. *Hilarius*, de Trinit. VII. 3, 7. *Augustin.* de haeresib., c. 45.

[2] See p. 354.

[3] *Athanas.* de synod., n. 27, exposes a formulary of faith, accompanied with twenty-seven anathemas, directed against Photinus. The sixth anathema is couched in these terms: *Εἴ τις τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ πλατύνεσθαι ἢ συστέλλεσθαι φάσκοι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.* VII.: *Εἴ τις πλατυνομένην τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν υἱὸν λέγοι ποιεῖν, ἢ τὸν πλατυσμὸν τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ὀνομάζει, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.* VIII.: *Εἴ τις ἐνδιάθετον ἢ προφορικὸν λόγον λέγει τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω* (opp. T. I., p.

Several synods confirmed the condemnation, but particularly the Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople, A. D. 381. Notwithstanding these repeated condemnations, *Bonosus*, Bishop of Sardica, again advocated the same doctrine A. D. 391.

The two *Apollinares* of Laodicea, father and son, deserved well of the Catholic Church for the Apologies of Christianity which they wrote against the Pagan philosophers, and for their steady defense against the Arians of the identity of Substance in the Father and the Son;[1] but Apollinaris the Younger, in his zeal to defend the integrity and identity of the divine nature of Christ and that of the Father, fell into the opposite extreme of Sabellianism.

The errors of Arius were confined principally to the relation of the Logos to the Father, while the teaching of Apollinaris was chiefly concerned with the Logos in its relations *to the man* Jesus. Firmly believing in the Platonian trichotomy of man (σῶμα, ψυχή, πνεῦμα), and in the doctrine of *traducianism*, he affirmed that "Christ had indeed a human body and human passions (ψυχή), but that His soul (πνεῦμα) was supplied by the Divine Word (λόγος). Hence it is said (John i. 14), "The Word was made *flesh*." For, should the contrary be admitted, and the *triple* division of man be at the same time maintained, it would necessitate the further admission that there are two Sons of God and *two Persons* begotten of God, and hence, instead of a Trinity, a *Quadrinity*. In other words, he held that Christ was no more than a simple man, sustained and energized by the Logos. This doctrine leads to a dilemma, from which there is no escape. Either the impeccability of Christ must be denied, or, if this can not be conceded, the perfect union of the Logos with the man Jesus can not be asserted without at the same time denying free will, the essential attribute of every rational being, in which case redemption would be the work of a simple man, and, on this account, insufficient.

Athanasius and *Gregory of Nyssa* combated this error, and clearly and forcibly demonstrated that there must of necessity

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593). *Klose*, Hist. and Doctr. of Marcellus and Photinus, Hambg. 1837. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. I., p. 610–618.

[1] See p. 494.

be a true and real union of both the Humanity and Divinity in the body, soul, and spirit of Christ.[1] This doctrine was, however, afterward most happily illustrated by *St. Augustine.*

The Council of Alexandria (A. D. 362) and those of Rome (A. D. 374, 380, and 382) condemned the doctrine of Apollinaris, and this decision was confirmed by the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (A. D. 381),[2] which proclaimed that "*Christ is true Man and true God.*" The sect of the Apollinarians gradually split into conflicting factions, and finally disappeared toward the close of the fifth century.

This heresy, though not specifically attributed to Apollinaris, was condemned in the synodical letter of the Council of Alexandria, A. D. 362, at which, however, bishops representing Apollinaris were present.

§ 115. *Divergent Theological Schools.*

For a fuller account on the several writers, see *Alzog's Patrology*, 2d ed., Third Epoch, p. 389–394.

Every phase of the Arian controversy, and particularly the rule of interpreting Holy Scriptures adopted by the respective advocates of the different questions at issue, go to show that this whole struggle was a conflict between the principles of a thorough-going and intelligent speculation, on the one hand, and, on the other, of a dry and abstract rationalism.

Arius and his great opponent, *Athanasius*, were, from the very beginning of the controversy, the representatives of these two systems—of this double theological tendency, the origin of which is well known to the student of history. Arius had studied at the celebrated school of *Antioch*, and had had for a master the renowned Lucian. Athanasius, on the contrary, had attended the famous and justly venerated school of *Alexandria*, and thoroughly represented its theological system. In the course of the subsequent controversies, every error that came to the surface might be traced to either one or the other of these two schools.

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[1] This error had already been pointed out, although not under his name, in the synodical letter of the Council of Alexandria, held A. D. 362, at which envoys of Bishop Apollinaris were present: *ὡμολόγουν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐ σῶμα ἄψυχον, οὐδ' ἀναίσθητον, οὐδ' ἀνόητον εἶχεν ὁ σωτήρ.* (They also confessed this, that our Savior did not possess a body without a soul, or without sense, or without reason.) Fragments of the writings of Apollinaris, extracted from the refutations of his adversaries, may be found in *Galland.* T. XII., p. 706 sq. The principal writing in return: *Greg. Nyss.*, *λόγος ἀντιῤῥητικὸς πρὸς τὰ 'Απολλιναρίου*, in *Galland.* T. VI.. p. 517 sq. *Athanas.* ep. ad Epictetum; contr. *Apollinar.*, libb. II. Conf. *Tillemont*, T. VII., p. 602–637. The decretum of Pope Damasus adversus Apollinarem, in *Coustant.* epp. Rom. Pontif. See *Möhler*, Athanas., Vol. II., p. 372. *Hefele's* Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 9 sq., and other places.

[2] *Concil. Constantinop.*, c. 1. (*Mansi*, T. III., p. 563. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 811.)

The Alexandrian school, under its last two heads, *Didymus* the Blind[1] and *Rhodon*, showed a great inclination in its hermeneutical principles for the allegorizing method of Origen, for profound speculation, and, to some extent, for the philosophical theories of Plato. A system of a character so exalted, and of a tendency so intellectual, and purged of all the excesses into which Origen had fallen, could not fail to attract and powerfully influence the greatest minds of that age. This school gave to the Church her greatest doctors, such as *Athanasius; Basil the Great*, Bishop Caesarea († 379); *Gregory*, Bishop of *Nyssa*, and *Gregory Nazianzen*, the "Theologian" († about 391). *Eusebius*, Bishop of Caesarea († about 340), was also partially formed by this school; and in the West, *St. Hilary* († 366), the profound expounder of the doctrine of the Trinity; and *Ambrose*[2] and his incomparable disciple, *Augustine*, who so ably defended and so clearly elucidated the Alexandrian proposition: "*All true science starts from faith. Faith is an absolute condition of true science.*"[3]

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[1] Of his many writings on the Bible and Origen, there are extant only lib. de Spiritu S., in the Latin version of St. Jerome (opp. T. II., p. 109–167, ed. *Vallarsii*), lib. adv. Manich. (*Combefisii* auctuar. graec. PP. T. II.), libb. III. de Trin., ed. *Mingarelli*, Bonon. 1769; expositio VII. canonicar. epp., in the transl. of *Epiphanius Scholastic. Lücke* had the *Greek Scholia*, published by *Matthaei*, reprinted in his quaestiones ac vindiciae Didymianae, Götting. 1829–1832, 4 pts. He also took pains to correct the Latin version in accordance with them.

[2] The principal works of *St. Ambrose* are: Hexaëmeron; de officiis clericor., libb. III.—de fide, libb. V.; de spiritu sancto, libb. III. and epp. 92. †*Silbert*, Life of St. Ambrose, Vienna, 1841.

[3] *Augustin.* de utilit. credendi., c. 9, n. 21: Nam vera religio, nisi credantur ea, quae quisque postea, si sese bene gesserit dignusque fuerit, assequatur atque perspiciat, et omnino sine quodam gravi auctoritatis imperio iniri recte nullo

Every one of these Doctors of the Church insist that it is utterly impossible to comprehend *how* the Divinity is united with the Humanity in the Person of Christ, and they therefore affirm over and over again that this *real*, *organic*, *and hypostatic union of the two natures in one Person* baffles every effort of human reason.

Lucian,[1] a priest of Antioch, of great literary attainments, and thoroughly conversant with Holy Scripture, had given to the school of Antioch both name and respectability, and the heroism with which he bore his cruel martyrdom added to his authority.[2]

The rule of hermeneutics adopted in this school was essentially different from that of the school of Alexandria; for, whereas the latter sought the mystic and allegoric interpretation, the former insisted on the plain, literal, *grammatical*, and historical *sense*, and *assumed a more limited inspiration*[3] than the Alexandrians. It is true the Antiochian principle of exegesis presented Christianity in its most practical form, but it is also true that the practice of putting a plain, grammatical interpretation upon Holy Scriptures had, in matter of fact, a tendency to narrow the mind, to contract the mental vision, and to give a superficial view of Christianity. This school also rejected *philosophy*, or, if it adopted it at all, it accepted no more than the dry formalism of *Aristotle*. Among the men formed under this system were *Eusebius*,[4] Bishop of

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pacto potest. De morib. eccl. cathol., c. 25: Nihil in ecclesia catholica salubrius fieri, *quam ut rationem praecedat auctoritas.* (See above, p. 372, note 5.) Cf. de Trinit. I. 1 and 2, tractat. 40, in Joan.: *Credimus, ut cognoscamus, non cognoscimus, ut credamus.* Sermo 43: Initium bonae vitae, cui vita etiam aeterna debetur, recta fides est. Est autem fides, credere, quod nondum vides, cujus fidei merces est videre, quod credis. Epist. 120 ad Consent. *Ut ea, quae fidei firmitate jam tenes, etiam rationis luce conspicias.* Conf. †*Kuhn*, Faith and Science, Tübg. 1840.

[1] See p. 387, remarks.

[2] *Euseb.* h. e. VIII. 13, IX. 6. Cf. *Münter*, commentatio de schola Antiochena, Hafn. 1811. In German, in *Städlin's* and *Tzschirner's* Archives of Church History; *Hornung*, schola Antiochena, Neostad. 1864; *Hergenroether*, The School of Antioch and its Influence, Wuerzb. 1866; *Kuhn*, The School of Antioch, etc., Ingolst. 1866.

[3] See p. 508.

[4] *Hieronym.* de vir. illustr., c. 91. Cf. *Socrat.* II. 9. *Sozom.* III. 6. *Euseb.*

Emesa († 360); *Cyril of Jerusalem;* and the author of numerous hymns, *Ephraëm* the Syrian, who died at Edessa, some time after the year 379. *Diodore*, Bishop of *Tarsus* († 390), but especially *Theodore*, Bishop of *Mopsuestia* († 428), and his brother, *Polychronius*, are the best representatives of both the good and the bad elements of the Antiochian system; and *St. John Chrysostom*, Patriarch of Constantinople, the inspired orator and glory of the priesthood, and, in a great measure, also *Theodoret*, Bishop of Cyrus, are the most respectable specimens of its excellence and advantages.

But, as regards the one great question to which the Arian heresy gave rise, and which gave color and direction to the subsequent controversy in the Eastern Church, viz., *the union of the divine and human natures in Christ*, the leaders of the school of Antioch took a view quite the reverse of that adopted by the Alexandrians, assuming to be able to give an absolutely clear and intelligible solution of the whole difficulty. *The subtle analysis and the fine distinctions which they made use of in drawing the line between the two natures of Christ*, are often curiously original.

These two catechetical schools pursued each its own respective traditions and system, the one in a certain sense opposing, yet supplementing the other; both frequently contradicting each other, yet never absolutely at war, until the Origenist controversy sprung up, when the lines of difference were drawn sharp and wide. The Antiochians attacked the exegetical principles of Origen, but these still held their ground, in spite of such attacks. Moreover, the exegetics of the school of Antioch was not above suspicion, for many of its ablest defenders were among the promoters of heretical opinions.

Among the deplorable consequences of the rivalry and animosity existing between these two schools were the *Origenist controversy* and the controversies concerning the *Three Chapters*. But the historical method of viewing theology, which had now become fully developed, continued still to exist, and

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opusc., ed. *Augusti*, Elberf. 1829. *Thilo*, The Writings of Eusebius of Alexandria in the Fifth or Sixth Century, and of Eusebius of Emesa, Halle, 1832.

was ably supported by Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis († 403), and by St. Jerome.

It may be mentioned here, for the sake of clearness, that there were already evidences of the existence of a *speculative* and *mystic theology*. The writings attributed to *Denys the Areopagite*, first mentioned in the sixth century, are examples of it, and have furnished materials to all succeeding mystic writers.[1] The writings of *Didymus* and of the two *Macarii* may be classed in the same category.

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[1] *Dionys. Areop.: περὶ τῆς ἱεραρχίας οὐρανίου· περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱεραρχίας· περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων· περὶ μυστικῆς θεολογίας.*—On the Celestial Hierarchy; on the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy; on Divine Names; on Mystical Theology. Epp. XII. (Opp. ed. *Corderius*, Paris, 1644, 2 T. fol. *Constantini*, Venet. 1758 sq., 2 T. fol.; in *Migne's* Greek Fathers, T. III. and IV.), translated (into German) and furnished with dissertations by *Engelhardt*, Sulzbach, 1823, 2 pts. *Chas. Vogt.* Neo-Platonism and Christianity, or Inquiries into the Supposed Writings of Denys the Areopagite, Berlin, 1836. *Hipler*, Inquiries into the Genuineness and Trustworthiness of the Writings that go under the name of *Denys the Areopagite*, Ratisbon, 1861.

TRANSLATOR'S ADDITION.—Conf. the "Digressio brevis Theologico-Critica de libris S. Dionysio Atheniensi sive Areopagitae passim inscribi solitis," in the "*Theologia Wirceburgensis*," Tom. V., Pt. I., p. 409 sq., Paris ed. of 1853. That these writings are of a very early date, says one of the Würzburg theologians, every one admits. Even *Morinus*, lib. de sacr. ordin., cap. 27, and *Erasmus*, in cap. 17, Actuum Apost., and others who deny Denys, Bishop of Athens, to have been their author, nevertheless admit that they could not have been written later than either the *fourth* or *fifth* century. Several of those who maintained that they were written by Denys the Areopagite have furnished abundant material, in the weak and flimsy arguments advanced in support of their theory, for the severe criticism of their adversaries. These works were first quoted by the *Severians* or Acephali, in the celebrated *Religious Conference*, held A. D. 532 or 533, as *Hefele's* Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 727, says, in the palace of the emperor Justinian I., between *five Catholic* and *six Monophysite bishops*, selected by their respective parties to represent them.

The Monophysites had no sooner quoted them than the orthodox bishops rose up and denied their authenticity, affirming that they had been unknown to all antiquity, even to St. Athanasius and St. Cyril, who treated cognate subjects, and quoted every accessible author who wrote anything to the point. This attributing of supposititious works of a doubtful character to orthodox writers was an old trick of the Monophysites, who had already ascribed the genuine writings of the heretic Apollinaris the Younger to Doctors of the Church, such as Athanasius and Gregory Thaumaturgus, and to Popes, as in the case of Julius and Felix, and the orthodox bishops insinuated that this might be a repetition of the same strategy.

These writings were, however, during the sixth century, readily believed to be the genuine productions of *Denys the Areopagite*, because the sublime teachings they contained were not unworthy of the man.

St. Maximus, the celebrated antagonist of Monothelites (in his Prologue to his scholia in Dionysium), was the first writer who ascribed their authorship to Denys. He was followed by a priest named Theodore (quoted by Photius in Bibliothec., cod. I.), and every one quietly accepted their authority as conclusive. For a thousand years Denys the Areopagite was the accredited author of works to which he had no sort of claim. *Laurentius Valla* and *Theodore Gaza* were the first to call in question the authenticity of these writings. They were followed by the Magdeburg *Centuriators*, by *Erasmus* of Rotterdam, *Blondel*, *Daillé*, and other Protestants, among whom were Humphrey, Rivet, and Scaliger; and by Catholics, such as *Cajetan*, *Morin*, *Launoy*, and others.

One of the Würzburg theologians, *Thos. Holtzglau, S. J.*, fancies that it is an easy task to refute all the objections advanced by these critics, and to prove beyond question that the Areopagite is the true author of these works.

His first argument is from *prescription*. He insists that it shows a lack of respect and reverence to quietly and sneeringly put aside as supposititious writings that had for twelve centuries been believed to be the genuine productions of an author; the more so, because during these years they had been quoted as genuine by Councils and Popes, and Fathers and Doctors, and never as much as a suspicion as to their authorship was raised. They were, moreover, quoted by *Juvenal*, Bishop of Jerusalem, during whose life the Council of Chalcedon (A. D. 451) was held; by *Leontius* of *Byzantium*, who lived about A. D. 540; by *Athanasius Sinaita*, his contemporary; by *St. Sophronius*, who lived about A. D. 630; and by *St. Maximus Martyr*, his contemporary. They were referred to under the same title by the Popes *Gregory the Great* (hom. 34, in Evang.); by *St. Martin*, in his Lateran Council (Secret. 1 and 3); by *Agatho*, in his letter to the emperor Constantine; by *Adrian I.*, in a letter to Charlemagne; and by *Nicholas*, in a letter to the emperor Michael. They were also appealed to by Ecumenical Synods, as in the case of the VI. Act. 8.; VII. Act. 2.

It would take us too far beyond our present purpose to quote the numerous authors who, during the Middle Ages, ascribed these works to Denys the Areopagite. Many of these are given by *Noël Alexander*, Diss. 22., Sec. I.

The Theological Faculty of Paris censured (September 17, 1527) the opinion of Erasmus, denying the authorship of the Areopagite, as rash and novel.

His *second* argument is drawn from the intrinsic character of the works themselves, which, it is said, bear internal evidence of having been written during the first century; for their author (lib. de divin. Nomin., cap. 2 and 3) calls himself a disciple of St. Paul. He wrote a letter to Timothy, also a disciple of St. Paul; another to Titus, a fellow-laborer of Timothy, another to St. John during the exile of the latter; and in a letter to the philosopher, Apollophanes, claims to have observed an eclipse of the sun which happened at the death of Christ.

His *third* argument is a *reductio ab absurdum;* for the facts related in these works, supposing the latter not to be genuine, would be utterly irreconcilable with the spirit in which the author wrote. Be the writer who he may, the real, manly, and exalted *piety* which pervades all his writings, from the beginning to the end, is incontestable. But if his *honesty* be allowed here, it must also be admitted in the numerous circumstances which he relates of himself and of his life, and this line of argument would prove beyond doubt that the works are unquestionably the productions of Denys.

ANSWERS TO OBJECTIONS.

Objection I. (*a*) No instance can be adduced, in which mention is made of these writings as ascribed to Denys the Areopagite, by any Father of the Church previously to the *sixth* century.

(*b*) He is not mentioned by even *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome*, both of whom professedly made catalogues of ecclesiastical writers.

(*c*) *St. Athanasius* did not quote him against the Arians, although it is well known that Denys the Areopagite clearly taught the doctrine of Three Persons in one Substance (Coelest. Hierarch., cap. 7, and throughout the whole second chapter of his treatise, De Divin. Nomin., where he also teaches the Divinity of Christ). Moreover, Athanasius does in fact quote from the works attributed to Denys in his controversies with Theognostus, Origen, and the two Dionysii of Rome and Alexandria.

Answer (*a*) This argument is at best but *negative*, and therefore inconclusive. For, it may be, the Fathers were not acquainted with these works, and if they had a knowledge of them, the subject they had in hand may not have been of a character to require any reference to them. Again, *Scriptural* proofs were used during the first four centuries to the exclusion of almost every other.

(*b*) As to Eusebius, the answer of *St. Maximus Martyr* in his prologue to his scholia (l. c., p. 11), is quite apposite. In the catalogue of Eusebius a great many works are omitted which did not come in the author's way; and he himself confesses that there were many works of which he had no knowledge, and that these were much more numerous than those which came to his hand. Maximus illustrates this assertion by many examples.

St. Jerome states in his Praef. ad Dextrum, that of the ancient writers he refers only to such as are given in the catalogue of Eusebius.

(*c*) It can not be urged that Athanasius did not know of these works, for, in his controversies with the Arians, he continually insisted that they shall prove their teachings from Scripture, and not from any human authority; and when other arguments besides those drawn from Scripture were brought against him, he confined himself strictly to answering these, and never went out of his way to find others of the same character to rebut them.

Objection II. The author of these works enumerates many *rites* and ceremonies which, it is well known, were the growth of ages.

Answer. It can not be denied that the rites and ceremonies there mentioned were in use in Apostolic times, though the pomp and circumstance with which they were accompanied when the persecutions had ceased, were wanting. *Basil the Great*, in his work, De Spiritu Sancto, cap. 27 (opp. T. III., p. 55, B.), is authority for this assertion. He there mentions the Blessing of Baptismal Water and of the Holy Oils, triple immersion, the renunciation of Satan and his angels, and appeals in proof of these, not to Holy Scripture, but to the unbroken *tradition* coming down directly from the Apostles.

Objection III. The author also speaks in his work, De Eccl. Hierarch., cap.

6, and elsewhere, of *monks*, whom he distinguishes from both the clergy and the laity, mentions their distinctive dress, and discourses of many other usages, as if they had been already long established, all of which were of a much *more recent* origin.

Answer. When Denys speaks of Monks, we are not to conclude that the term is synonymous with either Coenobite or Hermit. These latter arose in the third century under the leadership of St. Paul and St. Anthony, but monks were a particular class of men, who existed even in the Apostolic age, and whom the Jew *Philo* designates as *Therapeutai.* They were not, as some have asserted, Jews, but *Christians*, as *Eusebius* testifies, Hist. Eccl. II. 7. Others bear the same witness, as *St. Epiphan.*, Haer. 29; *St. Jerome*, Catalog., c. 11; and *Sozom.*, Hist. Eccl. V. 12.

We omit, for the sake of brevity, the remaining five arguments of the Jesuit Father.

Abbé Darras (General Church Hist., Vol. I., p. 93 et seq., Pontif. of St. Alexander I., nros. 15 and 16) takes the same view, and, in his excessive advocacy of this opinion, takes occasion to say that "certain critics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have very unwisely endeavored to contest the authenticity of the works which bear his (Denys') name. This error has been learnedly refuted by the Rev. Fathers Honoré de St. Marie and Noël Alexander."

Abbé Rohrbacher (Ch. Hist. Vol. V., p. 40 et seq., 2d ed.) says: "Modern critics have started by taking for granted that the works attributed to Denys the Areopagite can not be his, because during the first and second centuries men did not use such language as he uses; they did not pursue any such line of thought or use any such mode of expression as is to be found in his supposed works; they did not employ such words as supersubstantial, superabundant, supereminent goodness, superintelligent, and the like.—But *St. Paul*, in his Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, uses such words as epignosis or superintelligence, and, in 1 Cor. xiii. 12, he writes: *Ἄρτι γιγνώσκω ἐκ μέρους, τότε δὲ ἐπιγνώσομαι, καθὼς καὶ ἐπεγνώθην.* *St. Peter*, in his second epistle, makes repeated use of the same expression. Even our Lord uses this expression: *ἐπιγιγνώσκειν* (Matt. xi. 27, and Luke x. 22). In Ephes. i. 20, Christ is represented as sitting at the right hand of His Father, in supercelestial regions, *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις.* It is in such language that the apostles and their disciples fought the Gnostics.

Rohrbacher, grounding himself on the work of *Abbé Darboy*, "Oeuvres de Saint Denys l'Aréopagite, traduites du grec; précédées d'une introduction," etc., also asserts that the works of St. Denys are, in a general way, quoted by Origen, in a homily translated by Rufinus; that St. Dionysius of Alexandria wrote explanatory notes thereon, which are commended in one of St. Chrysostom's sermons, and that St. Cyril of Alexandria invoked his authority against the heretics who denied the dogma of the Incarnation. But, as our Würzburg theologian shows, l. c., pp. 410 and 411, these assertions are groundless.

The *sublime* character of the works of Denys, which renders them unfit for popular instruction, sufficiently accounts for the fact that they were not more frequently quoted during the first five centuries, according to that of St. Paul (1 Cor. ii. 6): "But we speak wisdom among the perfect." They were, moreover, addressed to Timothy, a bishop, reminding him of his obligation to keep

§ 116. *Doctrine of the Catholic Church on Grace and its Relations to Human Nature, as opposed to the Pelagian Heresy.*

I. Sources: *Augustin.* opp. ed. in fol. Bened. T. X., in 4to, T. XIII. and XIX. *Hieronym.* ep. 138, ad Ctesiphont. and adv. Pelag. dialogi III. *Orosii* apolog. contr. Pelag. de arbitrii libert. (opp. ed. *Havercamp*, Ludg. 1738, in *Migne's* ser. lat., T. 31). *Marii Mercatoris* (contemporary) commonitorium adv. haer. Pelag. (opp. ed. *Garnerii*, Paris, 1673; ed. *Baluz.*, Paris, 1684; in *Galland.* bibl. T. 8; in *Migne's* ser. lat. T. 48). Fragments of the writings of Pelagius, Caelestius, and Julian of Eclanum, in the refutations of St. Augustine and Marius Mercator. Of *Pelagius'* left exposit., in epp. Pauli (*Hieronym.* opp. T. XI., ed. *Bened.*, T. V.) *Pelag.* ep. ad Demetriad. (ed. *Semler*, Halae, 1775), and his libellus fidei ad Innocentium I. (*Hieronym.* opp. T. XI., Pt. II., p. 1 sq.) Documents in *St. Augustin.* l. c. and *Mansi*, IV., V.

II. Works: *G. Vossius*, de controversiis quas Pelag. ejusque reliquiae moverunt, Lugd. 1618, Amstelod. 1655. †*Norisii*, hist. Pelagianor., Paris, 1673, and opp. Veron. 1729, T. I. †*Garnerii*, dissert. VII., quibus integra continetur Pelagianor. historia, in his ed. opp. Mercatoris, T. I. Praefatio opp. August.,

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silence on the mysteries of religion, before such persons as would be incapable of understanding them.

The seventh century is filled with the glory of Denys, and succeeding ages held his name in honor and benediction, until the sixteenth century, when criticism went to the confines of skepticism, but these objections were promptly answered.

At the present day, says Mgr. *Fessler*, all scholars agree that the works that go under the name of Denys the Areopagite are the fabrications of an impostor. Mgr. Fessler (Institutiones Patrologiae, Oeniponte, 1851, p. 199) quotes, as authority for this opinion, *Le Quien*, *Le Nourry*, and *Tillemont*. His own reasons are: 1. His name is not mentioned in this connection during the first five centuries; 2. Because he is first quoted by the Severians; and, 3. Because he mentions many ecclesiastical usages that could not have existed in his time.

It is evident from the style, which is characterized by the excessive use of superlatives and super-superlatives and turgid expressions, that these writings are not earlier than the fifth or sixth century, when this style was in vogue, for it is by no means characteristic of the apostolic age.

Alzog, Outlines of Patrology, Freiburg, 1866, p. 351 sq., admits, against *Hipler*, that the intrinsic arguments in favor of the authorship of Denys the Areopagite are unassailable, but at the same time excludes the admissibility of the author's claims to such a name.

Stoeckl (Philosophy of the Age of the Fathers, p. 499) says: "The character of these writings is, in the main, certainly *Christian*, but particular developments of doctrine and certain expressions come as near as possible to the *Neo-Platonist* ideas and principles, especially those of *Proclus*." With which view *Dr. Kraus*, Ch. H., Vol. I., p. 183, coincides.

Weighing the arguments on both sides, it will be admitted that each of these two views has a certain amount of probability.

ed. *Bened.*, T. X.; ed. Bassani, 1797, T. XIII., p. III.–CVI. *Petav.* de Pelagianor. and Semipelagianor. dogmatum hist. and de lege et gratia (theol. dogm. T. III., p. 317–396). †*Scipio Maffei*, hist. dogmat. de divin. grat., libero arbitrio et praedestinat., ed. *F. Reiffenbergius*, Frcft. 1756, fol. †*Alticotii* Summa Augustiniana, Rom. 1755, 4to, T. IV.–VI. (*Patuillet*, hist. du Pélagianisme, Avignon, 1763.) *Kuhn*, Christian Doctrine on Grace Systematized (Tübg. Quart. 1853). †*Wörter*, Christian Doctrine on the Relations of Free-will and Grace, Freiburg, 1856–1860, 2 vols., brought down to St. Augustine. *Wiggers*, Philosophical Exposition of Augustinianism and Pelagianism, Berlin, 1821, Vol. I. *Jacobi*, Doctrine of Pelagius, Lps. 1842. *Luthardt*, The Doctrine of Free-will and its Relation to Grace historically Developed, Lps. 1863. *Wörter*, Pelagianism, its Origin and Theory, Freiburg, 1866. Conf. *Katerkamp*, Ch. H., Vol. III., p. 1–70.

The drift of Arianism was an attempt to rationalize the doctrines of the Church, but this purpose was completely defeated. Notwithstanding that the Arian attack on the *Trinity* had proved abortive, the spirit of heresy, which is ever restless, renewed its efforts against the two other fundamental doctrines of Christianity, viz., *Grace* and the *Incarnation.* What had been said in defense of the Blessed Trinity, might be advanced with almost equal force and pertinency in support of these two dogmas.

The plain question was, How was the *origin of evil and the sinfulness of man* to be accounted for? and the correlative question, What was precisely *man's capacity for doing good?*

Christianity asserts that man, because of his fall, is inimical to God, and alienated from Him; that both his intellect and his will are under the dominion of sin; and that he must look up to Christ as his Mediator, who alone is able to destroy this enmity and effect his reconciliation. It teaches that man is regenerated, enlightened, strengthened, sanctified, and again received into Divine favor, by means of *Divine grace*, which comes to him through Christ, his Mediator and Redeemer.

Then the question arose, What are the precise relations which man, still in the unregenerate state and left to his own natural resources, bears to supernatural grace? or, does he stand in any need of such grace at all?

This question was raised by the British scholar and monk *Pelagius*, who, together with *Caelestius*, a former attorney at law, and a man of a still more bold and aggressive temper than himself, came to Rome about A. D. 400, for the purpose of continuing his studies. Here he occupied his time writing commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, into which, but notably those on the Epistle to the Romans, he introduced many strange and startling opinions on *original sin*, *free-will*, and *grace*. These were still further developed in his Epistle on Virginity, addressed to Demetrias, whom he wished to inspire with an enthusiastic love of that virtue.

When Pelagius and Caelestius withdrew to Carthage (A. D. 411), they created quite a sensation by the strangeness and novelty of their doctrines, and provoked a most determined opposition.

Pelagius went on to Jerusalem, where he conciliated the favor and obtained the protection of John, Bishop of that city; but Caelestius remained at Carthage, where he endeavored to be ordained. The Deacon *Paulinus*, hearing of his design, hastened to Carthage, and accused him of heretical tendencies. Having been condemned at the Synod of Carthage (A. D. 411), at which *Aurelius*, Bishop of that city, presided, he set out for the East, and at Ephesus succeeded in being ordained priest.

To adequately explain *the system of Pelagius*, requires a knowledge of his early studies and later mental development. Surrounded by the influence and under the fostering care of the cloister, he had carefully cultured his eminent talents and guarded the innocence of his heart, and finally reached a high degree of mental and moral excellence. That he should have embraced some of the opinions put forward by the Syrian priest *Rufinus*[1] on the exemption of human nature from inborn and inherited corruption, may be regarded as a circumstance of but secondary importance. At the very root of his errors lay an over-estimate of the *freedom and self-sufficiency* of man, and an ill-judged *zeal against that slothful timidity*, which excuses its neglect of the Divine Law by a feigned inability to observe it.[1]

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[1] *Marii Mercatoris* commonit., c. 1, n. 2: Hanc ineptam et non minus inimicam rectae fidei quaestionem (progenitores videlicet humani generis Adam et Evam mortales a Deo creatos, etc.) sub Anastasio Rom. eccl. summo Pontifice *Rufinus* quondam natione Syrus Romam primus invexit, et, ut erat argutus, se quidem ab ejus invidia muniens per se proferre non ausus. Pelagium gente Britannum monachum tunc decepit, eumque ad praedictam apprime imbuit atque instituit impiam vanitatem, etc. (*Galland.* bibl., T. VIII., p. 615.)

The following are the principal doctrines contained in his system:[2]

1. *Adam's fall* injured only himself. The propagation of *original sin* is inconsistent with the goodness and justice of God. Every man is born into this world with precisely *the same* corporal and spiritual endowments—with an *unobscured reason and a free-will*, by which he may at all times do either good or evil. The existence of a *conscience* is proof that the voice of God still speaks to mankind with its wonted fullness and distinctness.

2. *The death of the body* was from the beginning ordained of God, and hence, if Adam had not fallen, something of the kind would have taken place in the natural order of things. Evil, against which all mankind are obliged to struggle, owes its origin to the force of *example*, and the words of the Apos-

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[1] *Hieronym.* epist. 133, ad Ctesiphont., n. 1: Quae enim potest alia major esse temeritas quam Dei sibi, non dicam similitudinem, sed aequalitatem vindicare et brevi sententia omnia haereticorum venena complecti, quae de philosophorum et maxime Pythagorae et Zenonis principis Stoicorum fonte manarunt? (Opp. T. I., pp. 526 and 527.) *Ejusdem* dial. contr. Pelag., n. 20: Ariani Dei Filium non concedunt, quod tu (Pelag.) omni homini tribuis;—aut igitur propone alia, quibus respondeam, aut desine superbire, et da gloriam Deo (opp. T. II., p. 716).

[2] Omne bonum ac malum non nobiscum oritur, sed agitur a nobis, capaces enim utriusque rei, non pleni nascimur; sine virtute et vitio procreamur. De lib. arbitr.—Just the same, *Caelest.* symbol.: Peccatum non cum homine nascitur, quod postmodum exercetur ab homine; non naturae delictum est, sed *voluntatis.*—*Pelagii* ep. ad Demet., c. 8. Longa consuetudo vitiorum, quae nos infecit a parvo paulatimque per multos corrupit annos, ita postea obligatos sibi et addictos tenet, ut vim quodammodo videatur habere naturae. *Marius Mercator.* commonit., c. 1, n. 3, enumerates six principal points of accusation: I. Adam mortalem factum, qui sive peccaret, sive non peccaret, fuisset moriturus. II. Quoniam peccatum Adae ipsum solum laesit, et non genus humanum. III. Quoniam infantes, qui nascuntur, in eo statu sunt, in quo Adam fuit ante praevaricationem. IV. Quoniam neque per mortem Adae omne genus hominum moriatur, quia nec per resurrectionem Christi omne genus hominum resurgat. V. Quoniam infantes, etiamsi non baptizentur, habeant vitam aeternam. VI. Posse hominem sine peccato esse et facile Dei mandata servare, quia et ante Christi adventum fuerunt homines sine peccato, et quoniam lex sic mittit ad regnum coelorum, sicut evangelium. (*Galland.* bibl. T. VIII., p. 615.)

tle, "in Adam all have sinned," are to be understood as meaning only that all are more or less under the influence of Adam's example, and imitate him in committing sin; whereas, they might just as well, if they had a mind to make a good use of their natural faculties and endowments, avoid committing sin altogether, for, like Adam, they are born *free from sin and without virtue.*

3. *Grace*—that is, the natural capacity for moral excellence—and *free-will*, or the power to abstain from committing sin, are sufficient of themselves to overcome every evil inclination. As a proper subject for the exercise of these faculties, the Law was given to the Jews; to the Christians, the edifying examples of our Savior. This adequacy of human means, ordained by Divine appointment to a supernatural end, Pelagius called *grace*, and hence he asserted, with insidious plausibleness, that God's grace is necessary under all circumstances; while, in matter of fact, he denied out and out the necessity of grace in the sense in which the Church accepts that term, just as his friend Caelestius denied *original sin.*

4. All men have the natural power of acquiring moral excellence, but this faculty is always in proportion to each one's merit, or the proper use one makes of his natural gifts. The Christians, because of the better use they make of the natural powers with which they are endowed, possess this faculty in a higher degree than the Pagans. (*In omnibus est liberum arbitrium per naturam, in solis Christianis juvatur a gratia.*)

It is true that Pelagius at times, when hard pressed, seemed to admit *interior and supernatural* graces; but he was careful never to commit himself to an expression, which might not be explained away to mean an *enlightening* of the mind and a strengthening of the understanding, or which would necessarily imply the existence of that grace which *sanctifies* the soul.

5. These natural and supernatural graces, Pelagius held, are attached to the Sacrament of *Baptism.* This sacrament, said he, does indeed work the forgiveness of sins in *adults*, but in *infants* it is only a means of strengthening the power of free-will, while in both these cases it is a condition of admission into the *Kingdom of Heaven* (*regnum coelorum*), which Christ (John iii. 5) promised only to such as had been *cleansed by* the

waters of *baptism*. Children who die without baptism, and Jews and Pagans who lead blameless lives, will enjoy *life eternal* (*salus*, *vita aeterna*).

Pelagius, in his *Eschatology*, denied the existence of Purgatory, and maintained that those stained with lesser or venial sins would share the same fate in the world to come as those burdened with the guilt of greater or mortal sins.

This superficial and barren system was assailed by an antagonist, who, taught by the errors of his past career, and by a long and bitter experience in fruitless attempts to live a holy and spiritual life, and pursuing quite a different process of development, deeply felt and clearly appreciated its utter hollowness and insufficiency. This was *Aurelius Augustine*,[1] born at Tagaste, in Numidia, November 13, 354, and who, in his well-known "*Confessions*," written A. D. 400, has given us a picture of Christian simplicity and resignation worthy of so great a man, and allowed us to look down into the depths of his soul, where all the richness and beauty of a holy and sublime life lay hidden.

He was first attracted to Christianity by the loving solicitude of his pious mother *Monica*, but it would seem that classic literature and Pagan philosophy had greater charms for his youthful mind than the sublime truths of Holy Writ. He was, moreover, fascinated by the alluring promises of the

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[1] *Augustin.* vita, by *Possidius*, in the Saint's opp. ed. *Bened.*, Paris, 1679–1700, 11 T. fol., c. append.; ed. *Cleric*, Antv. 1700 sq., 12 T.; Venet. 1729 sq., 12 T.; 1756 sq., 18 T. 4to; Paris, 1842, 11 T. 4to. The Vita August. ex ejus potissim. scriptis concinnata, libb. VIII., in the T. XV. opp. August. ed., 4to, is by **Tillemont*, and appeared, later on, in French in his Mémoires, etc., T. XIII. Exhaustive extracts from the writings of St. Augustine, see in *Remy Ceillier*, histoire générale des auteurs, etc., T. XI. and T. XII., ed. II., T. IX. *Stolberg*, Pt. XIV., p. 289–332; Pt. XV., p. 151–246, in the appendix. †*Kloth*, St. Augustine, the Holy Doctor of the Church, Aix-la-Chapelle, 1840, 2 pts. *Bindemann*, St. Augustine, 1 vol., Berlin, 1844–1855, 2 vols. **Böhringer*, Ch. II. in Biographies, Vol. I., div. 3, p. 99–774. †*Poujoulat*, Life of St. Augustine; transl. from the French into German by *Fr. v. Hurter*, Schaffh. 1845. †*Ginzel*, The Moral Principle of St. Augustine (*Tübg. Quart.* 1848, p. 539–599, and 1849, p. 44–99. On *St. Monica*, compare *Götze*, de Monica, Lubec. 1712, 4to, but especially the *Bollandist* Acta SS., on the 4th of May. *Tillemont*, T. VIII., p. 455–478. *Bougaud*, Hist. of St. Monica; transl. into German by *Mathilda Haberman*, Mentz, 1870.

Manichaeans, who asserted that they would "lay open to him the whole truth." To one of his ardent temperament and thirst for knowledge, hopes so brilliant were no small temptation, and he entered their sect, where he remained, as if spell-bound, for the course of nine years, and gradually drifted into the gross and immoral practices for which the Manichaeans were notorious. Monica did not cease her weeping during these dreary years, and neither "did her tears return void."

At the end of this time Augustine, broken in spirit and disappointed of his hopes, began to despair of ever arriving at truth, when Platonic philosophy broke the darkness, let a gleam of light into his mind, and warmed his heart with fresh comfort, but still fell far short of what he conceived to be an adequate agent of moral regeneration.

He taught eloquence publicly at Rome A. D. 384, and in the succeeding year at Milan. At the latter place he was drawn by curiosity to listen to the discourses of *St. Ambrose*, the holy Bishop of that city and the renowned Doctor of the Church. Here Divine grace awaited him, and, to his great joy and astonishment, he felt, for the first time in the course of his strange and unsettled life, that the doctrine St. Ambrose preached would fill that void of the heart, and satisfy that longing of the soul to which he gives expression in his Confessions: "*O my God, Thou hast created us for Thyself, and our heart is not at peace till it rests in Thee;*" and that through the Catholic Church alone can this peace be obtained. He received baptism at the hands of St. Ambrose, gave up the world, and in the year 391 was raised to the dignity of the priesthood, and still later (A. D. 396) became Bishop of *Hippo Regius*.

Never did any bishop of the Church exert a greater influence upon his own and succeeding ages, and never was there a *Father of the Church of so great breadth of mind* and depth of knowledge, both human and Divine. He was, from the time he entered upon his episcopal office down to the very year of his death (A. D. 430), the very soul and master-spirit in every movement in the Church. He bore the great burden of the controversy against the *Donatists* and *Manichaeans*, and also against the *Pelagians*. In confuting the last-named heresy, he expounded the *relations between supernatural grace and free-will* with a depth, a lucidity, and an eloquence all his own. Still, it must be admitted that his writings contain here and there startling assertions.[1]

The teachings which St. Augustine, in the name of the Church, opposed to the errors of Pelagius, were as follows:

"When man came from the Hand of God, he was *innocent* and *holy*, endowed with free-will, and enriched with *Divine grace.* A harmony, unmarred by any jarring element, existed between his mental and his moral faculties. *Neither was he subject to death*, and the free-will with which he was endowed was an agent *for good.* But for all this, well-being and well-doing were not a *necessity* of his nature; on the contrary, he could, if he *would*, commit sin, but, on the other hand, he need not if he would not; the law of his moral being was not '*non potuit non peccare*, but *potuit non peccare.*'

"When Adam, the Father and *Representative of the whole human race*, fell into sin, all mankind sinned with and in him, and *all are burdened with the consequences of his guilt.* In this fall, man lost *sanctifying* grace, his intellect was obscured, his will weakened, his carnal nature strengthened, and his body became subject to the ills of the flesh, and passed under the dominion of death. Man, by reason of the concupiscence which now dwells within him, is more inclined to evil than to good, and, on this account, stands in need of some *help* outside of himself, some *grace*, by which he may be enabled to regain his former high estate, and without which he can never be fully conscious of the depth to which he has fallen. In virtue of the merits of Christ's Redemption, man, from the beginning of his life to the end, constantly receives grace unto sanctification. First comes *sanctifying grace* (*gratia justificans, sanctificans*, or *habitualis*), by which he is set free from sin, sanctified, and once more reinstated in the privileges of his sonship as child of God; then follows *actual grace* (*gratia actualis, ad singulos actus*), which, according to the different measures in which it is received and the various degrees of assistance it communicates, is called, respectively, *gratia excitans seu praeveniens, adjuvans seu comitans*, and *executiva seu consequens*. That the mere external grace of the doctrine and example of Christ is not sufficient to subdue the minds of men and efficacious for a change of life, is evident from the example of the Jews, who, besides the Law, possessed both the one and the other. Nay, even by the aid of interior supernatural grace, man finds it difficult to keep himself entirely free from sin."

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[1] Among these are reckoned St. Augustine's inquiries: 1. On the *Morality* of Paganism, contra Julian, lib. IV., nros. 17–27, where, starting from Rom. xiv. 23, "Omne, quod *non est ex fide*, peccatum est," he pronounces the following opinion on the most lofty moral deeds of ancient Rome: Minus enim Fabricius quam Catilina punietur, non quia iste bonus, sed quia ille magis malus; et minus impius quam Catilina Fabricius, non veras virtutes habendo, sed a veris virtutibus non plurimum deviando, nro. 25 sub fin., and nro. 26: Non erat in eis vera justitia, quia non actibus, sed *finibus* pensantur officia. (opp. post. ed. *Bened.*, Venetam III., Bassani, 1797, 18 T., 4to, T. XIII., p. 739.) Yet St. Augustine did not call them there "*shining vices*," as *Luther* called the virtues of the Pagans, an opinion to which *Melanchthon* agreed. (See p. 65, note 1.) Conf., moreover, the sentiment of St. Augustine, related above, p. 497, note 3, and de civitate Dei V. 12, 15, and 18. Again, de spiritu et littera, c. 27, the Holy Doctor teaches: Quaedam (ethnicorum) opera audivimus, quae secundum justitiae regulam non solum vituperare non possumus, verum etiam merito recteque laudamus. 2. On the seeming *irresistibility* of Grace; and, 3. On *Predestination.*

St. Augustine, while engaged in these controversies on the *nature and effects of supernatural grace*, was guided not only by the painful experience of his own life, but also, and above all, by those passages of Holy Writ which expressed his leading and fundamental idea, viz: "*Without God and His aid one can do absolutely nothing.*"[1]

St. Augustine was so busily employed in refuting the errors of the Donatists, that he was unable to take part in the Synod of Carthage (A. D. 411), presided over by Bishop Aurelius. But learning that attempts were being secretly made to introduce the teachings of Pelagius into his diocese, he immediately set to work to refute them, both orally and in writing.[2]

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[1] John xv. 5; 1 Cor. iv. 7; 2 Cor. iii. 5; 1 Cor. xii. 3; Rom. ix. 16, and other places.

[2] The first *controversial writings of St. Augustine*, between 412–415, are: De peccator. meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulor. ad Marcellin, libb. III.; lib. de spiritu et litera; lib. de natura et gratia contr. Pelag.; de perfectione justitiae hominis ad Episcopos Eutropium et Paul. (opp. ed. Bassani, T. XIII., p. 1–236.) Besides these, also fragm. from Pelag. de natura; de perfectione justitiae hominis, and from Caelestius, definitiones, i. e. arguments, hominem

And even when the sectaries had withdrawn to Asia, he did not permit them to rest in peace. Besides writing against them, he sent *Orosius* into Palestine, ostensibly to study under St. Jerome, but in reality to observe the conduct and defeat the schemes of Pelagius. *St. Jerome*[1] himself had already attacked Pelagius for his Origenist tendencies, and assailed the distinctively Pelagian proposition: "Man, if he will, can entirely abstain from sin."

The question was brought before the *Synod of Jerusalem* A. D. 415, but as Orosius and others of the fathers did not speak Greek, and still others could not speak Latin, while Pelagius could speak both languages fluently, and was, on this account, at a great advantage, it was found difficult to carry on the discussion with any prospect of a satisfactory result, and the whole controversy was referred to Pope *Innocent I.*

Shortly afterward, two bishops of Gaul, *Heros* of Arles and *Lazarus* of Aix, came into Palestine, and addressed a letter to *Eulogius*, Metropolitan of Caesarea, containing a statement of the errors of Pelagius and Caelestius, which they said had been extracted from the writings of the latter. A *synod* was convoked by Eulogius at *Diospolis* (toward the close of the year 415) to investigate the charges, but Pelagius, by a dishonest equivocation of the word "*grace*," succeeded in imposing upon the fathers. He admitted the necessity of grace, but accepted the term in his own and not in a Catholic sense, as implying no more than the *natural faculties and powers of man*—such as free-will—and under this specious pretense secured his own acquittal and a declaration of his orthodoxy.[2]

The Pelagians of Syria, elated and emboldened by this vic-

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sine peccato esse posse. Conf. also sermones 170, 174, 175, 293, 294 (opp. ed. *Bened.*, in 4to, T. VII.; in fol., T. V.), ep. 140 ad Honoratum; 157 ad Hilar. (opp. T. II. in both editions.)

[1] *Hieronym.* epist. 133 ad Ctesiphont. (415), adv. Pelag. (opp. ed. *Vallarsii*, Venet. 1766, 4to, T. I., p. 1025 sq.); dialogi contr. Pelagian. III. (opp. T. II., p. 690–806); against. Pelag. epist. ad Demetriadem and eclogae seu capitula.

[2] On the Synods of Jerusalem and Diospolis, cf. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 1207 sq.; *Mansi*, T. IV., p. 307 sq.

tory, grew arrogant, and at Bethlehem used acts of violence against St. Jerome. Pelagius himself wrote exultingly in circular letters that the synod had declared him innocent and his doctrine orthodox.

The African Church, however, was not satisfied with the verdict of Diospolis, and began a thorough investigation of the whole question.

St. Augustine, on the return of Orosius, examined the acts of the Synod, and pointed out the dishonesty and craft of Pelagius. The affair was brought before the Synods of *Carthage* and *Mileve*, A. D. 416, whose sentence was in effect an excommunication of both Pelagius and Caelestius, if they would not consent to retract their errors;[1] and this decree received the confirmation of Pope *Innocent I.* St. Augustine hoped that these acts would speedily put an end to the dangerous error, and in an address to his people said:[2] "*Two Councils have already sent their decisions in this cause to the Apostolic See, and the desired rescripts have now been returned. Rome has spoken; the affair is ended; would that there were also an end of error.*"

Caelestius left Ephesus, and set out for Constantinople, but having attempted to spread his errors, he was forced by *Atticus* the Patriarch to leave the city, and word was sent to the bishops of Asia, Thessalonica, and Carthage, informing them of his expulsion, and warning them against receiving him.

Caelestius, finding himself so closely watched and so vigorously pursued, determined on a bold stroke, and, appearing at Rome, brought the whole matter before *Zosimus*, who had succeeded to Innocent I. in the Papal Chair. He presented to this Pope a creed which was Catholic even on the question of original sin, and in the last clause of which he submitted the creed itself to the Holy See for correction. "If," said he, "there be anything in this creed unwarily or unskillfully expressed, we desire it may be amended by you, who do hold both the faith and the See of Peter."

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[1] *Augustin.* de gestis Pelagii 416 (opp. ed., in 4to, T. XIII., p. 237–372). The acts of the Councils of Mileve and Carthage, in *Harduin*, T. I., p. 1214 sq.; *Mansi*, T. IV., p. 321 sq.

[2] *Augustin.*, sermo 132, nro. 10: Jam enim de causa duo concilio missa sunt ad sedem apostolicam. Inde etiam rescripta venerunt: *causa finita est;* utinam aliquando error finiatur. (opp. ed. in 4to, T. VII. · in fol. T. V.)

Zosimus, deceived by these specious pretenses, embraced the interests of the accused, and wrote a circular letter to the African bishops recommending clemency.

Pelagius, encouraged by the success of Caelestius, and at the instance of Praylus, Bishop of Jerusalem, sent a cunningly worded summary of his teachings to Zosimus, who declared that both Pelagius and the Bishop of Jerusalem were orthodox.[1] The African bishops were not content with this opinion, and two hundred of them having convened in a Plenary Council at *Carthage*, A. D. 418, condemned the principal errors of Pelagius in clear, precise, and unmistakable language, and the emperor *Honorius* issued (A. D. 418–421) his edicts (*sacra rescripta*), banishing Pelagius and Caelestius from the whole Roman empire.[2] Pope Zosimus, too, now condemned the Pelagian heresy in his epistle "*Tractoria*," addressed to the bishops of the whole world, to which all were peremptorily required to subscribe, and threatened with deposition in case they refused. Eighteen of them who obstinately refused to give up Pelagianism, were deprived of their sees, the most prominent of whom was *Julian of Eclanum* (Avellino), in Apulia, who now entered upon a *learned* controversy with his former friend St. Augustine, which embraces quite a number of writings.[3] Julian, however, was not an out-and-out Pelagian. His doctrine was very nearly what was afterward known as Semi-Pelagianism. He accused his adversaries of being infected with *Manichaean errors*, such as the admitting a radical corruption of human nature, prohibiting matrimony, and, under the specious name of grace, teaching fatalistic doctrines.

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[1] *Caelestii* symbolum ad Zosim., *Pelagii* libellus fidei ad Innocent. I., arrives, however, only after his death, and is remitted to Zosimus. Conf. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 1213 sq.; *Mansi*, T. IV., pp. 325 and 370 sq.

[2] On the Plenary Council, conf. *Harduin*, T. I., p. 1230 sq.; *Mansi*, T. IV., p. 377 sq. Now, *St. Augustine* also wrote de gratia Christi et de peccato originali contra Pelag. et Caelest. 418 (opp. ed., in 4to, T. XIII., p. 275–342), wherein fragments of *Pelag.* de libero arbitrio and *Caelest.* symbol. These rescripts of the emperors Honorius and Arcadius in *Harduin*, T. I., p 1230 sq. Conf. *Riffel*, in l. l., p. 332 sq.

[3] Now, *St. Augustine* wrote de nuptiis et concupiscentia, libros II.; de anima et ejus origine, libros IV.; contr. duas epistolas Pelagianor, libb. IV. (420); contr. Julian. Pelag., libb. VI. (421), an answer to *Julian's* contra Augustini, lib. I. de nupt.; whereupon *Julian* rejoined with contra Augustin., libb. II. de nuptiis.

Julian having in vain appealed, in behalf of himself and his companions in exile, from the decree of Zosimus to the decision of a General Council, went into Cilicia, to *Theodore, Bishop* of *Mopsuestia*, where he was condemned by a Provincial Council. After the death of Honorius, the Pelagians ventured to return to Italy, for the purpose of having their cause examined by Pope *Celestine*. Baffled in this attempt, they journeyed to Constantinople, but were again compelled by the patriarch Atticus to withdraw from that city. But *Nestorius*, the successor to Atticus, who had been a disciple of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and was, therefore, more or less infected with Pelagian errors,[1] received them more favorably. *Theodosius II.*, having received letters from the Pope and a memorial from *Marius Mercator*, the friend of St. Augustine, protesting against the presence of the Pelagians at Constantinople, issued (A. D. 429) an imperial edict, obliging them all to withdraw from the city. Pelagianism was completely defeated in the East by the action of the *Third Ecumenical Council* of Ephesus (A. D. 431), which confirmed the Papal decrees condemning it.[2]

Pelagius was lost sight of after the year 418, and Caelestius was heard of no more after the year 425, when he appealed to Pope *Celestine* for another hearing.

Pelagianism did not, like Arianism, become immediately popular. It was a controversy which belonged essentially to men of learning and trained intellects, and Julian deceived himself when he said, "I am not fighting the Church, but private opinion."

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[1] This affinity was soon found out. Conf. *Joannis Cassiani*, libb. VII., de incarnatione Christi adv. Nestor., especially lib. V., c. 1. Haeresin illam Pelagianae haereseos discipulam atque imitatricem, and c. 2, turning to Nestorius: Ergo vides Pelagianum te virus vomere, Pelagiano te spiritu sibilare. Just so *Prosperi* epitaph. Nestorian. et Pelagian. haeresis:

> Nestoriana lues successi Pelagianae,
> Quae tamen est utero progenerata meo.
> Infelix miserae genitrix et filia natae,
> Prodivi ex ipso germine, quod peperi, etc.

[2] The acts of the Council of Ephesus, in *Harduin*, T. I., p. 1271 sq.; *Mansi*, T. IV., p. 567 sq. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 193 sq.

§ 117. *The Semi-Pelagians—Predestination.*

Joan. Cassiani collat. Patr. (opp. ed. *Gazaeus*, Atrebati, 1628, in *Migne's* ser. lat., T. 49–50); thereto *Tillemont*, T. XIV., p. 157–188. *Fausti Rej.* opp. (*Galland.* bibl. T. X., bibl. max. PP. T. VIII.) *Prosperi* Aquitani epp., Paris, 1711; Bassani, 1782, 2 T., 4to. *Fulgentii* opp., Paris, 1634. *Praedestinatus* seu praedestinator. haer. et libri S. Augustino temere adscripti confutatio. Max. bibl. PP. T. XXVII. *Wiggers*, Hist of Semi-Pelagianism, Hambg. 1835.

St. Augustine, while more fully drawing out his *doctrine on supernatural grace*, said in a letter, addressed to Sixtus, a Roman priest: "Sin must necessarily, of its very nature, work the ruin of all mankind; but God has, nevertheless, in the abundance of His mercy, *chosen* some out of this multitude destined to destruction—a few elect—on whom He has bestowed His grace, and granted the gift of perseverance. These are called, and are in fact, the children of God; and if they for a time stray from the way of righteousness, they will, by a law *of necessity*, again return to it, and die in grace (*praedestinati*). They are chosen, not indeed because God foresees that they will, by the unconstrained act of their free-will, correspond with the action of grace—not because they have, of themselves, any merit--but because God has, *of His own gracious pleasure* (*πρόθεσις κατ᾽ ἐκλογήν*, *praedestinatio ad vitam*), seen fit to set them apart, and predestine them to eternal life.

"Again: there are others, *abandoned* of God, whom He visits with His justice. These are necessarily lost, not because they could not work out their salvation if they would, but because they place their happiness and joy in evil-doing. It is only left to man to adore the *inscrutable designs of God* (*arcanum mysterium*), whether in the gracious exercise of His mercy toward the former, or in the visitations of His justice upon the latter."[1]

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[1] *Augustin.* de correpț., n. 13: Quicunque ergo ab illa originali damnatione ista divinae gratiae largitate discreti sunt, non est dubium, quod et procuratur eis audiendum Evangelium; et quum audiunt, credunt, et in fide, quae per dilectionem operatur, usque in finem perseverant; et si quando exorbitant, cor-

St. Augustine goes on to speak of a *second* predestination (*praedestinatio ad poenam*), and to point out the specific *difference* between the one and the other, and the attitude of God toward those included under each class. He says that in the case of the latter, God does not act as a Father (*auctor*), but as a Just Avenger (*justus ultor*), and to express, as it were, the line of conduct which God pursues with regard to these, he employs, instead of Predestination (*praedestinatio*), Foreknowledge of God (*praescientia* Dei).

In his later writings against the Pelagians, he used startling words and expressions relative to the necessity man lies under of committing sin, and of the *constraining power of grace* (*gratia irresistibilis*), which can not very well be harmonized with the teachings and tradition of the Church. These are, however, considerably modified when viewed in the light of many passages of his writings, and interpreted in connection with the special doctrines of Pelagius, which they were intended to oppose and confute. But, even after all this has been done, and taken at their best, they can not be admitted as adequately and precisely expressing the teaching of the Universal Church on this point.

As early as A. D. 427, many persons, but particularly the monks of the *monastery of Adrumetum*, in Northern Africa, professed to discover in the writings of St. Augustine doctrines subversive of *free-will.* St. Augustine at once set to work to place himself in a proper light,[1] and for this purpose

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repti emendantur, et quidam eorum, etsi ab hominibus non corripiantur, in viam, quam reliquerant, redeunt; et nonnulli accepta gratia in qualibet aetate periculis hujus vitae mortis celeritate subtrahunter. Haec enim omnia operatur in eis, qui vasa misericordiae operatus est eos, qui et elegit eos in filio suo ante constitutionem mundi per electionem gratiae. n. 23: Quicunque ergo in Dei providentissima dispositione praesciti, praedestinati, vocati, justificati, glorificati sunt, non dico etiam nondum renati, sed etiam nondum nati jam filii Dei sunt, *et omnino perire non possunt*, etc. (opp. in 4to, T. XIV., pp. 930 and 938).

[1] *Augustin.* de gratia et libero arbitrio and de correptione et gratia. Conf. retract. II. 66, 67; opp. T. I. 214-216. St. Augustine, amidst his various disquisitions, objects to himself: *Liberum ergo arbitrium evacuamus per gratiam?* And he answers: Absit, sed magis liberum arbitrium statuimus! Moreover, he makes this positive declaration: Qui fecit te sine te, non te justificat *sine te.*—Fecit nescientem, *justificat volentem* (sermo XV. de verbo Apost., c. 11, nro. 13).

wrote two works, in which he emphatically declared that man is a *free agent*, who, if he will be justified, must *coöperate with divine grace.*

Shortly after, *Prosper* and *Hilary*, two zealous laymen from Gaul, informed St. Augustine that many monks of Southern Gaul, and particularly at Marseilles, under the lead of *Cassian*, an Eastern monk of Scythian extraction, and abbot of the monastery of St. Victor, in the above-named city, had taken exception to his doctrine on grace, as explained above; that these admitted indeed that the natural powers of man had been weakened by original sin, but also held that *an act of the will should*, by freely embracing the living faith, *precede grace;* that man should take the initiative in the work of his own justification and salvation, and that, having done so, God would come to his aid, and enable him to *perform* good works. (*Ex nobis esse fidei coeptum et ex Deo esse fidei supplementum.*) They adduced, as examples of this economy of grace, the case of Zachaeus and the penitent thief. They also asserted that the *final perseverance* necessary to secure salvation is *not* to be attributed to divine grace, but to free-will and to individual merit; that the gift of final perseverance is not a *special* grace of God, but follows as a consequence from the grace of justification, with this limitation, however, that whereas a Christian may obtain it by prayer, so also he may lose it by presumption. They maintained, finally, that God, in foreordaining some unto election, did so because of *His foreknowledge of their merits* (*praevisis meritis*).

They were called *Massilians*, from the name of the city in which they were most numerous, and *Semi-Pelagians*,[1] because

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But St. Augustine most peremptorily insists on man's *free will*, in his works *contra Manichaeos!*

[1] *St. Augustine*, in his work de Praedestinatione Sanctor., n. 38, contrasting the two systems of the *Pelagians* and *Semi-Pelagians*, shows their points of difference in the following exposition: Ipsi (Pelagiani) enim putant acceptis praeceptis jam per nos ipsos fieri liberae voluntatis arbitrio sanctos et immaculatos in conspectu ejus in caritate: quod futurum Deus quoniam praescivit, inquiunt, ideo nos ante mundi constitutionem elegit et praedestinavit in Christo. Nos autem dicimus, inquiunt (Semipelagiani), nostram Deum non praescisse *nisi fidem, qua credere incipimus*, et ideo nos elegisse ante mundi constitutionem, ac praedestinasse, ut etiam sancti et immaculati *gratia* atque opere ejus essemus (opp. T. XIV., pp. 1011, 1012.

their system was a compromise between the extreme views of *Augustine on predestination* and the extravagant claims asserted for free-will by *Pelagius*.

Their error evidently grew out of an attempt to avoid these two extremes, and was defended principally by *John Cassian*, the abbot above named, who had been a disciple of St. John Chrysostom.

Cassian, in his book of *Conferences*, twenty-four in number, repeats the discourses which he had given to the Eastern anchorites; and in his *thirteenth*[1] Conference teaches, that a good will is not always to be ascribed to the effects of grace, but is frequently the gift of nature. *Faustus*, Bishop of Riez; *Gennadius* of Marseilles (*de fide*), and many monks, and even the celebrated *Vincent* of *Lerins* († c. A. D. 450), are *credited* with the authorship of the *Conferences*.[2]

The news of this state of affairs reached St. Augustine just long enough before his death to enable him to write a full reply to the charges of the Semi-Pelagians. Genseric landed in Africa A. D. 429, and the next year the Bishop of Hippo died in the third month of the siege.[3] He closed his useful and laborious life August 28, A. D. 430.

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[1] Cf, especially, *Cassiani* collat. XIII. de protect. Dei, also printed in *Prosperi Aquitani* opp. ed. Bassani, 1782, T. I., p. 136–165. We quote therefrom, c. 12: Cavendum est nobis, ne ita ad Dominum omnia sanctorum merita referamus, ut nihil nisi id quod malum atque perversum est humanae adscribamus naturae (aimed against *St. Augustine*). C. 11: Sin vero *gratia Dei semper inspirari bonae voluntatis principia* dixerimus, quid de Zachaei fide, quid de illius in cruce latronis pietate dicemus, qui desiderio suo vim quandam regnis coelestibus inferentes, specialia vocationis monita praevenerunt? *Consummationem vero virtutum* et executionem mandatorum Dei, si nostro deputaverimus arbitrio, quomodo oramus: *confirma Deus, quod operatus es in nobis?* (against *Pelagius*).

[2] *Norisius*, *Natalis Alex.* and others thought that they saw, at the conclusion of c. 37 of the commonitor. (see p. 509, note 5), traces of Semi-Pelagianism. Cf., against that, *Bolland.* acta SS. mens. Maji., T. V., p. 284 sq., and hist. littéraire de la France, T. II., p. 309.

[3] *Augustin.* de praedestinat. Sanctorum and de dono perseverantiae, and, immediately before his death, opus imperf. contr. Julian, libb. VI. In the work de dono persever., n. 35, predestination is thus defined: Praedestinatio sanctorum est praescientia et praeparatio beneficiorum Dei, quibus certissime liberentur, quicunque liberantur. Caeteri autem ubi, nisi in massa perditionis justo divino judicio relinquuntur? And in two other places *St. Augustine* says:

Prosper and Hilary, after the death of St. Augustine, continued the struggle against the Semi-Pelagians. They appealed to Rome (A. D. 431), and obtained from Pope Celestine a document addressed to all the bishops of Gaul, warning them to beware of the innovators, and to cease the agitation of curious questions (*quaestiones indisciplinatae*).[1] Prosper was not wholly satisfied with this result, and continued the controversy himself with great skill and ability.[2] The work of some unknown author, bearing the title, "*On the Calling of the Gentiles*," frequently attributed to Pope *Leo* the Great when still a deacon, pursues the same line of argument, and considerably modifies some of the more harsh expressions of St. Augustine.[3] Still later, *Fulgentius*, Bishop of Ruspe, in Africa, confuted Semi-Pelagianism during his exile in Sardinia, and again when he returned to his diocese.

These errors were condemned at the *Council of Arausio* (*Orange*), A. D. 529, at the instance of Caesarius, Archbishop of Arles; and again, A. D. 530, at the Council of *Valentia* (*Valence*), in the province of Vienne. The four short canons passed by the first of these councils, and confirmed by the second, asserted:

1. That by the sin of Adam free-will has been so perverted and weakened, that none have since then been able to love God, or *believe in Him, or to do good actions* for His sake, unless *divine grace has prevented them.*

2. After grace has been received by baptism, all baptized persons are able, by the divine assistance and coöperation, to do all things that belong to the soul's salvation, if they are willing to work with faith.

Inter gratiam et praedestinationem hoc tantum interest, quod praedestinatio est *gratiae praeparatio*, gratia vera *ipsa donatio.* And soon thereafter: Praedestinatio Dei gratiae est praeparatio, gratia vero ipsius praedestinationis *effectus.*

[1] Cf. *Mansi*, T. I., p. 454 sq.

[2] Cf., especially, *Prosperi* lib. de gratia Dei et libero arbitrio contra collationem XIII. Cassiani (opp. ed. Bassani, T. I., p. 168–198). This edition of the works of Prosper contains, T. II., p. 152–278, varia scripta et monumenta, quorum lectio operibus S. Prosperi ac historiae Semipelagianae lucem affert.

[3] De vocatione gentium (opp. Prosperi ed Bass., T. I., p. 457–495; opp. *Leonis M.*, ed. *Ballerinor.*, and in *Migne's* ser. lat., T. 54–56.

3. We not only do not believe that some persons have been predestined to evil by divine power, but we pronounce anathema against all who incline to hold such an opinion.

4. We also profess and believe that *in every good work it is not we who begin*, and who are afterward assisted by the mercy of God; *but God Himself first inspires faith and love, without any previous good works on our part*, so that we faithfully demand the Sacrament of baptism, and after baptism are able, with His assistance, to accomplish what is pleasing to Him. Whence it is most clearly to be believed that the marvelous faith of the thief whom our Lord summoned to Paradise; of the centurion Cornelius, to whom an angel was sent, and of Zachaeus, who was found worthy to entertain our Lord, was not natural, but the gift of God.

These canons were ratified by Pope Boniface II. A. D. 530.[1]

The doctrine of the Predestinarians was directly opposed to the errors of Pelagius. It was first clearly drawn out by the author of "*Praedestinatus*," and still further developed by *Lucidus*, a priest of Gaul.[2] The Predestinarians held that God from eternity predestined the righteous to *everlasting life*, and the wicked to *everlasting death* (*ad interitum*). Lucidus denied *free*-will, and the coöperation of man with Divine grace in the work of justification and sanctification, and affirmed that these were exclusively the effects of Divine grace.[3] The view which Lucidus took of *man* seems to be analogous to the view which the monophysite Eutyches took of *Christ*, in pretty much the same way as the doctrine of Pelagius, as explained above, harmonizes with that of Nestorius. The system of the Predestinarians—*the very contrary of Pelagianism*—was, after it had been not quite successfully refuted by *Faustus*, Bishop of Riez, condemned by the *Synods* of *Arles* and *Lyons*, held respectively A. D. 475 and 480.

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[1] Cf. *Harduin*, T. II., p. 1097 sq. *Mansi*, T. VIII., p. 712 sq. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 704 sq.

[2] Besides the protestations of *St. Augustine*, already quoted (p. 585, note 1), against this extreme view, we would also draw attention to the fact that this Doctor of the Church, in his disquisitions bearing on this subject, repeatedly emphasizes the words of Scripture: Christus pro omnibus mortuus est (2 Cor. v. 14); nolo mortem impii, sed ut convertatur impius (Ezech. xxxiii. 11; 2 Pet. iii. 9): Deus vult, omnes homines salvos fieri (1 Tim. ii. 4). Conf. *Baltzer*, St. Augustine's Doctrine on Predest. and Reprob., Vienna, 1871.

[3] *Fausti Rejens.* ep. ad Lucid. and Lucidi errorem emendantis, libellus ad episc., in *Mansi*, T. VII., p. 1108 sq. *Hefele*, l. c., p. 577 sq., and *Fuchs*, Library of Councils, Vol. IV., p. 595 sq.

It is difficult to say whether the Predestinarians were ever so numerous or important as to be properly called a sect.

Observation.—The Church has been content with the clear and express declarations of Pope Celestine on the nature of grace, and has allowed perfect freedom to all with regard to the *manner* of accounting for *predestination* and the *propagation* of original sin; and she has by no means committed herself to the opinions of St. Augustine on this subject; nor did St. Augustine himself claim any such authority for his view, but, on the contrary, positively refused to have any such weight attached to his name.[1]

HERESIES RELATIVE TO THE DOGMA OF THE INCARNATION.

§ 118. *Summary of the New Controversies.*

While the Western theologians went on discussing still further the question of Christian Anthropology, those of the East, faithful to their traditionary speculative habits of thought, pursued with ardor the controversies arising out of the nature and attributes of Christ. His *Divine* nature and His *perfect human* nature having already been defined—the former against the Arians, and the latter against the Docetae—the next question that arose concerned the active relations that existed between the divine and human elements in Christ, and their practical adjustment and harmony.

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[1] Although Pope *Celestine*, in his letters to the Gallic bishops, says, on the one hand: *Augustinum* sanctae recordationis virum pro vita sua atque meritis in nostra communione semper habuimus, nec unquam hunc sinistrae suspicionis saltem rumor adspersit, quem tantae sententiae olim fuisse meminimus, ut inter magistros optimos etiam ante a meis decessoribus haberetur, he nevertheless declares, still further on: Profundiores vero difficilioresque partes incurrentium quaestionum, quas latius pertractarunt, qui haereticis restiterunt, *sicut non audemus contemnere, ita non necesse habemus adstruere:* quia ad confitendum gratiam Dei, cujus operi ac dignationi nihil penitus substrahendum est, satis sufficere credimus, quidquid secundum praedictas regulas apostolicae sedis nos scripta docuerunt, etc. (*Mansi*, T. IV., p. 455, n. 462.) Indeed, *St. Augustine* himself declared: Neminem velim sic amplecti omnia mea, ut me sequatur, nisi in iis, in quibus me non errasse perspexerit (de dono perseverant, c. 21).

Origen was the first to start the question. Still later on, the Catholic bishops, in refuting the Arian assertion, that the Logos was united only to the body of Jesus, declared that the Word must also be united to the *human soul*. *Apollinaris* the Younger revived the discussion. He maintained that Christ had not assumed a *rational* soul; but his adversaries replied that every portion of man had been freed from the bondage of sin, and that Christ, in order to accomplish this, was obliged to take upon Himself a complete and perfect human nature; otherwise, the most noble portion of man, his rational soul, would not have been redeemed.

The *Alexandrians*, as has already been said, when drawing out this dogma, insisted particularly on the intimate union of the divine and human natures in Christ; whereas, the *Antiochians*, on the contrary—as, for example, *Diodore* of *Tarsus* and *Theodore* of *Mopsuestia*—were scrupulously careful to keep the two natures distinct, and specially avoided transferring the attributes of the one to the other. These admitted that there was a moral, but not an organic, union of the two natures. Each party appealed to the words of Isaias liii. 8, "*generationem ejus quis enarrabit?*" in proof of its orthodoxy, and to show that the doctrine of the Trinity is a mystery.

The controversies which followed, and which were sustained on both sides with energy and tenacity, were not, as has often been asserted, undertaken out of *pure love of a quarrel, or from the desire to dispute;* but because, in its further development, were involved consequences of vital importance to religion. For on the solution of the question as to *how* the two natures coëxisted and worked together in the one Person of Christ, essentially depends the condition of our Redemption, and the measure in which Christ became a pattern for redeemed mankind. For whether we adopt the theory of *Eutyches*, and assert that in Christ the Humanity was entirely absorbed in the Divinity, or hold, with *Nestorius*, that the Divine nature was not *organically* united, but strictly and absolutely distinct and separate from the Human, in either case the work of Redemption, in default of that *divine* and *human* power necessary for this end, is, in any true and perfect sense utterly destroyed.

The Church, having carefully considered the arguments on which both these extreme opinions were based, defined, against Eutyches, that there existed a *dual Nature* in Christ; and, against Nestorius, that He possessed but *one Person*, and that there was a "*communicatio idiomatum seu proprietatum.*"[1]

§ 119. *Heresy of Nestorius—Ecumenical Council of Ephesus.*

The writings of Nestorius, in *Garnier*, opp. Marii Mercatoris II. 5; his letters in *S. Cyrilli* Alex. opp. ed. *Aubert*, Paris, 1638, VII. T., fol.; thereto *Tillemont*, T. XIV., p. 267–275. *Theodoreti* reprehensio XII. anathematismatum Cyrilli (opp. ed. *Schulze*, T. V.) *Tillemont*, T. XV., p. 207-340. *Liberati* (Archdeacon of Carthage, about A. D. 553), breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum, ed. *Garnier*, Paris, 1675. *Leontius*, Byzant. contr. Nestorium et Eutychen (*Canisii* thesaur. monument., ed. *Basnage*, T. I., in *Migne's* ser. gr., T. 86, Pt. I. and II.) *Socrat.* h. e. VII. 29 sq. *Euagr.* I. 7 sq. Documents in *Mansi*, T. IV., V., VII.; in *Harduin*, T. I., p. 1271 sq. †*Garnier*, de haeresi et libris Nestorii, in his ed. opp. Marii Mercator., T. II. †*Doucin*, histoire du Nestorianisme, Paris, 1689. **Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 134–271. *Walch*, Hist. of Heretics, Pt. V., p. 289–936. †*Gengler*, The Condemnation of Nestorius (Tübg. Quart. 1835, p. 213–299). *Katerkamp*, Ch. H., Vol. III., p. 71–159. *Rohrbacher*, Ch. H., Germ. ed., Vol. VIII.

Nestorius, who was first a priest at Antioch, and in the year 428 became Patriarch of Constantinople, had been educated in the School of *Antioch*, and had had for his master Theodore of Mopsuestia. Here he formed the acquaintance of *John*, afterward Patriarch of Antioch, and of *Theodoret* of Cyrus, who was considerably younger than himself. He was clever and brilliant, gifted with a talent for eloquence, and possessed a stock of varied learning, but was superficial withal. He was, moreover, elated with spiritual pride, and frequently carried away with imprudent zeal. His supercilious temper and arrogant disposition became apparent on the occasion of his inauguration,[2] when he presumptuously addressed the emperor Theodosius in the following words: "O Emperor, drive heretics from thy empire, and I will grant to thee the kingdom of Heaven; strengthen my hands in putting down the enemies of the Church, and I will aid thee in conquering the Persians."

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[1] *Vincent.* Lerin. commonitor., c. 21, says on the subject: Propter quam *personae unitatem* indifferenter ei atque promiscue, *et quae Dei sunt propria tribuuntur homini, et quae carnis propria tribuuntur Deo.*

[2] Cf. *Socrat.* hist. eccl. VII. 29.

His efforts were directed principally against the few remaining advocates of the Arian and Macedonian heresies, and he was particularly violent against the *Apollinarians*, and promised to give his flock some carefully considered instructions on their heresy. He also took under his protection the leaders of the Pelagian heresy, who had been exiled from the West.

Nestorius, while combating one heresy, fell into another of an opposite character. The first seeds of Nestorianism were sown by *Leporius*, a monk of Gaul, who afterward (A. D. 426) received the order of priesthood at Carthage.[1] He asserted "that in Christ were two entirely independent elements; that *the Divine element belonged only to the Logos*, and *the human only to the man Jesus*."

Nestorius, as we have seen, had promised to the faithful of his flock a clearer and more satisfactory explanation than they had yet received on the nature of the Son of God. *Anastasius*, a newly ordained priest of Constantinople, was intrusted with the task. In a sermon, preached in presence of Nestorius, in Advent (A. D. 428), he objected to the title of Mother of God, *Θεοτόκος*, as inapplicable to the Blessed Virgin Mary. "Let no one," said he, "designate the Blessed Virgin as '*Mother of God.*' Mary was merely human, and *God* can not be born or a human creature." The open rejection of this term, as applied to the Blessed Virgin, created a great disturbance, and Nestorius, instead of endeavoring to suppress the angry spirit of controversy which he saw rising about him, besides committing many acts of violence, preached several sermons, in which he openly advocated the view advanced by Anastasius. He maintained that the Blessed Virgin should be called the *Mother of Christ* (*χριστοτόκος*); that He who had been born of her, bore in His Person the Divinity (*θεοφόρος*), or had received God within Himself (*θεοδόχος*), "because," said he, "God dwelt in Him as in a temple."[1] The people protested against such a doctrine, and said, "*We have indeed an emperor, but no bishop.*" According to the view of Nestorius, the *Incarnation* meant no more than an *indwelling* of God the Word in the man Jesus; and consequently God had not been truly made man. This error, in its further development, necessarily led to the conclusion that there were *two sonships*—one divine and the other human; one of God and the other of the Blessed Virgin; and that there were *two persons, entirely distinct and separate*, between whom there existed only an external, or moral, and not a Hypostatic union.

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[1] Cf. Epist. Episcopor. Africae, quam cum Leporii libello emendationis miserunt ad Episc. Galliae (I. ed. *Jac. Sirmond.*, Paris, 1630; *Mansi*, T. IV., p. 517-528).

These doctrines were rapidly spread throughout the East by the *disciples of Theodore*, Bishop of Mopsuestia, and it was not long before they became known in the West also; but they met everywhere, as at Constantinople, with a most determined opposition. *St. Augustine*, in the West, had already defended against Leporius the doctrine of the Word made Flesh, and *St. Athanasius* had maintained the same teaching, even at a still earlier date, in the East. The latter had most emphatically asserted even that the divine nature of Christ had been made Flesh.[2] But, in spite of all this, the heresy of Nestorius gained many followers. It was less difficult for the mind to comprehend how a man could be filled with the power of God, than to understand how *God could be made man*. Moreover, the defenders of Nestorianism represented their doctrine as perfectly in harmony with Scriptural teaching, and either carefully avoided all mention of the transference of divine attributes to human nature, a doctrine so startling to superficial minds, or declared that such a supposition was entirely out of the question.

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[1] See these sermons in *Mansi*, T. IV., p. 1197.

[2] *Athanas.* de incarnatione Verbi (*Mansi*, T. IV., p. 689): *Ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Θεὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα, υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου κατὰ σάρκα. οὐ δύο φύσεις τὸν ἕνα υἱὸν, μίαν προσκυνητὴν, καὶ μίαν ἀπροσκύνητον. ἀλλὰ μίαν φύσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένην, καὶ προσκυνουμένην μετὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ μιᾷ προσκυνήσει.*—We also confess Him to be the Son of God, and God according to the spirit, and Son of man according to the flesh; that there are not two natures in the one Son—one adored and the other not—*but one nature of God the Word made flesh*, and, together with His flesh, adored with the same adoration. Conf. *Le Quien*, dissert. Damasc. II., heading his ed. opp. Joann. Damasceni, T. I., p. XXXII. sq.

Among the Egyptian monks, the question as to whether the title of "Mother of God" should or should not be allowed, excited a violent controversy.

Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, in the hope of putting an end to the controversy, issued a pastoral letter,[1] in which he explained and defended the expression. He seemed raised up by God to defend the truth against Nestorianism, as Athanasius and Augustine had in their day refuted the heresies of Arianism and Pelagianism. Cyril gave the following argument and illustration of the title, "Mother of God," to the Egyptian monks: "As," said he, "the mother of man is the mother, not simply of his body, but of his entire person, notwithstanding that his soul comes from another source—as she gives birth not only to the body of man, but to the whole complex individual, composed essentially of a true union of body and soul; so also the Blessed Virgin Mary, who, although she did not, in any sense, give birth to the Divinity, by which the Word is equal to the Father, is nevertheless truly and really the Mother of the Word, because the flesh of the Word was formed in her womb, and she brought into the world the Person of the Eternal Word, who was clothed with our nature."

The controversy assumed daily a more threatening aspect. The words of Cyril had no effect upon Nestorius, who, instead of giving up his errors, treated his opponent with every species of arrogance and contempt. Cyril then, "*according to ancient ecclesiastical custom*," brought the question before Pope *Celestine*, to whom Nestorius had already appealed. The Pope at once convoked a *Synod at Rome*, A. D. 430, which condemned the errors of Nestorius, and threatened him with deposition and excommunication if he did not retract within ten days after the receipt of the Synodical decree. This decree was sent to *Nestorius* and to the Church of *Constantinople;* to *John*, Bishop of *Antioch*, and other Oriental bishops, and to *Cyril*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, who was appointed the Pope's legate in the settlement of this controversy.

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[1] Conf. *Mansi*, T. IV., p. 587 sq., and *Cyrilli* lib. de recta in Deum nostrum J. Chr. fide, Theodosio et reginis nuncupatus. *Mansi*, T. IV., p. 618–884; after which follow the letters of Cyril to Nestorius, and the latter's answer to Cyril.

Cyril lost no time in convoking a *Synod* of all the bishops of Egypt *at Alexandria*, which approved *twelve anathemas*,[1]

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[1] In *Mansi*, T. IV., p. 1067–1084. *Harduin* and *Labbé*, T. I., col. 1291 sq. They run as follows: I. *Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ, θεὸν εἶναι κατὰ ἀλήθειαν τὸν Ἐμμανουὴλ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεοτόκον τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον. γεγέννηκε γὰρ σαρκικῶς σάρκα γεγονότα τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον· ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*—Si quis non confitetur Deum esse veraciter Emmanuel, et propter hoc ipsum Dei genitricem sanctam virginem, peperit enim carnaliter verbum, quod ex Deo est, secundum quod scriptum est, "Et Verbum caro factum est:" anathema sit.

II. *Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ, σαρκὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἡνῶσθαι τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγον, ἕνα τε εἶναι Χριστὸν μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς, τὸν αὐτὸν δηλονότι θεόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπον, ἀ. ἔ.*—Si quis non confitetur carne substantialiter unum esse Verbum Patris, unum quoque esse Christum cum propria carne, et eundem ipsum sine dubio Deum simul et hominem: a. s.

III. *Εἴ τις ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς Χριστοῦ διαιρεῖ τὰς ὑποστάσεις μετὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, μόνῃ συνάπτων αὐτὰς συναφείᾳ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, ἤγουν αὐθεντίαν, ἢ δυναστείαν, καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον συνόδῳ τῇ καθ' ἕνωσιν φυσικὴν, ἀ. ἔ.*—Si quis in uno Christo dividit substantias post unitionem sola eas societate conjungens ea quae secundum dignitatem est, vel etiam authoritatem, aut potestatem, et non magis conventu ad unitatem naturalem: a. s.

IV. *Εἴ τις προσώποις δυσὶν, ἤγουν ὑποστάσεσι, τάς τε ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελικοῖς καὶ ἀποστολικοῖς συγγράμμασι διανέμει φωνὰς, ἢ ἐπὶ Χριστῷ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων λεγομένας, ἢ παρ' αὐτοῦ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ παρὰ τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον ἰδικῶς νοουμένῳ προσάπτει, τὰς δε ὡς θεοπρεπεῖς μόνῳ τῷ ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγῳ, ἀ. ἔ.*—Si quis duabus personis vel substantiis decernat eas voces, quae tam in evangelicis, quam apostolicis literis continentur, vel etiam eas quae de Christo a sanctis dicuntur, vel ab ipso Christo de se ipso; et aliquas quidem ex his tamquam homini praeter Dei Verbum specialiter intelligat, applicandas crediderit: aliquas vero tamquam Deo dignas soli Verbo Dei Patris deputaverit: a. s.

V. *Εἴ τις τολμᾷ λέγειν θεοφόρον ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστὸν, καί οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον θεὸν εἶναι κατὰ ἀλήθειαν, ὡς υἱὸν ἕνα καὶ φύσει, καθὸ γέγονε σὰρξ ὁ λόγος, καὶ κεκοινώνηκε παραπλησίως ἡμῖν αἵματος, καὶ σαρκος, ἀ ἔ.*—Si quis audet dicere Christum hominem *ἄθρωπον θεοφόρον*, i. e. hominem Deo utentem, se asportantem, et non Deum esse veraciter dixerit, tamquam unicum Filium per naturam, secundum quod Verbum caro factum, participaverit nobis similiter carne et sanguine: a. s.

VI. *Εἴ τις τολμᾷ λέγειν, θεὸν ἢ δεσπότην εἶναι τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγον, καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖ θεὸν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ ἄνθρωπον, ὡς γεγονότος σαρκὸς τοῦ λόγου κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς, ἀ. ἔ.*—Si quis dicit Deum vel Dominum esse Christi Dei Patris Verbum, et non magis eundem ipsum confitetur Deum et hominem simul, propter quod Verbum caro factum est, secundum Scripturas: a. s.

VII. *Εἴ τις φησὶν, ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἐνηργῆσθαι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ μονογενοῦς εὐδοξίαν περιῆφθαι, ὡς ἕτερον παρ' αὐτὸν ὑπάρχοντα, ἀ. ἔ.*—Si quis drawn up by himself against the doctrine of two *separate* natures in Christ. He sent these, together with a letter

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dicit tamquam in hominem Jesum Deum Verbum fuisse operatum, et Unigeniti dignitatem, tamquam alteri praeter ipsum existenti, tribuit: a. s.

VIII. *Εἴ τις τολμᾷ λέγειν, τὸν ἀναληφθέντα ἄνθρωπον συμπροσκυνεῖσθαι δεῖν τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ, καὶ συνδοξάζεσθαι καὶ συγχρηματίζειν θεὸν, ὡς ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ (τὸ γὰρ "Σὺν" ἀεὶ προστιθέμενον, τοῦτο νοεῖν ἀναγκάζει), καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον μιᾷ προσκυνήσει τιμᾷ τὸν Ἐμμανουὴλ, καὶ μίαν αὐτῷ τὴν δοξολογίαν ἀναπέμπει, καθὸ γέγονε σὰρξ ὁ λόγος, ἀ. ἔ.*—Si quis audet dicere adsumptum hominem coadorari cum Deo Verbo oportere, et connuncupari Deum, tanquam alterum cum altero; adjectio enim *συν* syllabae hoc cogit intelligi; et non magis una reverentia veneratur Emmanuel, unamque ei glorificationem dependit, juxta quod Verbum caro factum est: a. s.

IX. *Εἴ τις φησὶ, τὸν ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν δεδοξάσθαι παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, ὡς ἀλλοτρίᾳ δυνάμει τῇ δι' αὐτοῦ χρώμενον, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντα τὸ ἐνεργεῖν δύνασθαι κατὰ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, καὶ τὸ πληροῦν εἰς ἀνθρώπους τὰς θεοσημείας, καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον ἴδιον αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμά φησι, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐνήργησε τὰς θεοσημείας, ἀ. ἔ.*—Si quis unum Dominum Jesum Christum glorificatum dicit a Spiritu sancto, tanquam ab aliena virtute, qua per eum uteretur, et ab eo acceperit efficaciam contra immundos spiritus, et per eum implesse divina signa; et non magis ejus proprium esse Spiritum dicat sicut et Patris, per quem signa operatus est: a. s.

X. *Ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀπόστολον τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν γεγεννῆσθαι Χριστὸν ἡ θεία λέγει γραφὴ, προσκεκομικέναι τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί, εἴ τις τοίνυν ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀπόστολον ἡμῶν γεγεννῆσθαί φησιν οὐκ αὐτὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον ὅτε γέγονε σὰρξ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕτερον παρ' αὐτὸν ἰδικῶς ἄνθρωπον ἐκ γυναικός· ἢ εἴ τις λέγει, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ προσενεγκεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν προσφορὰν, καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ μόνων ἡμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐδεήθη προσφορᾶς ὁ μὴ εἰδὼς ἁμαρτίαν, ἀ. ἔ.*—Pontificem et Apostolum confessionis nostrae factum esse Christum divina Scriptura commemorat. Obtulit enim semetipsum pro nobis Deo Patri in odorem suavitatis. Si quis ergo Pontificem et Apostolum nostrum alium dixerit esse factum, praeterquam ipsum Dei Verbum, quando factum est caro, et secundum nos homo; sed quasi alterum praeter ipsum specialiter hominem ex muliere; et si quis dicit, quia pro se obtulit se ipsum oblationem, et non magis pro nobis solis; non enim indiguit oblatione, qui peccatum nescivit: a. s.

XI. *Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου σάρκα ζωοποιὸν εἶναι· καὶ ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγου, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑτέρου τινὸς παρ' αὐτὸν, συνημμένου μὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, ἤγουν ὡς μόνην θείαν ἐνοίκησιν ἐσχηκότος καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον ζωοποιὸν, ὡς ἔφημεν, ὅτι γέγονεν ἰδία τοῦ λόγου τοῦ τὰ πάντα ζωογονεῖν ἰσχύοντος, ἀ. ἔ.*—Si quis non confitetur carnem Domini vivificatricem esse, tamquam propriam ipsius Dei Verbi, sed quasi alterius cujuspiam praeter ipsum; conjuncti quidem secundum dignitatem, aut secundum quod solam divinam inhabitationem habuerit: et non potius, ut diximus, vivificatricem esse, quia facta est propria Verbi Dei, cui omnia vivificare possibile est: a. s.

XII. *Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ, τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον παθόντα σαρκὶ, καὶ ἐσταυρωμένον σαρκὶ, καὶ θανάτου γευσάμενον σαρκὶ, γεγονότα τε πρωτότοκον ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καθὸ ζωή τέ ἐστι καὶ ζωοποιὸς, ὡς θεὸς, ἀ. ἔ.*—Si quis non confitetur Deum Verbum carne passum esse, et carne crucifixum, et mortem carne gustasse, factumque primogenitum ex mortuis; secundum quod est vita, et vivificator, ut Deus: a. s.

breathing the very spirit of Christian charity, by four bishops to Nestorius, and requested him to subscribe to them. He acquainted him with the decision of the Pope, and said that he was ready to receive his retractation.

Nestorius, however, had no intention of doing anything of the sort—quite the contrary. He drew up *twelve counter anathemas*,[1] in which he accused Cyril of holding unsound views, and of having fallen into the Apollinarian heresy. The controversy grew more violent and embittered, when *John*, Bishop of *Antioch, who had taken exception to the letter of Cyril*, placed himself at the head of the Nestorian party. *Theodoret*, Bishop of Cyrus, a man of distinguished ability and genuine piety, also went over to the new heresy, thus putting a blot upon his name forever in the memory of the Church.

THE THIRD ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF EPHESUS, A. D. 431.

Theodosius II., who was not very favorably disposed toward Cyril, convoked in his own name and that of Valentinian III., his associate in the empire, the Third Ecumenical Council, in the hope of reconciling the Nestorian with the orthodox party. Pope *Celestine* promised to send to the Council legates, with full powers, to represent him. According to the letter of convocation, the Council was to have been opened June 7th, the Feast of Pentecost; but Cyril, who presided, waited the arrival of the bishops from the East.

John of Antioch and his Syrian bishops were the principal cause of the delay. He sent trifling excuses for his detention, alleging that some of his party had taken sick on the way, that his horses had given out, and that the inconvenience of travel was very great. A fortnight was consumed in this way, when John sent word to Cyril "that if his arrival should be delayed, the Council need not be deferred on that account, but should proceed with the necessary business." The Council was formally opened June 22, under the presidency of

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[1] The counter anathemas, given in Latin only, by *Marius Mercator.*, ed. *Baluz.*, p. 142 sq., and therefrom in *Mansi*, T. IV., p. 1099, and *Harduin*, col. 1297 sq., together with *Cyril's* Anathemas, in German, in *Rössler's* Library of the Fathers of the Church, Pt. VII., p. 520–548. Conf. *Hefele's* History of Councils, Vol. II., p. 154–160.

Cyril, the representative of the Pope, in the Metropolitan Church of St. Mary, at Ephesus. At the hour of opening, there were one hundred and sixty bishops present; but during the day, the number increased to one hundred and ninety-eight, and finally to two hundred and fifty.

The assembled bishops set to work, in a calm and truly "*Catholic*" temper of mind, to examine the question at issue.[1] They read the writings of Nestorius, and discussed the term *Θεοτόκος*. The whole Council were unanimous in condemning his doctrine. He shut himself up in his house, which he surrounded with armed soldiers, and refused audience to the messengers sent by Council to summon him to take his place in that body. After three citations, he was excommunicated and deposed,[2] and the Council thus went on without him.

John, Patriarch of Antioch, and the Syrian bishops, arrived six days after the excommunication of Nestorius, and their presence caused fresh complications. John was earnestly pressed to take part in the council, but returned a peremptory refusal, and placed soldiers at the entrance of his house to prevent access to his person. He who, but fourteen days before, had written Cyril a letter, containing expressions of esteem and affection, immediately after his arrival presided over a *pseudo-synod* of the friends of Nestorius and of his own followers, held in an apartment of his lodgings. The forty-three bishops who were present at this "synod" pronounced the sentence of the Council against Nestorius void; declared the anathemas of St. Cyril heretical, without having read them; and asserted that the latter and Memnon, Bishop of Ephesus, were the authors of all these troubles, and should in consequence be stripped of their episcopal dignity; and that any bishop who would favor their pretensions should be excommunicated.

The orthodox bishops went on with the Council, and continued the sittings from the second to the seventh, notwithstanding the opposition of the imperial deputy, Count Candidian, who supported Bishop John and Nestorius, and, in spite of the insolence of Count *Irenaeus*, who treated St. Cyril and his followers with brutal violence.

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[1] Cf. *Vincent. Lerin.* commonitor., c. 42, and *Hefele,* Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 166–173.

[2] Nestorius had, even before the opening of the Council, suffered himself to be betrayed into the following utterance, which sufficiently indicates his rationalistic tendency: "*I can never recognize as God a child two or three months old, nor can I any longer have any intercourse with you.*"

The weak emperor, who had been for a long time accessible only to the Nestorian party, was necessarily misinformed as to the true state of affairs. The Catholic bishops made use of a clever expedient to convey information to Constantinople. They furnished a beggar with letters from the Council and from St. Cyril, giving a true history of the former, and making known their own distressed condition. These he concealed in the hollow of a cane, and was fortunate enough to deliver them safe to Dalmatius and the monks of Constantinople. Having received this information, the monks from all the monasteries of the city formed in solemn procession, with Dalmatius at their head, and proceeded in the direction of the palace, in two companies, singing antiphonally as they went along. The effect of this was to excite the Nestorian party to renewed exertions, and so great an influence did they exercise upon the mind of the emperor that, while approving the sentence of deposition passed against Nestorius, he refused to remove that against Cyril and Memnon, and ordered that the three of them should be retained as prisoners. This conduct so frightened the other bishops of the council that, in an address to the emperor, they declared that "Ephesus had also become their prison."

The emperor directed that eight bishops of each party should be sent to *Chalcedon*, as deputies, to represent their respective claims by word of mouth in his presence. After fruitless efforts to come to a settlement, the emperor ordered that the Council should be dissolved, permitted the bishops to return to their respective sees, granted liberty to Cyril and Memnon, and ratified the deposition of Nestorius. The deposed patriarch went into a monastery at Apamea, and *Maximian* was chosen to succeed to him.

Pope Sixtus III. entertained hopes that this favorable turn in affairs would bring about a speedy termination of the dangerous and destructive schism, which, however, lasted two years longer. A reconciliation was finally secured through the combined mediation of the Pope and the emperor; the prudent negotiation of *Acacius*, Bishop of Beroea, a man universally respected, and who had attained the venerable old age of one hundred and ten years; the kind offices of *Paul* of Emesa and of *Symeon the Stylite*, who was called the wonder of his age; and of the pious and courageous *Isidore* of *Pelusium*, all of whom labored earnestly to quiet the troubled minds of the citizens of *Antioch*.

Cyril prudently expunged from his writings such expressions as had given offense to some. He had said that the two natures in Christ were physically (*φυσικῶς*) united, and that Christ Himself possessed but one nature (*μία φύσις*), and he explained the meaning he put upon these words by saying that by the former he meant "*truly*" (*ἀληθῶς*), and that he wished the latter interpreted by the teaching of the Fathers of the Church, and particularly by that of Athanasius, as meaning *one person*. These points having been settled, a *profession of faith*,[1] satisfactory to all parties, was agreed upon

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[1] *Ὁμολογοῦμεν τοιγαροῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν μονογενῆ, θεὸν τέλειον καὶ ἄνθρωπον τέλειον ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος· πρὸ αἰώνων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν αὐτὸν δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα· ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ τὸν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα· δύο γὰρ φύσεων ἕνωσις γέγονε· διὸ ἕνα Χριστὸν, ἕνα υἱὸν, ἕνα κύριον ὁμολογοῦμεν· κατὰ ταύτην τὴν τῆς ἀσυγχύτου ἑνώσεως ἔννοιαν ὁμολογοῦμεν τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον θεοτόκον, διὰ τὸ τὸν θεὸν λόγον σαρκωθῆναι καὶ ἐνανθρωπῆσαι, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς συλλήψεως ἑνῶσαι ἑαυτῷ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς ληφθέντα ναόν· τὰς δὲ εὐαγγελικὰς καὶ ἀποστολικὰς περὶ τοῦ κυρίου φωνὰς ἴσμεν τοὺς θεολόγους ἄνδρας τὰς μὲν κοινοποιοῦντας, ὡς ἐφ' ἑνὸς προσώπου, τὰς δὲ διαιροῦντας, ὡς ἐπὶ δύο φύσεων· καὶ τὰς μὲν θεοπρεπεῖς κατὰ τὴν θεότητα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὰς δὲ ταπεινὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ παραδιδόντας.*—Confitemur itaque Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium Dei unigenitum, Deum esse perfectum, et hominem perfectum ex anima rationali et corpore constitutum; ante saecula quidem ex Patre natum secundum divinitatem, postremis vero temporibus eundem ipsum propter nos et propter nostram salutem ex Maria Virgine secundum humanitatem; eumdem Patri consubstantialem secundum divinitatem, nobis item coëssentialem secundum humanitatem; *siquidem duarum naturarum facta est unio: et propterea unum Christum, unum Filium, unum Dominum confitemur.* Secundum hunc inconfusae unitatis intellectum sanctam Virginem *Deiparam* esse confitemur, propterea quod Deus Verbum incarnatum sit et homo factum, et ex ipso conceptu templum ex illa sumptum sibi univerit. Evangelicas autem et apostolicas de Domino voces, scimus theologos, alias quidem tamquam ad unam personam pertinentes, communes facere;

A. D. 433, which ran in these terms: "As to the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and the mode of the incarnation, we are obliged to say that we think of them—not as if we would add anything whatsoever to the Nicene Creed, or pretend to explain mysteries which are ineffable, but to stop the mouths of those who wish to attack us. We declare, then, that our *Lord Jesus Christ* is the only Son of God; *perfect God and perfect man*, composed of a reasonable soul and a body; in respect of His Godhead, 'begotten of the Father before all ages,' and the same, according to the humanity, born in these latter days for our salvation, of the Virgin Mary; in respect of His Godhead, consubstantial with the Father, and the same consubstantial with us, according to the humanity, *for the two natures have been united: and therefore we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord.* In consistence with the notion of this union without confusion, we confess that the Blessed Virgin is *Mother of God*, because God the Word was incarnate and made man, and, from the very act of conception, united to Himself the temple which He took from her. As to the expressions concerning our Lord in the Evangelists and the Apostles, we know that *divines apply some of them in common*, as to one person, and others separately, as to two natures; teaching that such as are worthy of God relate to the divinity of Christ, and those of a meaner kind to His humanity." This Council, having obtained the approbation of Pope Sixtus and the assent of the Western bishops, took rank as the Third Ecumenical.

Some of the members of the Nestorian party were not altogether satisfied with the conditions of the reconciliation. The most active of those were *Theodoret of Cyrus*, *Alexander of Hierapolis*, *Meletius of Mopsuestia*, and others, who particularly objected to the condemnation of Nestorius, who probably, by the advice of John, Patriarch of Antioch, and in the interest of peace, had been banished to Oasis, whence he was sent to the

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alias vero tamquam in duabus naturis divisim usurpare: et illas quidem Deo dignas secundum Christi divinitatem; alias vero humiles secundum illius humanitatem tradere; in *Mansi*, T. V., p. 305; *Harduin*, T. I., col. 1704. Conf. *Katerkamp*, Vol. III., p. 108–159.

Thebais, where he died,[1] A. D. 440, after having endured many trials and hardships. After John of Antioch had become reconciled with the Catholic party, the eastern provinces, which had been up to this time under his leadership, transferred their allegiance to Nestorius. When the followers of Nestorius were threatened by imperial edict with severe punishment, many of their more prominent men—such as Theodoret, Helladius, Bishop of Tarsus, and Andreas, Bishop of Samosata—professed, at least externally, to be in ecclesiastical communion with John of Antioch, but still refused to approve the condemnation of Nestorius. Those who obstinately persisted in continuing in the schismatical party were banished, and all Nestorians threatened with the extreme rigor of the law.

These measures, though effective for the moment, could not insure permanent peace or entirely suppress that wide-spread theological movement, which had received so powerful an impulse from the popular and clever writings of *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, the real father of the Nestorian heresy. This heresy had its advocates also in the *School of Edessa*, founded by Ephraëm the Syrian, the most conspicuous of whom were the priest *Ibas* and the learned *Thomas Barsumas*. These two were closely watched by *Rabulas*, the zealous Catholic Bishop *of Edessa*, who branded with anathema the works of *Deodore of Tarsus* and *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, which, he affirmed, were the source of the Nestorian heresy.

Acacius of Melitene and Rabulas warned the bishops of Armenia of the dangerous tendency of these writings, and, at their instance, *Proclus*, *Patriarch of Constantinople; John*, *Patriarch of Antioch;* and *Cyril*, *Patriarch of Alexandria*, joined them in this admonition. These did not, however, join in the vulgar clamor which demanded that sentence of anathema should be passed upon Theodore, because, as Cyril remarked, such a course would bring fresh and greater disasters upon the Church, which had as yet barely secured the blessings of peace. This excellent bishop had proved by his conduct in the reconciliation at Antioch how dear the peace of the Church was to his heart.

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[1] For an account of the last events in the life of Nestorius, see *Evagrius*, h. e. I. 7.

Ibas wrote a letter to *Maris*, Bishop of Hordashir, in which he gives an ironical account of the zeal of Bishop Rabulas, whom he humorously styles another Goliath. This letter became, later on, an important document.[1]

The Nestorians, who had been turned out of their homes at Edessa, found a powerful protector in Ibas, who, on the death of Rabulas, succeeded to the episcopal throne (A. D. 436–457). They were also protected by *Barsumas*, Bishop of Nisibis (A. D. 435–489), who had himself been banished from Edessa, and, under his successor, perfected their church organization. The Arian heresy had now almost entirely disappeared. Encouraged by these successes, the Nestorians, after the year 496, styled their bishop of *Seleucia-Ctesiphon* a Universal Bishop (Jacelich, i. e. Catholic). Their adversaries always called them *Nestorians*.[2] They called themselves *Chaldean Christians*, and in India the Christians of *St. Thomas*. They spread as far as China.

§ 120. *Heresy of Eutyches—Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon.*

Breviculus hist. Eutychianistar. seu gesta de nomine Acacii, down to 486, perhaps by Pope Gelasius (*Mansi*, T. VII., p. 1060 sq.) *Liberatus*, cf., above, Literature, heading § 119. *Evagr.* h. e. I. 9 sq., II. 2. Documents in *Mansi*, T. VI., VII., and in *Harduin*, T. I., II. *Theodoreti*, Eranistes seu Polymorphus dial. III. (opp. omn., ed *Schulze*, T. IV., p. 1–263). The Ch. H. by *John* of Ephesus, transl. into German by *Schönfelder*, Munich, 1862. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 295–544. *Walch*, Hist. of Heretics, Pt. VI., p. 1–640. *Katerkamp*, Ch. H., Vol. III., p. 160–265.

The reconciliation between St. Cyril and John of Antioch, which was at best but a compromise, was no sooner effected than both parties began to show signs of restlessness, and the tokens of a new heresy became apparent.

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[1] In *Mansi*, T. VII., p. 227–242; *Harduin*, T. II., p. 522–527; an abridgment of it in *Fuchs'* Library of Councils, Vol. IV., p. 480 sq. Conf. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 468 sq.

[2] *J. S. Assemani* de Syris Nestorianis (bibl. Orient., T. III., Pt. II., Rom. 1728, fol.) An abridgment of this library by *Pfeifer*, Erlang. 1776–1777, 2 vols.; Vol. II., pp. 239 sq. and 448 sq. *Ebedjesu*, de Christ. relig. veritate (being an Apology of Nestorianism), in *A. Maji* nova collect. script. vett., T. X. Conf. "*Morgenland*" (the "East," a periodical), year V., Basle, 1842, and the article "**Nestorians*," in the Freiburg Eccl. Cyclop., Vol. VII., p. 522–530. *Ritter*, Geography, Vol. V.

Eutyches, a man of advanced age, and the archimandrite or abbot of a monastery at Constantinople, had, during the struggle against Nestorius, been conspicuous for the energy and activity which he displayed during the controversy. In his solicitude for the integrity of the truth, he wrote to Pope *Leo the Great*, expressing his apprehensions that the doctrine of Nestorius might again become formidable. One should hardly expect that this zealous monk would fall into just the opposite error to that which he combated with so much earnestness.

Eutyches, as it would appear, embracing the doctrine of Origen on the preëxistence of souls, asserted that "*before the union of the Logos with human nature there had existed two natures, but that after this union he admitted only one*," thereby implying that the human nature had been mingled and blended with the divine and absorbed by it. "As," said he, "a drop of water let fall into the ocean is quickly absorbed, and disappears in the vast expanse, so also the human element, being infinitely less than the divine, is entirely absorbed by the divinity." Hence the expression that Christ is of two natures—*ἐκ δύο φύσεων*—and not in two natures—*ἐν δύο φύσεσιν*—would be unobjectionable.

Holding this doctrine, Eutyches could not stop here, but was forced to accept also the conclusions which inevitably followed from it. He therefore asserted that, since after the union of the two natures in our Lord there resulted but one nature, it was the Deity who immediately suffered and was crucified; and that as the flesh, by its union with the Godhead, had passed into another nature, the body of Christ was not in substance a human body, *but only appeared to be so to the external sense.* Both the Eutychian and Nestorian heresies aimed direct blows at the mystery of the incarnation. This heresy, which was afterward known as *Monophysitism*, appeared under many forms, and was exhaustively refuted (c. A. D. 446) by Bishop *Theodoret*, in his work entitled the "Beggar" (*ἐρανίστης*), so called because it represented the heresy as *begging* its tenets from many others, and passing through a great variety of *modifications* (πολύμορφος).

Domnus, Patriarch of Antioch, censured the doctrines of Eutyches, in a letter addressed to the emperor, and openly asserted that he was infected with Apollinarian errors.

Eusebius, Bishop of *Dorylaeum*, in Phrygia, next brought a more definite accusation against him before *Flavian*, Patriarch of Constantinople. He was then accused at a synod at Constantinople (σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα), A. D. 448, his doctrine condemned, and he himself deposed from the priesthood and deprived of his abbey, because he had appealed against the Fathers to the authority of Holy Scripture.

He now endeavored to gain favor at the imperial court, and was fortunate enough to obtain the sympathy which he sought. He, moreover, wrote letters to Pope *Leo the Great*, to *Peter Chrysologus*, Archbishop of Ravenna, and to *Dioscorus*, who had succeeded to St. Cyril in the Patriarchate of Alexandria. Dioscorus was a man of violent temper and of immoderate ambition, and was, besides, dishonest and hypocritical; for, previously to the death of St. Cyril, he pretended to be of the orthodox party, and now, since he had himself come into authority, he disturbed his whole patriarchate by efforts to disseminate the new heresy.

Pope Leo wrote his *celebrated dogmatic epistle to Flavian*, in which he approved the proceedings of the synod at Constantinople, and besides refuting the extreme errors of Nestorius and Eutyches, gave a clear and accurate exposition of the Church's doctrine on the mystery of the *incarnation*.[1]

On the other hand, Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, embraced the interests of Eutyches, in the hope of being able to humble the Orientals, who, he alleged, were Nestorians, and of revenging himself on Flavian, against whom he entertained a personal dislike. He, through the favor of the eunuch Chrysaphius, who exercised an unbounded influence over the mind of the empress Eudoxia, induced the emperors Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. to convoke a *council at Ephesus* (A. D. 459), at which he himself was to preside and enjoy plenary powers. He appeared with a retinue of his own followers and a company of fanatical monks; at once refused to recognize the privilege of the three Papal Legates to preside, and did not even permit them to read the epistle of Leo, declaring that the object of the synod was simply to examine the decrees of the Synod of Constantinople, held A. D. 448. Dioscorus treated Flavian with such violent outrage that he died within three days after from the effects of the wounds he had received in the tumult. He obliged the other bishops to subscribe to a document, which asserted the orthodoxy of Eutyches and condemned the teaching of the Dyophysites, or those who held that there were two natures in Christ, as erroneous. He also excommunicated Flavian, Eusebius, Domnus, Theodoret, Ibas, and others of the principal leaders of the orthodox party, and pretended to depose the Pope. Theodoret wrote his memorable letter of *appeal* to Pope Leo, in which he entreated him, in virtue of his *primacy*, to endeavor to remove the troubles of the Eastern Church. This assembly has been branded in history with the opprobious epithet of *Latrocinium* or *Robber-Synod* (*σύνοδος λῃστρική*). Theodosius II. nevertheless ratified the decrees of this synod, but Pope Leo, in a synod held at Rome in the same year, declared them invalid, excommunicated Dioscorus, and did all in his power to remove this stain from the *Greek* Church,[1] which, owing to the violence of party spirit, had now touched upon the confines of wickedness. He would not have succeeded in his humane intentions had he not been aided by the efforts of *Pulcheria*, the sister of Theodosius, who, upon the death of the latter, which occurred A. D. 450, succeeded to the throne, and married the magnanimous general *Marcianus*. Even the Monophysite Anatolius, who had been elevated to the patriarchal see of Constantinople through the efforts of Dioscorus, was obliged to consent to hold a synod, in conjunction with the Papal Legates (A. D. 450), at which the epistle of Leo to Flavian was ratified and subscribed to by all the prelates, and Eutyches himself again degraded from the priesthood, and deprived of the office of archimandrite.

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[1] Leon. opp. ed. *Quesnell.*, ep. 24; ed. *Ballerini*, ep. 28. This letter in Latin and German, in *Hefele's* Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 335–346, and in *Rössler's* Library of the Fathers of the Church, Pt. X., p. 176–189.

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[1] The acts of this "Robber-Synod;" together with those of the subsequent Council of Chalcedon, in *Mansi*, T. VI. and VII. 6; *Harduin*, T. II. Conf. *Tillemont*, mémoires, T. XV. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 350–370. *Lewald*, The so-called Robbers' Synod (*Illgen's* Journal, Vol. VIII., nro. 1).

Marcianus had the body of Flavian brought to Constantinople, and, in order to assure and steady the minds of the wavering, seconded Leo's idea of holding an ecumenical council, but preferred that the place of meeting should be in the East rather than in the West.

FOURTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, A. D. 451.

The emperor ordered this council to be held at Chalcedon, instead of at Nice, in the province of Bithynia, as had been first proposed, that he might be able to attend in person, and because the Papal Legates had declared that they would not preside if he were not present. The number of bishops who assembled at this council was unprecedented, amounting to nearly six hundred *from the East* alone.[1] Most of the Western bishops were prevented from coming; those of *Africa* because that country *was overrun by the Vandals, while the western portions of the Roman empire were invaded by the Goths and Franks.* The Council assembled in the church of St. Euphemia, Martyr, on the 8th of October, A. D. 451, and was presided over by the four Papal Legates. Dioscorus was deposed in the third session, because he had committed outrages against the canons, had received Eutyches into his communion, and *had presumed to hold a synod without the approbation of the Holy See. Theodoret* and *Ibas* were cleared of all blame, restored to their sees, and, after a tumultuous opposition, admitted to take part in the Council.[2] In the fifth session, a profession of faith, designed to meet the errors of both the Eutychian and Nestorian heresies, was drawn up, and promulgated in the sixth, which ran as follows: "Following, therefore, the Holy Fathers, we all, with one voice, declare that we ought to acknowledge one and the same (Son) our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, truly God and truly man; the same composed of a reasonable soul and body; consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead, and consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood, like unto us in all things, yet without sin; begotten of the Father before all ages, in respect of the Godhead, and the same in these last days, born of Mary the Virgin, Mother of God, in respect of the manhood, for our sake and for our salvation; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, *in two natures, without confusion, change, division, separation; the difference of the natures being in nowise taken away by the union; on the contrary, the property of each is preserved, and concurs into one person and one Hypostasis;* so that He is not parted nor divided into two persons, but He, one and the same, is Son and Only-begotten, God the Word, our Lord Jesus Christ."[1]

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[1] Their number is given variously between 520 and 630.

[2] The *Pope* had already received Theodoret into the communion of the Church, and the latter, in his dogmatic dialogues, discussing the doctrine of the incarnation, numbered *Cyril* among *the great Fathers* of the Church, from whose teachings her doctrine was to be learned.

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[1] *Symbolum Chalcedonense:* Ἐκδιδάσκομεν τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι, θεὸν ἀληθῶς καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀληθῶς, τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα καὶ ὁμοούσιον τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιον ἡμῖν χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας· πρὸ αἰώνων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν αὐτὸν δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου τῆς θεοτόκου κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα· ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Χριστὸν, υἱὸν, κύριον, μονογενῆ ἐκ [The Greek text of this profession has indeed "of two natures," but this is evidently a modern alteration; for Euagrius, Euthymius, and Leo of Byzantium, all give the profession with the particle *in;* and in the conference between the Catholics and the Severians, in 533, it was acknowledged that the Council had used this word.—Transl. note, from *Döllinger's* Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 168] δύο φύσεων ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως γνωριζόμενον· οὐδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνῃρημένης διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, σωζομένης δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἰδιότητος ἑκατέρας φύσεως καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης· οὐκ εἰς δύο πρόσωπα μεριζόμενον ἢ διαιρούμενον, ἀλλ' ἕνα, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν υἱὸν καὶ μονογενῆ Θεὸν λόγον, κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.—Docemus eumdem perfectum in Deitate, et eumdem perfectum in humanitate, Deum verum et hominem verum eumdem ex anima rationali et corpore, consubstantialem Patri secundum Deitatem, consubstantialem nobis eumdem secundum humanitatem, per omnia nobis similem absque peccato (Heb. iv. 15): ante saecula quidem de Patre genitum secundum Deitatem, in novissimis autem diebus eumdem propter nos et propter nostram salutem ex Maria Virgine Dei genitrice secundum humanitatem: unum eumdemque Christum, Filium, Dominum, unigenitum, ex duabus naturis inconfuse, immutabiliter, indivise, inseparabiliter, agnoscendum; nusquam sublata differentia naturarum propter unionem, ma-

The emperor Marcian made a speech, in which he gave thanks to God that peace had been restored; and having put the question to the assembled bishops whether or not they had enjoyed perfect freedom of debate and suffrage, they returned a unanimous affirmative reply.

From the seventh to the sixteenth session, the Council passed thirty canons, defining the limits of jurisdiction, and prescribing disciplinary regulations.

Finally, the Fathers of the Council, animated with a feeling of reverence and devotion toward the Holy See, besought Pope Leo, that, as he had been the *author* of whatever of good had been done in this assembly, and had inspired all its proceedings, he would now deign to ratify its decrees. The Pope, in answer, approved all the *dogmatic decrees*, but rejected the twenty-eighth canon,[1] which provided that "New Rome, the honored seat of empire, and the residence of the senate," should possess equal privileges in ecclesiastical matters (with Ancient Rome), and should be second in rank,[2] and against which, not only the Papal Legates, but some of the Oriental bishops protested in council.

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gisque salva proprietate utriusque naturae, et in unam personam atque subsistentiam concurrente: non in duas personas partitum aut divisum sed unum eumdemque Filium, unigenitum, Deum Verbum Dominum Jesum Christum. In *Mansi*, T. VII., p. 116; *Harduin*, T. II., p. 456.

[1] The *Concil. Chalcedon*, can. 28, in *Harduin*, T. II., p. 614, according to the Latin translation: Nos decernimus ac statuimus quoque de privilegiis sanctissimae eccl. Constantinopolis novae Romae. Etenim antiquae Romae throno, quod urbs illa imperaret, jure patres privilegia tribuerunt. Et eadem consideratione moti 150 Dei amantissimi Episcopi, sanctissimo novae Romae throno aequalia privilegia tribuerunt, recte judicantes: *urbem quae et imperio et senatu honorata sit, et aequalibus cum antiquissima regina Roma privilegiis fruatur*, etiam in rebus ecclesiasticis, non secus ad illam, extolli ac magnificari, *secundam post illam existentem*: et ut Ponticae et Asianae et Thraciae dioeceseos Metropolitani soli, praeterea Episcopi praedictarum dioecesium, quae sunt inter barbaros, a praedicto throno sanctissimae Constantinopolitanae ecclesiae ordinentur, etc. The papal legates, in their protest, appealed to the Sixth Canon of the Council of Nice. Cf. *Harduin*, T. II., p. 626. *Riffel*, in l. c., p. 384 sq.

[2] Vide the report of the Council to Pope *Leo*, and the petition for confirmation, in *Harduin*, T. II., p. 655–660. It runs thus: Scientes, quia et Vestra Sanctitas addiscens et probatura et confirmatura est eadem. And at the end: Rogamus igitur, et tuis decretis nostrum honora judicium: et sicut nos *capiti* in bonis adjecimus consonantiam, sic et Summitas Tua filiis quod decet adimpleat (οὕτω καὶ ἡ κορυφὴ τοῖς παισὶν ἀναπληρῶσαι τὸ πρέπον).

The emperor, on his part, issued edicts, enjoining, under severe penalties, the strict observance of all the dogmatic canons of the Council of Chalcedon.

§ 121. *Parties among the Monophysites—Efforts of the Emperors to Unite Them.*

Evagrius h. e. II.-V. Documents in *Mansi*, T. VII.-IX. *Leontii* Hierosolymit. contr. Monophysitas, in *Galland.* T. XII. and *Ang. Maji* collectio., Rom. 1833, T. VII. *Ejusdem* contr. Eutychianos et Nestor., in *Galland.* l. c., and Greek in the Spicilegium Romanum, T. X., Pt. II., p. 1–40. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 515 sq. *Walch*, Hist. of Heretics, Pt. VI., p. 641–1051.

The decrees of the Council of Chalcedon met with violent opposition from the Monophysites throughout the whole Greek Church, which was now rent with internal dissensions and fallen from its ancient purity. This was especially the case in *Palestine*, where *Theodosius*, a monk from Alexandria, who had secured the good will and the influence of the empress Eudoxia, created great excitement by his inflammatory speeches, in which he endeavored to persuade the monks of that country that the Council of Chalcedon had betrayed the faith and approved the Nestorian heresy. *Juvenal*, Patriarch of Jerusalem, was compelled to flee to escape violence, and, during his absence, the partisans of Theodosius assembled in the church of the Resurrection, and had him ordained Bishop of Jerusalem. Theodosius, now chosen patriarch, raised a great persecution against those who refused to recognize him as the lawful bishop, and to anathematize the Council of Chalcedon. So powerful was the party that these acts of violence were for a time carried on in defiance of the emperor's authority.

In *Egypt* also, every effort was made to spread the heresy. The most absurd rumors were industriously set afloat, such as that "*St. Cyril* had been condemned at Chalcedon, the Nestorian heresy approved," and the like; and a false translation of Leo's letter to Flavian was circulated. Bloody riots followed, in which the imperial soldiers were burnt to death by the fanatical mob, in a building which had *formerly* been the temple of Serapis.

On the death of the emperor Marcian, *Timothy Aelurus*, a priest, and the leader of the faction of Dioscorus, collected a body of Monophysite monks and other followers, seized on the church of Caesarea, and was there consecrated Patriarch (A. D. 457) of Alexandria. A few days after, the mob, led on by Timothy Aelurus, attacked the house of *Proterius*, who had been elected Patriarch of Alexandria in place of the deposed Dioscorus, and when he fled for safety to the Baptistery, where the baptisms of Holy Week were going forward, he was there stabbed to death, together with six of his priests, by the mob who had followed him. His body was dragged round the city till it was torn in pieces, and the mob having burned what remained of it, cast the ashes into the sea. Aelurus, or the Cat, a nickname by which he was designated, on account of his habit of climbing up to the monks' windows, and pretending that he was a messenger sent from Heaven to warn them to abandon the communion of Proterius, and elect himself Patriarch in his stead, having finally succeeded in reaching the patriarchal throne, pursued with unrelenting animosity those who accepted the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon.

The emperor Leo (A. D. 457–474), having been assured by the majority of the bishops that they received without question the decrees of Chalcedon, ordered the tyrannical Aelurus and *Peter Fullo*, or the Fuller, who had succeeded in spreading the heresy at Antioch, to cease from their acts of violence, and to forthwith quit their respective cities and go into exile.

Unhappily, Basiliscus the usurper (A. D. 476–477), by favoring those who opposed the Council of Chalcedon, and allowing Timothy and Peter to return to their sees, greatly increased the existing confusion. He published, at the instance of these two bishops, an edict known as the "*Encyclicon*" (A. D. 476), in which he recognized the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus, but rejected that of Chalcedon, as well as the letter of Pope Leo to Flavian, and so degenerate had the bishops of the Greek Church become that five hundred of them consented to place their subscriptions to this iniquitous edict. But Basiliscus, intimidated by tumults among the people, withdrew this, and published a second edict, in which he condemned Eutyches.

When the emperor *Zeno* (A. D. 477–491) had returned to Constantinople and deposed Basiliscus, he tried to mend whatever had been done to the detriment of the orthodox faith. But permitting himself to be misled by the advice of *Acacius*, the ambitious Patriarch of Constantinople, and of *Peter*, surnamed *Mongus* (Stammerer), Patriarch of Alexandria, he assumed, without warrant or authority, the offices of *teacher and legislator in matters purely ecclesiastical*, and attempted to reunite the contending parties by the publication of an edict (A. D. 482), which, from its scope and object, was called the "*Henoticon*," or "Formula of Concord."

In this formula,[1] the controverted expression "*of and in one nature*" was carefully avoided; the Nicene Symbol of Faith, with the addition of Constantinople (A. D. 381), declared to be the only one that should be received; and, although Nestorianism and Eutychianism were condemned, still the Council of Chalcedon was spoken of in very equivocal terms. The formula went on to say that "if any one should think or had thought differently (from the tenor of this edict), either at Chalcedon or at any other synod, he should be excommunicated."

The publication of this formula, instead of healing old enmities, created new ones. The great majority of the Catholics, called now "Proterians," indignantly rejected it, while the Monophysites, dissatisfied with the conduct of their leaders, *Peter Mongus* of Alexandria, *Peter Fullo* of Antioch, and *Acacius* of Constantinople, would have nothing more to do with them, and, going back to the original teaching of Eutyches, formed a sect of their own, and were known as the

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[1] This Henoticon in *Evagrius* h. e. III. 14. An excellent commentary on it written by *Facundus Hermian.*, lib. XII., c. 4: Ea vero, quae postea Zeno imperator, calcata reverentia Dei, pro suo arbitrio ac potestate decrevit, quis accipiat, quis attendat? In quibus potestas inconsiderata, non quod expediret, sed sibi liceret, attendit: nec intellexit, quod non confusio faciat unitatem. O virum prudentem et undique circumspectum, *qui incubare praesumpsit officio sacerdotum!* Orthodoxos vocat *acephalos*, si nihil aliud, ab ecclesia separatos. Cur igitur eos hortatur, ut conjungantur matri spiritali, si ex ea disjuncti permanserunt orthodoxi? Cf. *Pagi* critica ad a. 482, n. 23–25. *Berger*, Henotica Orientalia, Viteb. 1723.

Acephali, or those who had separated from their episcopal head, and had now no bishop of their own.

Thus the Eastern Church, besides being split up into three, or, more properly, *four parties*, was violently assailed by the Church of the West for its tendency to the Monophysite heresy. In the year 484, Pope *Felix III.* passed sentence of excommunication upon Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople,[1] and the effect of this was to cut off all communication between the East and the West for the space of thirty-five years.

Emperor *Anastasius*, the Silencer (A. D. 491–518), had indeed given his promise to defend the decrees of Chalcedon, but, notwithstanding, he required every candidate for the episcopal office to subscribe to the *Henoticon*, and removed many who had made application to Pope *Symmachus* for assistance or to be restored to ecclesiastical communion.

The emperor was acting under the advice of two Monophysite leaders—*Xenaias*, Bishop of Hierapolis, and the monk *Severus*—who were doing all in their power to poison his mind against the Catholics.

The attempt to propagate the Monophysite doctrine, "*Thou wast crucified for us*," which Peter the Fuller had added to the Trisagion, an ancient hymn of the Church, excited great tumults among the people of Constantinople; and Anastasius, in the perplexity of the moment, showed a disposition to restore peace between the East and the West, and entered into negotiations with the Pope for this purpose, but as soon as the difficulty had been settled, he returned to his former policy.

The death of Anastasius changed the face of affairs. He was succeeded by Justin I. (518–527), who united his efforts with those of Pope *Hormisdas* in effecting a reconciliation between the East and the West, which finally took place A. D. 519. The emperor published an edict, obliging all the bishops of the empire to accept the decrees of Chalcedon and the observance of *a feast*, *intended specially to commemorate* the holding of *that Council*, which is still celebrated in the Greek

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[1] *Tillemont*, T. XVI., p. 285 sq.

Church. He also recalled the orthodox bishops, and banished those of the Monophysite party.

The controversy on the "*addition*" to the Trisagion was again renewed under a different form. Four Scythian monks arrived at Constantinople, and set to work to obtain ecclesiastical approbation for the following proposition: "One of the Trinity died on the cross." This, though capable of being interpreted in an orthodox sense, excited suspicion because its author was *Severus*, the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch. Had it been in the following form, "*One of the three Persons of the Trinity suffered death on the cross*," it would have passed without comment, but as it was, it excited the suspicions of the monks, because the word *person* (πρόσωπον) might be taken, after the Nestorian fashion, in a purely moral sense.

These monks also insisted that this "*addition*" was necessary to explain and supplement the Council of Chalcedon. Such an assumption was specially displeasing to the Roman Pontiff, the more so as they refused to accept, instead of their own form of words, which was liable to be misinterpreted, the other and more definite one, "One of the three Persons of the Trinity suffered *in the flesh*," and Pope Hormisdas therefore dismissed them as either intentional or unconscious abettors of Eutychianism.[1]

About the year 520, a rupture took place at Alexandria, which divided the Monophysites into two other sects, called the *Severians* and the *Julianists*. The former received its name from Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, who maintained the corruptibility (φθορά) of Christ's Human Nature, or its identity with ordinary weak and pain-suffering manhood, whence they derived their opprobrious name of *Phthartolatrai*, Corrupticolae, or Worshipers of the Corruptible. The Julianists derived their name from Julius, Bishop of Halicarnassus, their leader, who asserted that the divinity of Christ was sunk in and combined with the human nature, after such a fashion that Christ was not subject to human passions or exposed to the changes of a corruptible nature, and that whatever evidences of a purely human nature had been visible in His life and passion arose from sufferings which He took upon Him, not of necessity, but of his own free will, for the salvation of mankind. These were called, from the character of the teachings, *Aphthartodocetai* (ἀφθαρτοδοκῆται), Phantasiastae, or Defenders of the Incorruptible.

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[1] Cf. *Döllinger*, Text-book of Ch. H., p. 151 sq.; Engl. transl., Vol. II., p. 175.

Still another party was started by *Themistius*, Severus' deacon, and called from him *Themistians*, but were also known by the name of the *Agnoëtai*. They held that the human soul of Christ was like ours in everything, even in its want of omniscience or in its "ignorance."

The Julianists also split into two parties, the one of which maintained that the body of Christ had been *created*, and the other that it was *uncreated* (ἀκτιστηταί and κτιστολάτραι).

It would seem that the Monophysites were now sufficiently split up,[1] but there was still another party established about A. D. 560, by *John Philoponus*, an acute commentator on Aristotle, who, confounding the idea of *nature* and *person*, maintained that, instead of there being a unity of persons in the Trinity, each person has a distinct and separate essence or substance, though all the three substances are similar to each other, and thus became the founder of *Tritheism*.[2] He also asserted that the future resurrection from the dead would be a *wholly new creation*.

The principles of the Monophysite heresy were finally driven to their last consequences by *Stephen Niobes*,[3] a sophist of Alexandria, who said that, by admitting one single nature in

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[1] *Joan. Damasc.*, scripta adv. Monophysit. (opp. ed. *Le Quien*, T. I.) *Leontius* (about 610) de sectis (max. bibl. PP., T. IX., p. 660 sq.) *Walch*, Hist. of Heretics, Pt. VIII., p. 520 sq.

[2] The commentaries of *Philoponus* on Aristotle, mostly preserved; in hexaëmeron, disput. de paschate (ed. *Corderius*, Viennae, 1630, 4to; both together in *Galland.*, T. XII., p. 471 sq.); lib. de aeternitate mundi contra Proclum. (Venet. 1535); his book on the Trinity against John, Patriarch of Constantinople (*Photius*, cod. 75) lost, but compare *Leontius*, de sectis, act V., nro. 6, and *Joan. Damasc.* de haeresib., c. 83; his work, περὶ ἀναστάσεως (*Photius*, cod. 21), likewise lost, but compare Timotheus presbyter de variis haereticis ac diversis eorum in ecclesia recipiendis formulis in *Cotelerii* monument. eccles. gr. T. III., p. 413 sq. On the *Tritheites*, see *Schönfelder*, The Ch. H. of John of Ephesus, in the Appendix, p. 267–311.

[3] Conf. *Dionys.* Patr. Antioch., in *Assemani* bibl. Oriental, T. II., p. 72, and Timoth. in *Cotelerius*, l. c., T. III., p. 397 sq.

Christ, which, he claimed, was the only correct view, one could no longer conceive any real difference between the divine and human elements (Niobitae).

It was unavoidable that the intestine dissensions of the Monophysites should utterly paralyze their strength, but the reign of *Justinian I.* (A. D. 527–565) was perhaps still more disastrous to their cause than even these. This prince is famous for the rapid conquests which his victorious legions under Belisarius and Narses secured for him, but still more so for the Code which bears *his name*, compiled by the jurisconsult *Tribonianus* and his associates, and for other institutions, which were lasting blessings to the human race. He commanded all the Eastern bishops to receive the *four* Ecumenical Councils, and is on this account often styled the *Synodite.* Justinian was naturally inclined to interfere in ecclesiastical matters, and made every exertion, adopting mild measures when they would serve his purpose, and severe ones when they would not, to reconcile to the Church the Monophysites, and particularly the Severians, between whom and the teachings of the Council of Chalcedon there were the fewest and least important points of difference. His good intentions were frequently frustrated, without his knowledge, by the crafty intrigues of his consort *Theodora*, who was favorably inclined to the Monophysites, and, in fact, to every other sort of heretics.

Justinian had anticipated the most satisfactory results from a *conference*[1] which he held in his palace at Constantinople, A. D. 533, between five Catholic and six Monophysite bishops. The proceedings of the Council of Ephesus came up for discussion. The Severians brought forward the supposed writings of Pope Julius, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, and particularly *Denys the Areopagite, here quoted publicly for the first time* (see p. 567 sq.), which, they said, taught that the two natures in Christ, *after the union, became but one.*[2]

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[1] Collatio Catholicorum cum Severianis. (*Mansi*, T. VIII., p. 817 sq.; *Harduin*, T. I., year 533, T. II., p. 1159 sq.) Still other conferences are mentioned in *Assemani* bibl. Oriental., T. II., p. 89 sq.

[2] On the first traces of these writings, conf. *Le Quien*, dissert. Damasc., prefacing his ed. opp. Joan. Damasc., T. I., p. 33, and in Photius, cod.

The writings of St. Cyril were next examined, and the Severians further complained that the Council of Chalcedon had declared *Theodoret* and *Ibas* orthodox, notwithstanding that they had also admitted the union of the two natures in one person. This was the beginning of the controversy on the Three Chapters, which shortly after broke out and excited such tumult. The Catholic bishops denied the authenticity of the quotations brought forward by the Severians, and *Hypatius*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, in particular, insisted that those attributed to Denys the Areopagite were supposititious. Although the conference did not effect the desired reconciliation between the contending parties, it at least brought about the conversion of Philoxenus and a few other Monophysite bishops and some monks.

Justinian was perfectly well aware that this attempt at reconciliation was a failure, and yet he issued a new edict, declaring that the proposition, "*One of the three divine Persons was crucified*," was orthodox.[1] This occasioned a fresh controversy on the "*addition*" made to the Trisagion, which Pope *Hormisdas* had declared entirely useless, and, on account of the heretical interpretation put upon it by the Monophysites, even dangerous. Upon this, those about the emperor exerted themselves to obtain a favorable judgment on the "*addition*," and succeeded in bringing over to their way of thinking the learned African bishop, *Fulgentius Ferrandus* of Ruspe, and *Dionysius the Little*. The two Popes, *John II.* and *Agapetus I.*, also approved of it—not, however, without guarding their approvals with proper restrictions.

The Monophysite heresy was rendered doubly injurious to the Church through the ceaseless intrigues of Theodora. Through her efforts, *Anthimus*, the Monophysite Bishop of

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229. On the occasion of this public appeal at these conferences, the question was at once asked by *Hypatius*, the Catholic Archbishop of Ephesus: Illa enim testimonia, quae vos Dionysii Areopagitae dicitis, unde potestis ostendere vera esse, sicut suspicamini? Si enim ejus erant, non potuissent latere beatum Cyrillum. (*Mansi*, T. VIII., p. 821.)

[1] Cod. *Justiniani*, I. 1, 6 (of the year 533). Pope John's Letter of Approbation, Ibid. I. 1, 6, and *Mansi*, T. VIII., p. 797–800. Cf. the remarks thereon of *Binnius*, I. 1, and the explications of *Fulgentius Ferrandus*, in *Galland.* biblioth., T. XI.

Tribizond, was raised to the patriarchal see of Constantinople, A. D. 535. He had succeeded in reaching this exalted position by simulating orthodoxy, but, fortunately enough, Pope Agapetus, who was then at the capital, saw through the deceit, and exposed his dishonesty. He was deposed by Justinian, and sent into exile.[1] *Mennas*, one of Agapetus' friends, succeeded to him. The new patriarch called a synod, at which seventy bishops assisted. They anathematized the other leaders of the Monophysite party, and the sentence was ratified by the emperor.

Theodora's resources were not yet exhausted. She laid a still deeper plot, and endeavored to commit the Roman Pontiff to the establishment of Monophysitism. She contrived to have Pope Silverius banished, under pretense that he was suspiciously connected with the Goths. Belisarius, the imperial general, exiled him to the island of Palmaria, where, being deprived of necessary food by Vigilius, the tool and accomplice of Belisarius in this nefarious proceeding, he died of starvation June 20, A. D. 538.

Vigilius, a Roman deacon, then residing at Constantinople as Apocrisiarius or Papal Nuncio, was forced by Belisarius to accept the papal throne, after first having made a promise to Theodora to restore Anthimus and defend the Monophysite cause, A. D. 537.[2] After the death of Silverius, Vigilius having been, through the influence of Belisarius, either lawfully elected (?) or tacitly acknowledged, disappointed the hopes of Theodora. He recalled the promise he had given her, wrote to Justinian and Mennas, declaring that he would scrupulously adhere to the decrees of the four Ecumenical Councils and to the teachings of his predecessors, Leo and Agapetus, and passed sentence of excommunication upon Anthimus and Severus.[1] He was, however, obliged to pay dearly for his ambition during the controversy on the Three Chapters.

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[1] Acta synodi Constant. a. 536, in *Mansi*, T. VIII., p. 873 sq., particularly p. 888.

[2] As to Vigilius pledging himself to Monophysitism, conf. *Liberati* breviar., c. 22, and *Victor*. Tunun. chronic., in *Canisii* lection. antiq., ed *Basnage*, T. I., p. 330. *Dr. Rump*, in the German revised ed. of *Rohrbacher's* Ch. H., Vol. IX., p. 207, obs. 4, attempts to defend Pope Vigilius, but does not by any means "consider this controversy as settled." Also *Vincenzi*, in St. Gregorii Nyssen. et Origenis scripta et doctrinam recensio, Romae, 1864 sq., 4 vols., in Vol. IV. Compare, for the other view, *Nihues*, The Empire and the Papacy in the Middle Ages, Münster, 1863, p. 444 sq. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 552 sq. *Punkes*, Pope Vigilius and the Controversy on the Three Chapters, Munich, 1864. *Hergenroether*, The Patriarch *Photius*, Ratisbon, 1867 sq., Vol. I., p. 163.

By these and other acts of imperial interference in the affairs of the Church, the Monophysites became more formidable than they otherwise would have been to the orthodox party.

§ 122. *Origen Condemned as a Monophysite, and the Three Chapters as the Sources of Nestorianism.*

Sources: *Facundi* Episcopi Hermian. (about 547) pro defens. trium capitulor., libb. XII.; lib. contr. Mocianum scholasticum (max. bibl. Lugd. T. X., p. 1–113; *Galland.* bibl., T. XI., p. 665 sq.) *Fulgentii Ferrandi*, diaconi Carthaginens., epist. ad Pelag. et Anatol. pro tribus capitulis (opp. ed. *Chifflet*, Divione, 1649; max. bibl., T. IX., p. 502 sq.; *Galland.*, T. XI., p. 665). *Rustici*, diaconi Romani, disputatio contr. Acephalos (max. bibl., T. X., p. 350 sq.; *Galland.*, T. II., p. 37 sq.)

Works: *Norisii*, dissert. de synodo V. (opp. T. V.) In reply to him, *Garnerii* dissert. de synodo V. (Theodoreti, opp. ed. *Schulze*, T. V.) *Ballerinorum*, defens. dissert. Norisii de syn. V. (Norisii opp. T. IV.) *Vincenzi*, in St. Gregor. Nysseni et Origenis scripta et doctrinam, etc., Vol. IV. Against his gratuitous assertions, see *Reiser*, in the Tübg. Theol. Quart. 1867, p. 352, and *Hergenroether*, in the Bonn Journal of Theol. Literature, 1866, p. 446–451. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 775–899. *Katerkamp*, Ch. II., Vol. III., p. 375–412. [Added by the translator: *Punkes*, Pope Vigilius and the Controversy on the Three Chapters, Munich, 1865.]

It was thought that the Origenist controversy had entirely died out in the fourth century, but subsequent events showed that its embers were still smoldering, and only waited for an occasion to flame out into a fresh blaze. The questions involved in the Arian controversy and those which followed it, were of such vital importance that the disputes arising out of the teachings of Origen were for a time neglected, but never wholly lost sight of. They were again opened about the year 530, and carried on with increased warmth by the monks of Palestine. *Nonnus* and *Leontius*, two learned, but restless and ambitious monks, had extracted from the writings of Origen a number of bold and startling assertions, which they began to discuss among the solitaries of New or Great *Laura*, of which the venerable *Sabas*[1] was abbot, apparently with no other purpose than to disturb the peace and quiet of this retreat. Their influence for evil became more powerful after they had been joined by two kindred spirits—*Domitian*, afterward Bishop of Ancyra, and *Theodore Askidas*, later on Bishop of Caesarea, in Palestine; and, on the death of the abbot Sabas, led to the wanton destruction of Great Laura.

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[1] His revocation of that promise in his epist. ad Justinian. and ad Mennam, in *Mansi*, T. IX., p. 35 sq.

The controversy soon spread to the other monasteries, and begot everywhere a spirit of turbulence and division. The Catholic monks, who went under the name of *Sabaïtes*,[2] were cruelly persecuted by the Origenists, and were not permitted, so great was the vigilance and power of the latter, to present their grievances to the emperor. After a time, however, *Pelagius*, the Papal Apocrisiarius, or Nuncio, who was journeying through Egypt, learning the state of affairs, took with him a deputation of these monks to Constantinople (A. D. 540), and, through the influence of the patriarch *Mennas*, obtained for them an opportunity of submitting to the emperor an extract from the writings of Origen, which, they said, would clearly establish the fact that there existed a contradiction between the teachings of the Church and those of the Alexandrian theologian.

The imperial theologian was delighted with this opportunity to come forth again as an ecclesiastical legislator, and in the year 541 published an edict, in which he condemned the errors of Origen, and particularly those contained in his work *On First Principles*.[3] The most notorious Origenists, such as Domitian and Theodore Askidas, the latter of whom was at heart a Monophysite, simulated acquiescence to the imperial judgment and subscribed to the edict. They were obliged to take this step in self-defense, for they had all along been forwarding their cause by pretending to the emperor that they held the orthodox faith.

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[1] An excellent source: *Cyrillus Scythopolitan.* vita S. Sabae (*Cotelerii* monum. eccl. Gr. T. III.)

[2] *Walch*, de Sabaitis (novae comment. societ., Götting., T. VIII. p. 1 sq.)

[3] *Justiniani* epist. ad Mennam Patriarch. adv. impium Origen. et nefarias ejus sententias. (*Mansi*, T. IX., p. 487–534; *Harduin*, T. III., p. 243 sq.)

Mennas, by order of the emperor, convoked a council (*σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα*) of all the bishops still present at Constantinople (543), in which, *it appears*, the notorious fifteen heretical propositions of Origen were condemned.[1] But Theodore Askidas, who, through the influence of the empress, possessed great power at court, so worked upon the fears of Peter, Patriarch of Jerusalem, that the latter did not dare to take decisive measures against the Origenist monks. Theodore arranged matters so skillfully that these became more powerful than ever in Palestine, and their newly acquired influence emboldened them to commit fresh acts of outrage against the Sabaïtes. It was not long, however, before these Origenists split into the two opposing parties of the *Protoctistoi* and the *Isochristoi*, the former of which deified the *preëxisting* human soul of Christ, and were, on this account, called by their adversaries *Tetratheïtes*, because by the deification of the human soul of Christ they added a fourth person to the Trinity. The latter, starting with the proposition that in the beginning all souls were equal, argued that this equality would be finally restored, and all souls would become equal to Christ.

But Theodore was not yet satisfied with the vengeance he had taken upon his adversaries. In order to draw off the emperor's attention from the Origenist controversy,[2] he artfully represented to him that the writings of *Theodore* of *Mopsuestia*, those of *Theodoret* against St. Cyril, and the famous epistle of *Ibas* to the Persian Maris, known as the

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[1] These fifteen canons, on account of their headings, are supposed to have been enacted in the Fifth Ecumenical Council, but more probably on this occasion. They were first published in Greek by *Petrus Lambecius*, in comment. bibl. August. Vindob., T. VIII., p. 435 sq. Then graecae addita interpretatio latina *Joannis Harduini*, S. J., by *Mansi*, T. IX., p. 395–400. Cf. *Le Quien*, Oriens christian., T. III., p. 210 sq., and *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 768–774.

[2] This tendency is openly professed by the Origenist, Domitian, in the libell. ad Vigil. in *Facund. Hermian.* pro defensione trium capitulor., lib. IV., c. 4. Cf. also *Liberatus*, l. l., c. 24.

Three Chapters (*τρία κεφάλαια*), should be condemned. In the two last named of these chapters, St. Cyril was accused of holding Apollinarian, Manichaean, and other errors (cf. § 119). Theodore artfully represented that these writings were offensive to Catholics and Monophysites alike, and that their condemnation would go far to remove points of dispute between these two parties, and eventually bring about their reconciliation and union.[1] He said that abundant proof of his assertion lay in the fact that, at the conference held in Constantinople, every difficulty was removed except the approbation which the Council of Chalcedon had given to the writings of Theodoret and Ibas, and to which the Severians took special exception. In matter of fact, this was not the case, for the Council, after having passed sentence of anathema upon Nestorius and Eutyches, and approved the dogmatic epistle of Leo, *abstained entirely from passing any judgment upon these writings*, as they had already been implicitly condemned by their authors.

The emperor, on this representation, issued a *theological edict* (A. D. 544),[2] and endeavored to enforce it by threats of violence. He sent it to Mennas for his signature, with a hint that a refusal would be punished with exile; and the patriarch, intimidated by this threat, signed it, but on condition of its being afterward approved by the Pope. Others acceded still more readily to the imperial request, but *Stephen*, the Papal Legate at Constantinople, had the courage to give an absolute refusal. The bishops of the West, possessed of more independence of character than those of the East, and conscious that the effect of the edict would be to weaken the authority of the Council of Chalcedon, stubbornly resisted the will of the emperor. The writings of *Fulgentius Ferrandus* are a fine illustration of the manly and independent conduct of the Western bishops on this occasion.[3]

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[1] The *Three Chapters*, i. e., the person and the writings of *Theodore of Mopsuestia*; the writings of *Theodoret*, in favor of Nestorius and against St. Cyril and the Synod of Ephesus; and the letter of *Ibas* to Maris. Cf. *Hefele*, l. c., Vol. II., p. 777 sq.

[2] This edict of Justinian's lost, with the exception of a few fragments, in *Facund. Hermian.* II. 3 and IV. 4. Vide *Norisii* dissert. de synodo V., c. 3.

[3] *Fulgentius Ferrandus*, in his ep. VI. ad Pelag. et Anatol., gives special

Unhappily, *Vigilius*, a man of weak and vacillating character, occupied the chair of Peter at this crisis. Having reached this high position by craft and intrigue, he seemed lacking in that manly firmness of character which so distinguished his predecessors.[1] Having gone to Constantinople on an invitation from the emperor, he at first refused to approve the Three Chapters, and manfully told Justinian, "Sire, you may offer violence to my person, but you shall not force *Peter*." After a time, however, Vigilius, worn out with the intrigues of Theodora and the violent treatment of the emperor, and apprehending that in case of refusal the East might break entirely with the West and with the See of Peter, finally consented to a condemnation of the Three Chapters, first privately, in a letter to the emperor and to Mennas, known as the "*Judicatum*,"[2] and addressed to the latter, and then publicly, in a synod of the bishops then at Constantinople (A. D. 548), but on condition that the quarrel should now cease, and with an express *proviso against* having his act interpreted as *implying any detriment to the authority of the Council of Chalcedon* (*salva in omnibus reverentia Synodi Chalcedonensis*).

Vigilius now imagined that he had removed all cause of dispute, but, to his surprise, he soon learned that he had entirely alienated the Western bishops and failed to satisfy those of the East.

Facundus, Bishop of Hermiane, in Africa, a writer of name and ability, and the Roman deacon *Rusticus*, the nephew and companion of the Pope, wrote letters to all the provinces defending the Council of Chalcedon, whose authority *they believed* to have been assailed, and repudiating the *Judicatum*,

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prominence to the following reasons: Ut concilii Chalcedonensis vel similium nulla retractatio placeat, sed quae semel statuta sunt, intemerata serventur. Ut pro mortuis fratribus nulla generentur inter vivos scandala. Ut nullus libro suo per subscriptiones plurimorum dare velit auctoritatem, quam solis canonicis libris ecclesia catholica detulit. (*Galland.* bibl., T. XI., p. 363.)

[1] *Palma*, praelect. hist. eccl., T. I., p. 392, says: Si res non secundum praejudicatas opiniones, sed prout veritas ipsa postulat, consideretur, manifestum erit, ita se Vigilium in eo negotio gessisse ut prudentiae laudem omnino mereatur.—Tr.

[2] There are but fragments of the Judicatum extant, in *Mansi*, T. IX., p. 181. Cf. *Facundus* contra Mocian. scholast.

the document in which Vigilius condemned the Three Chapters. While the zeal of these two writers in defending the authority of Chalcedon was commendable, it was also superfluous, as no possible injury could have accrued to the Council from the condemnation of these writings, as is shown by the fact that they were afterward condemned, without producing any such result, when they were found to be a source of error and division in the *visible* Church.

The Western bishops, however, thought the contrary, and acted upon their conviction. They had always, in every former controversy, stood by the Pope, and frequently in opposition to the Eastern bishops, but now, contrary to all precedent, they, on the one hand, broke with him, and he, on the other, took sides with the Orientals.

Vigilius, conscious that the existing state of affairs was fraught with danger to both Church and State, recalled the *Judicatum*, and proposed to hold an Ecumenical Council. Justinian approved of the proposal, but insisted that it should be held at Constantinople. Both agreed to stop all discussion of the questions at issue till after the assembling of the Council. It was further stipulated that an equal number of bishops should be summoned from both the East and the West. There were, however, only a few Western bishops in attendance, under the leadership of *Reparatus*, Bishop of Carthage, but they, regardless of threats and ill-usage, made a gallant defense of the Three Chapters, and were in consequence deposed and sent into exile. At the instance of *Theodore*, Bishop *of Caesarea*, and his party, Justinian published (A. D. 551) a *new edict*, which was at once a profession of faith and an exhaustive theological treatise against the Three Chapters,[1] and even went so far as to pronounce anathema upon those who would attempt to defend them.

Vigilius made up his mind to resist this act of the emperor, and excommunicated all those bishops who had subscribed to the edict. The emperor determined to punish his obstinacy, and sent guards to apprehend and cast him into prison, who, when they arrived at the church of St. Peter, whither the Pope had fled for safety, and were about to enter and drag him out, were intimidated by the menaces of the people. Vigilius returned to his home upon the sworn promise of the emperor that he should suffer no harm, but finding himself shortly after exposed to ill-treatment and outrage, he fled during the night to Chalcedon, where he took refuge in the church of St. Euphemia, and declined all invitations to return.

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[1] The edict *ὁμολογία πίστεως 'Ιουστινιάνου*, in *Mansi*, T. IX., p. 537, and in Chronicon Alexandr., ed. *Du Fresne*, p. 344.

From this place he addressed an encyclical letter to the universal Church, in which he gave a detailed account of the disgraceful scenes that had taken place at Constantinople. He also issued a decree deposing and excommunicating *Theodore*, the disturber of the Church, and suspending *Mennas* and the bishops who sided with him.[1] He now received a splendid proof that the dignity and authority of the Pope, even, as in his own case, when most cruelly persecuted and oppressed, extort submission and obedience from his enemies.

The patriarch Mennas and many bishops addressed a letter to him, in which they professed that they received the four Ecumenical Councils, at which the Popes had presided by their legates or vicars, accepted all papal decrees regarding faith, and rejected the imperial decrees against the Three Chapters.[2] Vigilius received their submission, withdrew his censure, returned to Constantinople, and consented to the convocation of an Ecumenical Council.

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[1] *Vigil.* epist. ad universas eccl. (*Harduin*, T. III., p. 3–10; *Mansi*, T. IX., p. 50–61.

[2] Cf. *Mansi*, T. IX., p. 62 sq.; *Harduin*, T. III., p. 10: Nos igitur apostolicam sequentes doctrinam, et festinantes concordiam ecclesiasticam servare, praesentem facimus libellum. Imprimis quatuor sanctas synodos: Nicaenam trecentorum decem et octo, Constantinopolitanam 150, Ephesinam primam 200, in qua in legatis suis atque vicariis, id est beatissimo Cyrillo, Alexandrinae urbis episcopo, Arcadio et Projecto Episcopis et Philippo presbytero, beatissimus Coelestinus Papa senioris Romae noscitur praesedisse, et Chalcedonensem 630 SS. Patrum suscipimus. Et omnia—quae in eisdem quatuor synodis—communi consensu cum legatis atque vicariis sedis Apostolicae gesta et scripta tam de fide, quam de aliis omnibus causis, judiciis, constitutionibus, aut dispositionibus definita aut judicata, vel constituta sive disposita sunt, inconcusse, inviolabiliter—nos promittimus sequuturos.

FIFTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, A. D. 553.

The Western bishops, frightened by the ill-treatment received by *Reparatus* and his companions, declined to come to Constantinople, and, as a consequence, only a few of them were there to take part in the Council. Vigilius seeing this, refused to open it, and stated that he would give his own opinion in writing, for which he would be personally responsible. Notwithstanding the refusal of the Pope to attend, *the Council was opened* by command of the emperor, May 5, A. D. 553, for the purpose of discussing the question of the *Three Chapters.* There were present at the opening session one hundred and fifty-three bishops, but before the close of the Council the number had increased to one hundred and sixty-five. *Eutychius* of Constantinople, after having given satisfactory guaranties of his orthodoxy and submission to the Holy See, was permitted to preside. The first session was spent in fruitless attempts to induce the Pope to take part in the proceedings, but he contented himself with recalling his former *Judicatum*, and giving to the emperor a detailed account of his reasons for refusing to attend, in a document known as the *Constitutum*, and bearing the date of May 14th. In this he professed his readiness[1] to condemn all errors and any intemperate use of language contained in the Three Chapters, but refused to condemn those *upon whom the judgment of God had already been passed*, and who having, while in the flesh, been cut off for a time from the communion of the Church and suspended from their official duties, had already in this world suffered the punishment of their faults. The *Constitutum* was signed by sixteen bishops, who refused to take any further part in the Council without the presence of the Pope. Notwithstanding these protests, the Council went on with its work, and in the fourth, fifth, and sixth sessions[2] condemned the "*Three Chapters,*" and defended the act on the authority of *St. Augustine*, who said that sentence of anathema should be passed upon heretics even after their death, if either by their authority or their writings they still exercise an influence hurtful to the Church; and they further adduced the fact that the name of *Theodore of Mopsuestia* had been erased from the diptych of his own church,[1] and that of St. Cyril of Alexandria substituted in its place.

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[1] *Vigil.* "Constitutum," with the signatures of those sixteen bishops, the Roman deacon Theophanes, and two other Roman deacons, in *Mansi*, T. IX., p. 61–106, p. 457–487; *Harduin*, T. III., p. 10–47. Conf. p. 217–244.

[2] The acts of the Council, in *Mansi*, T. IX., p. 157 sq.; *Harduin*, T. III., p. 51–212.

The final sentence was pronounced in the eighth session, without, however, any mention having been made of the Pope's *Constitutum*. Vigilius, having refused to recognize the sentence, was sent into exile by Justinian, together with all the bishops devoted to his cause. Now, worn in body and broken in spirit, he at length yielded to the will of the emperor, A. D. 554,[2] and, in a letter to the patriarch Eutychius

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[1] Conf. *Mansi*, T. IX., p. 286; *Harduin*, T. III., p. 131. There are here, in the collatio (sessio) V. of this Council, brought together a great number of testimonia vetera contra Theodorum.

[2] If we admit the testimony of *Anastasius* the Librarian, several Latin writers deny that Pope Vigilius at once approved the decrees of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, and assert that he was for this reason banished by Justinian, and that he finally yielded only because he was broken in spirit, worn out with suffering, and desired to return to Rome, which had, during his absence, fallen into the hands of Narses.

But Card. *Noris* has proved, beyond all manner of doubt, in his Dissertation on this Council (chap. 8) that Vigilius approved its decrees *before the expiration of the year in which it was held*, and that consequently the whole story about the exile of Vigilius is a forgery.

Moreover, *Evagrius*, a contemporary writer (Book IV., c. 37), says plainly: "Vigilius gave his assent to the Council *by letter*, but refused to attend it." This letter, which had been for a long time lost, was at length discovered and published by *Peter de Marca*, accompanied with a learned dissertation, entitled "De Vigilii Decreto pro Confirmatione V. Synodi." The letter proves two things incontestably: 1. That Vigilius approved the Fifth Council; and, 2. That he gave his approval before the expiration of the year in which the Council was held. The heading of the letter is as follows: "Data VI. Idus Decembres, Imperii Dni. Ni. Justiniani, Aeterni, Augusti, anno XXVII., post Consulatum Basilii V. C., anno XII." This is the year of our Lord 553, the one in which the Council was held. Now, the decree of the Council against the Three Chapters was passed June 2d of this year, and it is therefore evident that Vigilius must have approved the decrees of this Council within seven months from this date, and that the "*long exile*" which is said to have forced him to this act is an entire fabrication.

Neither can it be assumed that the exile of the Pope took place during the months of this year preceding the date when the above-mentioned letter of apwithout making any mention of the Council, condemned the writings and the person of Theodore as one who had willfully and obstinately propagated and defended errors of whose dangerous tendency there could be no question. He also condemned all that Theodoret had written against the Council of Ephesus and St. Cyril, and in favor of Nestorius and Theodore, and the epistle of Ibas to Maris,[1] and finally approved the acts of the Council. Vigilius died shortly after (A. D. 555) at Syracuse, in Sicily, of a painful disease (gravel), while returning to Rome.

In order to excuse his frequent change of conduct through-

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probation was sent in by Vigilius; for *Eustathius*, a priest of Constantinople, who was an intimate friend of Eutychius, states in the life of the latter, after mentioning the date when this Council was held, that Vigilius and the three patriarchs were present in the imperial city during this time. He says: "Since, by the union and harmony of the four pastors, there existed, as it were, but one fold and one shepherd, and after all questions of discipline had been settled between the priests and their prelates, *each set out with great rejoicing to return to his see and flock*." These words will not admit of the supposition that violence was offered to the Pope, nor yet can we assert, as Card. *Noris* says, that Eustathius has misrepresented facts, and committed Vigilius to so glaring a falsehood; for he wrote at Constantinople, and had he attempted so dishonest a misrepresentation, he would have been instantly contradicted, because the dissent of the Pope from the three patriarchs, and his consequent exile, would have been known to the commonest fisherwoman of the imperial city.

The *silence* of those who defended the Three Chapters indirectly proved the same thing, for they would certainly have appealed to the Pope's banishment to strengthen their cause. But no such appeal was ever made, either by *Liberatus* of *Carthage* or *Victor* of *Tours*, although the latter complained that "they condemn both the Three Chapters and their defenders." Moreover, *Rusticus*, deacon of the Church *of Rome*, and *Felix Guillensis*, the leader of the African province, having written against the decrees, were sent into exile. But why should the fact of a deacon's banishment be mentioned, and silence observed with regard to that of the Roman Pontiff?

It must therefore be concluded that Vigilius confirmed the decrees of the Fifth Ecumenical Council within the year in which it was held, and while he was still at Constantinople, and consequently it is an *Ecumenical Council* of the Church. (Translator's note, condensed from *Palma*, Praelect. Hist. Eccl., Vol I., p. 378 sq.)

[1] Conf. *Harduin*, T. III., p. 213 sq.; *Mansi*, T. IX., p. 413 sq. The Epist. Vigilii ad Eutychium in *de Marcae*, dissertatt. a *Baluz*. editae, Paris. 1689, 8vo, and in *de Marca*, Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, ed. *Böhmer*, p. 277. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 882 sq.

out this transaction, he appealed to the example of *St. Augustine*, who, when he saw reason for so doing, did not hesitate to retract what he had written on a former occasion. And, indeed, when one considers the unprecedented and trying circumstances in which this Pope was placed, he is inclined to judge him with greater indulgence. At one time he seemed to have feared that the condemnation of the Three Chapters would furnish the Monophysites with an argument against the Council of Chalcedon; at another to have apprehended a schism between the Eastern and the Western Churches; and again to have been appalled by the desertion of the Western bishops.

But it should constantly be borne in mind that the *dogmatic* teachings of the Church were never affected by these changes in his conduct and policy. Whenever there was question of these, he was perfectly consistent with himself and in accord with the Church. Even in his *Constitutum* he condemned the propositions extracted from the writings of Theodore and all that Theodoret had written against St. Cyril. His changes of conduct concerned only a matter of ecclesiastical policy, viz., whether or not it was wise and prudent to condemn writings which the Council of Chalcedon had spared, and pass sentence of anathema upon those who had died in the communion of the Church.[1]

Pelagius I., the successor to Vigilius, having approved the decrees of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, encountered great opposition, and was obliged to vindicate his orthodoxy by a profession of faith, addressed to the universal Church.[2] Notwithstanding this, the opposition was so great in the West that it occasioned a schism, which, however, was speedily healed in Northern Africa by the prompt and decisive action of Primarius, the newly elected Bishop of Carthage, who held two synods, in which he prevailed upon the bishops of Proconsular Africa and Numidia to accept the decrees of the Council. But in Northern Italy, several bishops, headed by *Paulinus* of Aquileia, the Metropolitan of Venice and Istria, effected a formal schism. They were joined by *Vitalis*, Archbishop of Milan, and by some of the bishops of Illyria, Rhaetia Secunda, and Noricum. The Fifth Ecumenical Council was condemned in a synod held at Aquileia, A. D. 555, because, as it was pretended, its decrees were contradictory to those of the Council of Chalcedon. The schism continued till the time of *Gregory the Great*, through whose efforts it was partially closed (A. D. 602). It was not till the pontificate of *Sergius I.* (A. D. 687–701) that the last of the schismatics of the kingdom of Lombardy, under the patriarch *Peter*, recognized the authority of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, and returned to the unity of the Church (c. A. D. 700).

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[1] This section has been taken from *Palma*, l. c., and inserted here by the translator.

[2] Conf. *Mansi*, T. IX., p. 433 sq.; *Harduin*, III., p. 421 sq.

§ 123. *The Establishment of an Independent Church by the Monophysites.*

One of the principal objects which the Fifth Ecumenical Council had in view was to bring back the more temperate among the Monophysites to the unity of the Church, but in this it was by no means successful. The emperor Justinian, whose religious zeal was always in excess of his judgment, made one of his worst blunders shortly before his death by issuing an edict (A. D. 564), in which he declared the orthodoxy of the Aphthartodocetae; and the edict (A. D. 565) of his successor, Justin II., was perhaps more stupid, and less effective for good. In it he exhorted the Christians to put aside all the questions at issue, and content themselves with giving praise to the Savior, without troubling their heads about precise and definite *formulae*.[1]

Moreover, the Monophysites, who persisted in separating from the orthodox body, now organized an independent church establishment. In *Egypt* they refused to accept as patriarch the abbot *Paul*, sent thither by Justinian A. D. 538, and, being quite numerous in this country, elected a patriarch of their own. They continued to exist as a separate church establishment under the name of *Copts*, and, later on, succeeded in bringing the Church of *Ethiopia* over to their communion.

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[1] *Evagrius*, h. e. V. 4. *Nicephor.* XVII. 35.

[2] *Le Quien*, Oriens christianus, etc. (Paris, 1740, 3 T. fol.), T. II., p. 357 sq.

The orthodox believers were called *Melchites*, or the Imperialist or Court party, so named from the emperor Marcian, who had labored strenuously to support the authority of the Council of Chalcedon.

In Armenia the victorious Persians espoused the cause of the Monophysites, who, from this time, became separated, both in government and religion, from the Greco-Roman empire.[1] It has been asserted, but never proved, that a synod assembled at Thevin, A. D. 527, and pronounced anathema against the Council of Chalcedon. Be this as it may, it is certain that a thorough and complete separation took place about A. D. 600, between those who admitted and those who rejected the authority of Chalcedon—between the Church of the Empire and their own sect, established under the Patriarchate of "a *Catholic Bishop*."

Toward the close of Justinian's reign, a fugitive monk and disciple of Severus, *Jacob Baradai*, or Zanzalus (A. D. 541–578), began an energetic revival of Monophysitism, and did all in his power to establish this heretical church on a firm basis, and bring together all the different parties throughout *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* under one ecclesiastical government. His labors gradually extended to *Asia Minor*, *Cyprus*, and *Palestine*, and were particularly effective after he had been consecrated bishop of *Edessa*, and invested with metropolitan rights by some Monophysite bishops, who were confined in a castle. They conferred this dignity upon him that their party might not be deprived of the services of one bearing the episcopal office. The Monophysites of Syria were called from him *Jacobites*.[2]

Wiltsch, Eccl. Geography and Statistics, Vol. I., p. 225. *Renaudot*, hist. patriarcharum Alexandrinor. Jacobitarum, Paris, 1713, 4to. *Takieddini-Makrizii* (jurisconsult at Cairo, † 1441), hist. Coptorum Christianor. in Aegypto, arabice et lat., ed. *Wetzer*, Solisb. 1828. (*Freiburg Eccl. Cycloped.*, Vol. VII., p. 242 sq.)

[1] *Saint Martin*, mémoires sur l'Arménie (Paris, 1828–1829, 2 T.), T. I., p. 329 sq. *Galani*, hist. Armeniae ecclesiast. et polit., Colon. 1686; Frcft. 1701, 8vo. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 697–699.

[2] *Assemani*, dissert. de Syris Nestorianis, in the bibl. oriental., T. III., Pt. II. Cf. *Le Quien*, Oriens christian., T. II.

§ 124. *The Monothelites—Patriarch Sophronius and Abbot Maximus—The Sixth Ecumenical Council.*

Sources: For documents, see *Mansi*, T. X. and XI.; *Harduin*, T. III., col. 1014 sq. *St. Maximi* († Aug. 13, 662). opp. (the greatest part written against the Monothelites, particularly disputatio cum Pyrrho and de duabus in Christo naturis), ed. *Fr. Combefisius*, Paris, 1675, 2 T. fol. *Anastasii* bibliothecarii (about 870) collectanea de iis, quae spectant ad hist. Monothelitarum, ed. *Sirmond.*, Paris, 1620, and in *Galland.*, T. XIII., p. 32 sq. *Nicephori* (Patriarch of Constantinople, † 828) breviarium hist. (602–769), ed. *Petavius*, Paris, 1716. Many documents, ed. in German, in *Rösler's* Library of the Fathers of the Church, Vol. X., p. 381–471.

Works: *Combefisii* hist. haeres. Monothelit., in his novum auctarium bibl. PP., T. II. *Tamagnini*, celebris hist. Monothelit. et Honorii controversia scrutiniis VIII. comprehensa, Paris, 1678. *Jac. Chmel*, dissert. de ortu et progressu Monothelitar., in his vindiciae Concilii oecumenici VI., Prague, 1777. **Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. III., p. 110–298. *Walch*, Hist. of Heretics, Pt. IX., p. 3–666. *Katerkamp*, Ch. H., Vol. III., pp. 450–480, and 489–500. German edition of *Rohrbacher's* Ch. H., Vol. X.

Notwithstanding the failure of Justinian and Justin II. to unite the Monophysites and the orthodox party, the emperor *Heraclius* was not deterred from attempting to carry out a similar scheme. After having established his authority in Syria and Armenia upon a firm basis against the attempts of Choroës II., he made up his mind to bring back to the Church, if possible, the Monophysites who dwelt in these countries. It was suggested to him, probably by *Theodore*, Bishop of Pharan, in Arabia, and by *Sergius*, Patriarch of Constantinople, that a compromise might be brought about between the two parties upon the basis that there *were assumed* in Christ two natures, and but *one will* and one *ruling energy* (ἓν θέλημα καὶ μία ἐνέργεια). Heraclius had already (A. D. 622), in a letter written to Arcadius, Metropolitan of Cyprus, forbidden any further discussion of the two operations in Christ.[1] This letter was based upon the erroneous opinion that every act of the two natures should be attributed to the directing and impelling power of the Logos, as if the *human*

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[1] The correspondence between Cyrus, Bishop of Phasis (afterward Patriarch of Alexandria), Sergius, and Theodore, Bishop of Pharan, cf., in *Mansi*, T. XI., pp. 525, 567, and the imperial prohibition to Bishop Arcadius, in the same place, p. 561.

will had been entirely *absorbed by the Divine*—a doctrine nothing short of a *new form of Eutychianism.* The truth, which, without clearly apprehending or firmly grasping, they attempted to express, was, that it is impossible to conceive an antagonism between the two wills of Christ, or that there can, on any supposition, be more than *one line of action* pursued by the two, and that this must be *at once human and divine.* The see of Alexandria, the intellectual stronghold of the Monophysites, becoming vacant A. D. 630, *Cyrus*, Bishop of Phasis, was transferred thither, in the hope that he would be able to bring them over to the teaching of the Monothelite, Theodore.

Cyrus, immediately on his appointment, held a council, at which the terms of reunion with the *Theodosians* were arranged in a document of nine articles, the seventh of which, affirming Theodore's doctrine of the one will in Christ, was protested against by *Sophronius*, a clever and learned monk, who, at this time, chanced to be at Alexandria. Cyrus, however, disregarded the protest, consummated the union of the Monophysites with the Church A. D. 633, and wrote in a spirit of triumph, informing Sergius of the fact.[1] Sophronius, quite unconscious of the complicity of Sergius in the attempts of Cyrus, and not suspecting that he was an advocate of the formula which had been made the basis of reunion, and which affirmed that there was in Christ but "*one theandric operation*," *θεανδρικὴ ἐνέργεια*, set out for Constantinople, with the purpose of taking counsel with him on the best means of opposing Cyrus. Having in the following year been appointed Patriarch of Jerusalem, Sophronius ably defended, in a *synodical letter*,[2] copies of which he sent to the Pope and to the principal churches, the doctrine of two wills in Christ, and branded the opposite error as a revival of the Eutychian heresy.

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[1] The deed of union, together with the articles of compromise, in the Actio XIII. concilii oecumen. VI., in *Mansi*, T. XI., p. 561 sq. In art. VII. it is said, among the rest: *καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἕνα Χριστὸν καὶ υἱὸν ἐνεργοῦντα τὰ θεοπρεπῆ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα μιᾷ θεανδρικῇ ἐνεργείᾳ κατὰ τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Διονύσιον.*—And the same one Christ and Son performing the things becoming God and the things proper to man, by one divine and human operation:—according to St. Denys, to wit, Denys the Areopagite, epp. IV. ad Cajum.

[2] *Sophronii* ep. synod., in *Mansi*, T. XI., p. 529.

Having once fully embarked in the controversy, his opposition became so formidable, that Sergius took alarm, and, in the hope of gaining Pope *Honorius* to his side, wrote him a skillfully worded letter,[1] in which he gave an account of the controversy, and spoke in exaggerated terms of the return of all the Egyptian Monophysites to the bosom of the Church, and remarked with simulated concern that it would be very distressing to drive these millions back again into their errors for the sake of the expression, "*one operation in Christ*" (*ἐνέργεια θεανδρική*); the more so, because the same expression had been already used by Denys the Areopagite.

Honorius, who was ordinarily on the alert, and as a rule displayed great energy of character, and had a conscientious care for ecclesiastical discipline, and who on this account enjoyed much consideration among his *contemporaries*, failed to see through the cunning artifice of Sergius. His reply was little more than a repetition of the letter of Sergius, and betrays an extraordinary lack of anything like an acute knowledge of dogma, and an entire misapprehension of the question at issue. He professed to regard the whole matter as a "war of words" and an unpractical piece of controversy, which should be relegated to grammarians, and even praised the zeal of Sergius for attempting to suppress it altogether. Not having seized the real drift of the controversy, it was but natural that he should express himself obscurely, and with a lack of precision, in his reply to Sergius,[2] in which he admitted "that there was but *one will* in Christ, because," said he, "the Deity took upon Him, not our sin, but our nature, as it had been created before the Fall, not as it has been corrupted since the

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[1] *Sergii* ep. ad Honor., in *Mansi*, T. XI., p. 529.

[2] *Honorii* ep. I. ad Sergium, in *Mansi*, T. XI., p. 537. Fragments of the ep. II. ad Sergium, Ibid., p. 579. Honorius betrayed the greatest want of clearness in setting aside, by his unsupported interpretation, those texts so decisive of the *two wills* in Christ (Matt. xxvi. 39 and Luke xxii. 42), "Yet not my will, but thine, be done," by this superficial remark: Ista enim propter nos dicta sunt quibus dedit exemplum, ut sequamur vestigia ejus, pius magister discipulos imbuens, ut non suam unusquisque nostrum, sed potius Domini in omnibus praeferat voluntatem, in *Mansi*, T. XI., p. 542.

Fall." Honorius repeatedly insisted that "the *folly of Nestorius and Eutyches should be carefully avoided, and that Christ should be confessed to be perfect God and perfect Man;*" thus showing that, though expressing himself inaccurately, *he thought correctly* on the two operations in Christ. And while making use of the periphrastic language of the *Monothelites* in his answer to Sergius, and saying that "there being only *one* principle of action, or *one* direction of the will in Christ, that therefore there must be but *one* will also," it is evident that he meant, by this manner of speech, no more than a moral unity of the wills, as it is understood in the *Catholic* sense—that correspondence of the human with the Divine will in Christ as opposed to any sort of *conflict between them.* Hence *John IV.*, the second successor to Honorius (A. D. 640–642), declared that the latter mistook the real point at issue, and conceived it to be "whether or not there were two conflicting *human* wills in Christ, the one of the spirit and the other of the flesh; and which, if such were the case, would necessarily imply the opposition of the human to the Divine will"—an error of which the Pope wished to disabuse Sergius. This view will also explain why the Abbot *Maximus*, the most acute theologian of his age, and the foremost champion among the Catholics, in confuting the new error, asserts with emphasis, in two separate places, that Honorius was an *opponent of the Monothelites.*[1]

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[1] The unsettled and much discussed question of the attitude of Pope *Honorius* toward Monothelitism has been very recently revived, with increased ardor, by *Hefele*, in his History of the Councils, Vol. III., p. 130 sq *Döllinger*, Popish Fables, p. 131 sq. Against these, "*The Catholic*," in its December number of 1863; *Schneeman*, Researches on the Controversy of Honorius, Freiburg, 1864; *Rump*, German Rearrangement of Rohrbacher's Ch. II., Vol. X., p. 121–147; *Reinerding*, Contributions toward the Discussion of the Controversy of Honorius and Liberius, Münster, 1865. Renewed since the proceedings of the Ecumenical Council of the Vatican on Papal infallibility: For Honorius—*Margerie*, le Pape Honorius (against Gratry), Paris, 1870; *Dechamps*, Three Letters on the Infallibility of the Pope (in German, Mentz, 1870); *Pennachi*, de Honorii, I. rom. Pontif. causa, Rom. 1870 (against v. Hefele); *Ghilardi*, Honorius Papa, Taurini, 1870. *Against* Honorius—*Von Hefele*, Honorius and the Sixth Ecumenical Council, with *supplement* (against Pennachi), Tübing. 1870; *Ruckgaber*, The Heresy of Honorius and the Vatican Decree, Stuttg. 1871. Against the latter—Pope Honorius and Prof. Ruck-

But the Pope's conduct, in supposing that after he had written a hasty and ill-considered letter,[1] there was no further call on him to again take up the discussion, seems to increase his culpability. This was still further heightened by his refusal to return an answer to Stephen, Bishop of Dora,[2] whom Sophronius had sent to Rome with a clear and able exposition of his views. The Pope dismissed Stephen with scant courtesy, and *prohibited both parties from having any further discussion on the subject of the two operations in Christ.*

The emperor *Heraclius* now took decisive steps to put an end to the controversy. He published (A. D. 638) an *edict*, composed by Sergius, and called the *Ecthesis*, or Explanation *of the Faith* (ἔκθεσις τῆς πίστεως), in which, while repeating the Pope's prohibition forbidding any one to speak of the unity or the duality of the operations in the Word Made Flesh, he declared that there was but *one will* in Christ, and that to assert the contrary would be equivalent to saying that there were two conflicting wills in Christ.[3]

Sergius confirmed this edict, and held a threat of deposition and excommunication over those of the clergy who should refuse to accept it.

This edict was opposed by many, even in the East. It is true Sophronius had died, March 11, A. D. 638, during the

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gaber, by the author of the Ratisbon pamphlet, "The Honorius Controversy," Ratisbon, 1871.

[1] That this Epistola was not a decision ex cathedra, has been shown by "*The Catholic*," l. c., p. 681. Besides, *Rössler*, in his Library of the Fathers of the Church, Pt. X., p. 401, expressed the following sentiment: "I am, withal, of opinion that such compositions are to be imputed to the secretaries of the bishops (and perhaps not only of the Bishop of Rome), rather than to the patriarchs themselves." The secretary of Pope Honorius was then the Roman abbot *John*, who afterward took upon himself to vindicate the orthodoxy of his first (cursory) letter, by the assertion that it had been falsified (falsely interpreted) by the Greeks. Conf. *Mansi*, T. X., p. 689. Therefore, Abbot *Maximus* asked: "Who, then, is a more reliable interpreter of that letter—the enlightened abbot, who is still alive, who wrote it in the name of Honorius, or they of Constantinople, who say what they please?" (Disputatio cum Pyrrho, in *Migne's* ser. gr., T. 91, p. 328.)

[2] Libellus *Stephani Dorensis* Episcopi, in *Mansi*, T. X., p. 891–902. *Harduin*, T. III., p. 711–719.

[3] The Ecthesis, in *Harduin*, T. III., p. 791–798; *Mansi*, T. X., p. 991 sq.

invasion of the Saracens, but the authority of his name endured, and was sufficient to steady many minds habituated to the discussion of dogmatic subjects.

Pope John IV., in a council held at Rome A. D. 640, unhesitatingly rejected and condemned the Ecthesis, and Heraclius, after having heard of the action of the Roman Pontiff, declared that it was only after repeated requests from Sergius, the author of the Ecthesis, that he was induced to sign it at all.[1]

After the death of Sophronius, the Abbot *Maximus*,[2] the most learned theologian of his time, became the natural leader of the Catholic party against the Monothelites. While the heresy was making great headway in the East, he set out for *Rome*, and on his return went for the second time into Africa, to give warning against the Monothelite error. In a *celebrated conference* which he held with *Pyrrhus*, the successor to Sergius, who had been deposed from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and driven out of the city by the people, he forced him to confess that the doctrines of Sergius which he defended were erroneous. Pyrrhus set out for Rome with Maximus, who presented to Pope Theodore an abjuration of his errors (A. D. 645).

Unhappily, *Constans II.* (642–668), who had been elevated to the imperial throne by a series of horrible tragedies, which left a stain upon the imperial house and name, published (A. D. 648), at the instigation of *Paul*, the Patriarch of Constantinople, a *dogmatic edict*, called the "*Type*" (*τύπος τῆς πίστεως*), which forbade, under severe penalties, all further discussion on the mode in which Christ's will and energy were exercised, and requested both clergy and laity to keep strictly within the limits of the decrees of the five Ecumenical Councils.[3] Those of the orthodox party who were courageous enough to openly express what they sincerely believed, pronounced the edict an attempt to constrain individual religious conviction, and as favoring a most *culpable indifferentism*. Those who were dissatisfied, turned for comfort to Pope *Martin I.*, and found in him a resolute and powerful defender of their cause. The Pope summoned a *council*, to meet in the Secretarium of the Church of St. John *Lateran*, at Rome, A. D. 649, at which there were present one hundred and five bishops. After a careful examination, it condemned the Monothelite heresy and the two edicts, the Ecthesis and the Type, and passed sentence of anathema upon the authors of the heresy, Theodore of Pharan, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul.[1]

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[1] Decreta et epist. Joann. IV., in *Harduin*, T. III., p. 609 sq.; *Mansi*, T. X., p. 579 sq.

[2] Conf. above, the literature before § 124.

[3] See, for the Typus, *Harduin*, T. III., col. 823 sq. *Mansi*, T. X., p. 1029 sq.

This courageous action greatly irritated the emperor, who had the aged and infirm Pope dragged from the church in which he had sought a refuge, and conveyed to Constantinople, A. D. 653. On his arrival in the capital, he was treated with every manner of indignity and insult, and, having been exposed on the sea-shore for a whole day to the jibes and derision of the populace, he was thrust into prison, and kept there for the space of three months, and when brought out to appear before the tribunal which was to try him, he was confronted with suborned witnesses, who accused him with being implicated with the Arabians in a conspiracy against the emperor. The emperor, after witnessing the brutal cruelty and insult with which the Pope was treated in the court of the imperial palace, as if he had been the worst of malefactors, banished him to the Chersonesus, where he died A. D. 655, after four months of confinement and privation. A still more cruel fate awaited the holy *Maximus* and his two disciples, each of whom was named Anastasius.[2] Maximus, the great intellectual supporter of the Pope at the council, was also dragged to Constantinople, but still persisting, in spite of threats and outrages, that one must obey God rather than man, he was, it is said by the emperor's orders, cruelly scourged, had his tongue cut out and his right hand cut off, was banished to Lazia, where he died, at the age of eighty, just after he had reached his place of exile, A. D. 662.

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[1] *Martini* I. epist., relatively to the Lateran Council, in *Harduin*, T. III., col. 626–676; *Mansi*, T. X., p. 785 sq. The acts of the Lateran Council, in *Harduin*, T. III., col. 687–946. The proceedings took place in the great patriarchal Basilica, built by Constantine the Great, in honor of our Savior and St. John B., on the site of the palace of the Roman knight *Lateranus*, implicated in the conspiracy of Piso against the life of Nero, and confiscated by the emperor, or rather in an adjoining building of the latter, called secretarium, wherefore the five sittings of this Council were also called secretaria. Conf. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. III., p. 189–206.

[2] On the sufferings endured by Pope Martin, cf. his epist. XV. and XVI. and the commemoratio eorum, quae saeviter et sine Dei respectu acta sunt—in S. martyrem Martinum, in *Mansi*, T. X., p. 851–862; *Harduin*, T. III., p. 676–686. On Maximus, see *Mansi*, T. XI., p. 3 sq., and *Anastasii* presbyteri epist. ad Theodor., in opp. *Maximi*, T. I., p. 67 sq.

The Popes *Eugenius I.* and *Vitalian*, while maintaining a friendly intercourse with the emperor Constans II., uniformly refused to recognize the "Type," and never consented to admit the Patriarch of Constantinople into complete communion with the Church. When *Constantine Pogonatus* ascended the throne (A. D. 668–685), a better prospect was opened for removing the Monothelite heresy, and reconciling the two Churches of the East and West.

SIXTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, A. D. 680.

This Council, which was held in the chapel of the imperial palace at Constantinople, was convoked by the emperor, with the consent of Pope *Agatho*. It is also called the First *Trullan Synod*, from the fact that the ceiling of the chapel was vaulted in the shape of a shell. The Council was opened November 7, A. D. 680, and closed September 16, A. D. 681. The number of bishops who attended it, including the three Papal Legates, was, at its close, one hundred and seventy-four. A laborious inquiry was made into the arguments adduced on the side of the Monothelites by Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, and on that of the Catholics by the Legates of Pope Agatho, who, starting with the Pope's *Epistola Dogmatica as a basis*,[1] finally, in the thirteenth of the eighteen Sessions, brought the discussion to a close, by defining, "*that, corresponding to the two natures in Christ, there were also two natural wills and two natural*

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[1] *Agatho's* excellent explanation of the two wills in Christ (an offset to the epist. dogmatica Leonis M. ad Flavian.), in the ep. ad Imperatores Heraclium et Tiberium (*Mansi*, T. XI., p. 233–286; *Harduin*, T. III., col. 1074–1116), met with unanimous approval on the part of the Council. The acts of the Third Council of Constantinople, or Sixth Ecumenical, complete in XVIII. πράξεις (actiones), in *Mansi*, T. XI., p. 190–922; *Harduin*, T. III., col. 1043–1644. *Hefele*, Hist. of the Councils, Vol. III., p. 231 sq.

operations, without division, without conversion or change, with nothing like antagonism and nothing like confusion; that the human will did not come into conflict with the Divine will, but harmonized with it, and was in all things subject to it; and finally, that the human will was not absorbed, but rather perfected and preserved by the Divine.[1]

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[1] This definitio (*ὅρος*) in the actio XVIII., in *Mansi.* T. XI., p. 636 sq.; *Harduin*, T. III., col. 1400 sq.: Ἡ *ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος—συμφώνως ὁρίζουσα ὁμολογεῖ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν* Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν *τὸν ἀληθινὸν* Θεὸν *ἡμῶν τὸν ἕνα τῆς ἁγίας ὁμοουσίου καὶ ζωαρχικῆς* Τριάδος, *τέλειον ἐν θεότητι, καὶ τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι.* Θεὸν *ἀληθῶς, καὶ ἀνθρώπον ἀληθῶς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος.* . . . (as above, see p. 601, note 1) *καὶ δύο φυσικὰς θελήσεις ἤτοι θελήματα ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ δύο φυσικὰς ἐνεργείας ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀμερίστως, ἀσυγχύτως κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων διδασκαλίαν ὡσαύτως κηρύττομεν· καὶ δύο μὲν φυσικὰ θελήματα οὐχ ὑπεναντία, μὴ γένοιτο, καθὼς οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ἔφησαν αἱρετικοὶ, ἀλλ' ἑπόμενον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον αὐτοῦ θέλημα καὶ μὴ ἀντίπιπτον ἢ ἀντιπαλαῖον, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑποτασσόμενον τῷ θείῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ πανσθενεῖ θελήματι. ἔδει λὰρ τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς θέλημα νικηθῆναι, ὑποταγῆναι δὲ τῷ θελήματι τῷ θεϊκῷ κατὰ τὸν πάνσοφον* Ἀθανάσιον. . . . *τὸ ἀνθρώπινον αὐτοῦ θέλημα θεωθὲν οὐκ ἀνῃρέθη, σέσωσται δὲ μᾶλλον, κατὰ τὸν θεολόγον* Γρηγόριον *λέγοντα· τὸ γὰρ ἐκείνου θέλειν, τοῦ κατὰ τὸν σωτῆρα νοουμένου, οὐδὲ ὑπεναντίον* Θεῷ *θεωθὲν ὅλον. δύο δὲ φυσικὰς ἐνεργείας ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀμερίστως, ἀσυγχύτως ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κυρίῳ, ἡμῶν* Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ *τῷ ἀληθινῷ* Θεῷ *ἡμῶν δοξάζομεν. τουτέστι θείαν ἐνέργειαν, καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐνέργειαν, κατὰ τὸν θεηγόρον* Λέοντα *τρανέστατα φάσκοντα· ἐνεργεῖ γὰρ ἑκατέρα μορφὴ μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας ὅπερ ἴδιον ἔσχηκε, τοῦ μὲν λόγου κατεργαζομένου τοῦτο, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ λόγου, τοῦ δὲ σώματος ἐκτελοῦντος ἅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ σώματος—πάντοθεν γοῦν τὸ ἀσύγχυτον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον φυλάττοντες, συντόμῳ φωνῇ τὸ πᾶν ἐξαγγέλλομεν.* . . . *καθ' ὃν δὴ λόγον καὶ δύο φυσικὰ θελήματά τε καὶ ἐνεργείας δοξάζομεν πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους καταλλήλως συντρέχοντα.*—Sancta et oecumenica synodus . . . consonanter definiens confitetur Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum verum Deum nostrum, unum de sancta et substantiali et vitae originem praebente Trinitate, perfectum in deitate, et perfectum eumdem in humanitate, Deum vere, et hominem vere eumdem ex anima rationali et corpore; et *duas naturales voluntates in eo, et duas naturales operationes,* indivise, inconvertibiliter, inseparabiliter, inconfuse, secundum SS. Patrum doctrinam adeoque praedicamus; et duas naturales voluntates non contrarias, absit, juxta quod impii asseruerunt haeretici; sed sequentem ejus humanam voluntatem, et non resistentem vel reluctantem; sed potius et subjectam diviniae ejus atque omnipotenti voluntati. Oportebat enim carnis voluntatem moveri, subjici vero voluntati divinae, juxta sapientissimum Athanasium . . . *humana ejus voluntas deificata, non est perempta,* salvata est autem magis secundum deiloquum Gregorium: Nam et illius velle, quod in Salvatore intelligitur, non est contrarium Deo, deificatum totum. Duas vero naturales operationes, indivise, inconvertibiliter, inconfuse, inseparabiliter, in eodem Domino nostro Jesu Christo vero Deo nostro glorificamus (sive asserimus), hoc est, divinam operationem et humanam operationem, secundum divinum praedica-

The unanimity of the Western bishops was so conspicuous, that the Orientals were finally prevailed upon to give up altogether a heresy which had already disturbed the peace of the Church for too long a time.

The Council, after a thorough discussion of the questions at issue, agreed upon a new profession of faith and to the usual *λόγος προσφωνητικός*, or *oratio compellatoria*, addressed to the emperor, added the following words: "We also excommunicate and pronounce anathema upon Theodore of Pharan, Sergius, Paul, Pyrrhus, Peter of Constantinople, and Cyrus of Alexandria; *also Honorius, who in all things was a follower of Sergius.*" *Leo II.*, the successor to Agatho, in a rescript to the emperor (A. D. 682), confirmed the decrees of the Council, and *renewed the anathema passed upon Honorius*, "because," the Pope goes on to say, "he did not honor this (Roman) Apostolic Church by the doctrine of Apostolic tradition, but, on the contrary, attempted to subvert the pure faith by disgraceful treachery;" or, as he wrote to the Spanish bishops, "because he did not at once extinguish the flame of heretical error, but *by his negligence contributed fuel to the fire.*"[1]

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torem Leonem apertissime asserentem: Agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium est: Verbo scilicet operante quod Verbi est, et carne exsequente quod carnis est.—Undique igitur inconfusum atque indivisum conservantes, brevi voce cuncta proferimus, . . . juxta quam rationem, et duas naturales voluntates et operationes confitemur, *ad salutem humani generis convenienter in eo concurrentes.*

[1] Cf. *Natalis Alex.* h. e. saec. VII., dissert. II. de Honorii damnatione in synodo VI. oecum. (T. X., p. 410-438), where the judgments of subsequent Popes on Honorius are also given in full. The otherwise free-minded Gallican concludes his discussion thus: Concludamus itaque Honorium a sexta synodo damnatum fuisse, *non ut haereticum*, sed ut haereseos et haereticorum *fautorem, utque reum negligentiae in illis coërcendis:* et juste fuisse damnatum, quia eadem culpa erroris fautores ac auctores ipsi tenentur.—Honorius cum Sergio, Cyro, etc. Monotheletis loquutus est (eorumque voces usurpavit), sed mente catholica, et sensu ab eorum errore penitus alieno: siquidem absolute duas voluntates Christi non negavit, sed voluntates pugnantes, ut supra ostendimus, p. 431 sq. **Palma*, praelect. hist. eccl., T. II, p. 104-129. The following arguments militate for the accuracy of this result of Nat. Alex. investigations: 1. In the actio IV. of this Council, a letter of Pope Agatho was read, in which he solemnly affirmed *three* times: "Apostolica Christi ecclesia (Romana) per Dei omnipotentis gratiam *a tramite apostolicae traditionis* NUNQUAM *errasse probabitur, nec haereticis novitatibus depravata succubuit*, sed ut ab exordio fidei christianae percepit ab auctoribus suis apostolorum

Philippicus Bardanes (A. D. 711–713) made an effort to revive the Monothelite heresy; but his successor, Anastasius II., completely suppressed it.

Quite a number continued to exist for several centuries among the inhabitants of Libanus and Antilibanus, under the name of *Maronites*, from John Maron, who, in the latter part of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century, was both the religious and the political leader of his nation. The correctness of this derivation has, however, often been questioned.[1]

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principibus illibate fine tenus permanet secundum ipsius domini Salvatoris divinam pollicitationem, quam suorum discipulorum *principi* in sacris evangeliis fatus est." (Luke xxii. 32.) Since this assertion met with no contradiction from the Council, and the *papal legates* present at the final decree did not enter protest against the anathema, but, on the contrary, subscribed to it, it is urged that it was both pronounced and understood in the sense of reus negligentiae and fautor haereseos. The interpretation of "*nunquam*," except once, meaning that no Roman Pontiff ever erred, except Honorius, and he only once (in *Ruckgaber*, l. c., p. 16–17), appears to us as strange as some of *Pennachi's* efforts at interpretation, whom Ruckgaber combats. The second argument in favor of this result is the *form* of the above decree: Expellimus et anathemati subjicimus Theodorum, Sergium, Paulum, Pyrrhum, etc.: et *cum his* (praeter hos Honorium quoque Papam veteris Romae. And it is in this form also that the emperor reports to the Pope: Anathematizamus et ejicimus Theodorum—Sergium—: *praeterea autem* Honorium quoque Papam veteris Romae, whom he, at the same time, calls a *favorer*, *abettor*, and *fortifier* of that heresy, who, he said, *contradicted himself* (ὁ τῆς αἱρέσεως βεβαιωτὴς καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ προσμαχόμενος). Also, the answer of Pope *Leo II.* is couched in the same form: Pariter anathematizamus novi erroris inventores: Theodorum,—Cyrum,—Sergium,—Pyrrhum, etc.—*nec non et Honorium*, qui hanc apostolicam ecclesiam non apostolicae traditionis doctrina lustravit, etc., as above. In like manner, the same Pope writes to King *Ervig*: *Et cum eis* Honorius Romanus, qui immaculatam apostolicae sedis regulam—maculari consensit. And it is in the *same* sense that the *Seventh* and *Eighth* Ecumenical Councils, as well as Pope Adrian II., repeated the anathema upon Honorius. The many doubts remaining on this controversy are for us effectually cleared up and removed by the above mentioned repeated declaration of the most learned contemporary, Abbot *Maximus*. Conf. *Schneeman*, on the Controversy of Honorius, p. 15–20.

[1] The first who combats this opinion is *Faustus Nagronus*, dissert. de orig. nom. et religione Maronitarum, Rom. 1679, and in *Enoplia*, fid. cath. rom. histor. dogm., Rom. 1694. He was opposed by *Renaudot*, hist. Patriarch. Alex. The arguments of both in *Le Quien*, Oriens christian., T. III., p. 3–40: ecclesia Maronitarum in monte Libano, and most recently again objected to by *Palma*, l. c., T. II., p. 138–141. *Wilh. Tyrius*, XXII. 8.

It seems scarcely credible that, after so many controversies, always inspired by a living, but frequently misguided faith; after the play of passions, at once so strong and so various, disturbing both Church and State, that the Greek Church should, on a sudden, be struck with a moral and intellectual paralysis, and all religious and scientific life be so speedily extinguished.

The dogmatic decrees of the Church, in the order in which they were defined by successive Councils, were first collected and arranged in *a thorough*, systematic form, by St. *John Damascene* († between 754 and 787).[1] With this ends that work of the Greek Church which *Origen* conceived to be its peculiar task, but which he himself was in his day unable to accomplish.

From this date down to the present day, the Oriental church has been split into four *principal parties*, viz: the so-called orthodox Greeks, who are notoriously opposed to the Church of Rome; the united Greeks, who have given up all former points of difference, and united with the Catholic Church; and the Nestorians and Monophysites, who themselves are divided into many factions, known by different names.

Observation.—The Sixth Ecumenical Council met with such decided opposition that it was necessary to convoke the *Second Trullan Synod* (A. D. 692), in which its decrees were confirmed. This synod was also called "*συνοδος πενθέκτη*" (Concilium Quinisextum), because it added one hundred and two canons relating to the organization and *discipline* of the Church to the decrees of the Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Councils, which were almost exclusively of a dogmatical character.[2] The most important of these canons, and those which were most decisive in their influence on the exterior relations of the Greek and Latin Churches, were the second on the number of the apostolic canons; the sixth and the thirteenth relating to the *marriage of deacons* and *priests*; the thirty-sixth on the rank of the *Patriarch of Constantinople*; the fifty-fifth, prohibiting fasting on Saturdays; and the eighty-second against *images* representing the *Lamb*. Subsequently, the questions of the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the eucharistic sacrifice, the dispute on divorce, and as to who could administer the sacrament of confirmation, besides the *dispute* mentioned above *on the procession of the Holy Ghost* a Patre Filioque, or per Filium, became, from this time forward, the *principal subjects* of discussion between the Greek and the Roman churches. Pope *Sergius I.* forbade the promulgation in the Western Church of the decrees of 692.

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[1] *Joannis Damasceni*, opp. *πηγὴ γνώσεως* (source of information) consists of: I. *τὰ φιλοσοφικά* (things philosophical); II. *περὶ αἱρέσεων* (on heresies); and, especially, III. *ἔκδοσις ἀκριβὴς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως* (an accurate exposition of the orthodox faith); ed. *Le Quien*, Ord. Praedicat., Paris, 1712, 2 Tom. fol.

[2] Acta concilii Quinisexti, in *Mansi*, T. XI., p. 921 sq.; *Harduin*, T. III., p. 1645 sq. Cf. *Natalis Alex.* h. e., saec. VII., dissert. III. de canonibus synodi Quinisextae et ejusdem epocha (T. X., p. 438 sq.) *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. III., p. 298–318, and *Palma*, praelectiones h. e. II., p. 151–160.

CHAPTER III.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

For literature, conf. §§ 52 and 82. The Imperial Laws relative to the Constitution of the Church, in the Cod. Theodos. and Justinian, stated by *Riffel*, in l. c., Book II., p. 114–271. *Thomassini*, vetus et nova eccl. discipl., etc. *Planck*, Hist. of the Social Organization of the Church, Vol. I., p. 276 sq.

§ 125. *Characteristic of the New Relations between Church and State.*

The Catholic Church had, during the First Epoch, enjoyed under a Pagan government all the advantages of perfect freedom of action with regard to her *internal* affairs, her doctrine, and her discipline. But from this time forward she was obliged to pay the penalty of being the recognized religion of the State, defended and protected by it, and in consequence gradually lost something of her ancient independence by being obliged to *share with the State the administration of ecclesiastical affairs.*

The fact that Christianity was a Divine institution, independent of all human authority, that its very growth and development were based on this idea, should have been sufficient to have forever precluded the possibility of any conflict between Church and State, or any *confusion* of the rights and prerogatives *of the one with those of the other. Constantine* had, on many solemn occasions (cf. p. 470), recognized this clear distinction between the one and the other, but his policy was not always of a piece with his public utterances. His son *Constantius*, entirely disregarding the broad distinction between the two, frequently exercised a tyrannical violence in purely ecclesiastical and dogmatic affairs, and was often led to extreme measures by the counsel of bishops, who were not ashamed to sacrifice their convictions to the policy of the State, from which they held their titles and their honors. But there were others who were firm in their faith, and had the courage to defend it, such as *Athanasius*, *Hilary* of *Pictavium* (Poitiers), *Hosius* of *Corduba*, *Lucifer* of *Calaris*, *Basil the Great*, *St. Ambrose*, and the Popes, who put aside all human respect, and manfully protested against this moral restraint and *uncalled-for interference of the secular power in things which pertained to God alone.*[1] These, obedient to the command of Christ, "*Give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's,*" and to the counsel of the Apostles, "*We must obey God rather than man,*" not unfrequently preferred exile and death to the delusive promises of this world.

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[1] *Athanasius:* Quis canon tradidit, *Comites*—ecclesiasticis praeesse rebus aut edicto judicia eorum, qui *episcopi* vocantur, promulgare?—si namque illud episcoporum decretum est, quid illud attinet ad Imperatorem?—quandonam a saeculo res hujusmodi audita est? quandonam ecclesiae decretum ab Imperatore accepit auctoritatem aut pro decreto illud habitum est? Hist. Arianor., nros. 51 and 52, ed. *Bened.*, Patav. 1777, T. I., p. 296 sq. *Beautiful*, says *Neander, and worthy the frankness becoming a bishop*, is the language of *St. Hilary* of Poitiers to Constantius: "Idcirco laboratis (Caesares) et salutaribus consiliis rempublicam regitis—ut omnes, quibus imperatis, dulcissima libertate potiantur. Certe vox exclamantium a tua mansuetudine exaudiri debet, *Catholicus* sum, nolo esse *haereticus;* Christianus sum, non Arianus: et melius mihi in hoc saeculo mori, quam alicujus *privati* potentia dominante castam veritatis virginitatem corrumpere. Aequumque debet videri sanctitati Tuae, ut *qui timent Dominum Deum et divinum* judicum, non polluantur aut contaminentur exsecrandis blasphemiis, sed habeant potestatem, ut *eos sequantur episcopos et praepositos*, qui et inviolata conservant foedera caritatis et cupiunt perpetuam et sinceram habere pacem. Nec fieri potest, nec ratio patitur, ut repugnantia congruant, dissimilia conglutinentur, vera et falsa misceantur.—*Si ad fidem veram istiusmodi vis adhiberetur:* episcopalis doctrina obviam pergeret diceretque: Deus universitatis est Dominus, obsequio non eget necessario, non requirit coactam confessionem." Ad Const., lib. I., n. 2 et 6, ed. *Bened.*, Venet. 1750, T. II., p. 422. Still more bold is the language of *Hilary* in his lib. *contr.* Constant.: Atque utinam illud potius omnipotens—Deus aetati meae et tempori praestitisses, ut hoc confessionis meae in te atque in Unigenitum tuum ministerium Neronianis Decianisve temporibus explessem!—at nunc pugnamus contra persecutorem fallentem, contra hostem blandientem, contra Constantium Antichristum—qui Christum confitetur, ut neget, unitatem procurat, ne pax sit, haereses comprimit, ne Christiani sint; sacerdotes honorat, ne episcopi sint; ecclesiae tecta struit, ut fidem destruat.—Proclamo tibi, Constanti, quod Neroni loquuturus fuissem, quod ex me Decius et Maximianus audirent: Contra Deum pugnas, contra ecclesiam saevis, sanctos persequeris, praedicatores Christi odis, religionem tollis, tyrannus non jam humanorum, sed divinorum es—Antichristum praevenis et arcanorum mysteria ejus operaris, etc., n. 4–7, T. II., p. 445 sq. *Lucifer* of Calaris speaks out his mind with still greater boldness in his writings, directed principally against Constantius (see p. 544, note 2), whom he compares to the personages branded in Holy Writ.

Many of the other emperors, notably after the time of *Justinian*, exhibited a disposition to proceed in the same arbitrary manner. Conscious that they possessed an *absolute* and *unlimited* authority, they were not slow to bring it to bear upon religious controversies, and frequently published *edicts regulating the faith* of their subjects, and interfered in the appointment of bishops, to the great detriment of the Church. The example of the Greek Church during these years will ever remain a terrible warning to those who are fond of placing the Church in a false position with regard to the State. But this tyrannical despotism served at least the purpose of bringing out the inherent energy and power of the Church. "The Church," says St. *Hilary* of Poitiers,[1] "has this distinctive characteristic, that she triumphs in the midst of persecution, gains new life when trodden under foot, prospers when despised, conquers when overcome, recommends her claims to the intelligent when abused, and rises victorious when her cause seems lost."

The Church of the West was always distinguished for a greater spirit of independence than that of the East. There the theocratic principle was fully recognized, and the authority of the Pope was a sheet-anchor of safety.

When the condition of the Church with regard to the State was changed, and their mutual relations adjusted, her prerogatives and sphere of action were enlarged: 1. After having obtained political recognition, she acquired the right of accepting donations and legacies, which, as a rule, were *set apart by the bishops* for the erection and maintenance of hospitals for the sick, orphan asylums, and homes for the aged who were destitute of all other means of support. 2. The exercise of a limited jurisdiction was granted to the bishops in the spirit of the Apostle's words, 1 Cor. vi. 1 et sq., and the Churches of the true God enjoyed the *right of asylum* which had been formerly the privilege of the temples of false gods and the statues of the emperors.[1] 3. The praiseworthy practice of the bishops to exhort the judges to treat those accused before them with humanity, and the custom of visiting the prisons on every Wednesday and Friday, which had hitherto been left to their option and charity, was now made obligatory upon all.[2]

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[1] Ecclesia hoc habet proprium: dum persecutionem patitur floret, dum opprimitur crescit, dum contemnitur proficit, dum laeditur vincit, dum arguitur intelligit; *tunc stat quum superari videtur* (de trinit., libb. VII., c. 4).

But if State interference was a cause of frequently withdrawing the attention of the bishops and the clergy from the august functions of their sacred ministry, it also put them in a position to resist the despotism of the secular power, and provided an opportunity for the *spread* of Christian principles, particularly as the bishops were frequently commissioned to keep an eye over the prefects of the provinces.[3] They were, moreover, as a rule, the only men who possessed sufficient courage to oppose the anger of a governor or the tyranny of an emperor. As an example of the exercise of this manly courage, we may mention the case of Bishop *Flavian*, who obtained from the emperor Theodosius the Great a pardon for the citizens of Antioch, who had wantonly destroyed the statues of the emperors. In this way the Church, though under an arbitrary government and an absolute rule, became the refuge of liberty and the guardian of the rights of man.

These are the first evidences of that mutual coöperation between the two powers, which gradually developed into a *holy alliance between royalty and the priesthood*, and afterward worked harmoniously for the true interest and progress of mankind. Perhaps the best expression of this idea may be found in the words of Pope *Gelasius* to the emperor Anastasius: "*Duo sunt, Imperator Auguste, quibus principaliter mundus hic regitur: auctoritas sacra Pontificum et regalis potestas*" (ep. 8); and comparing the one with the other, the proposition has gradually taken definite shape, which, since that day, has become of so great importance, and has so frequently been repeated: "*The priesthood is as much above royalty as the soul is above the body.*"[1]

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[1] *Codex Theodos.* IX. 45, 1–3. Cf. *Bingham*, l. VIII., c. 11., Vol. III.., p. 353 sq.

[2] *Cod. Theod.* XI. 3, 7. *Cod. Just.* I. 4, 22, 23.

[3] *Conc. Arelat.*, can. 7, in *Harduin*, T. I., p. 254.

§ 126. *Increase in the Number of Ecclesiastical Functions.*

†*Thomassini* vet. et nova eccl. discipl., T. III., lib. II., c. 2, de potestate Oeconomorum in Oriente et Occidente prioribus quinque ecclesiae saeculis; T. I., lib. II., c. 97, de defensoribus; T. I., lib. II., c. 100, de syncellis; T. I., lib. II., c. 3 and 4, de Archipresbyteris; T. I., lib. II., c. 17 and 18, de Archidiaconis per quinque priora saecula. *Braun*, Church Property from the Earliest Times to Justinian, Giessen, 1860.

The number of ecclesiastical functions and offices increased with the scope of the Church's activity. From the fifth century forward it was the custom of the bishops to appoint *administrators* (*οἰκονόμος*),[2] whose duty it was to look after Church property, and to render an account of everything to the bishop. These officials had also the privilege of claiming protection and aid from the State when such were required to enable them to perform the duties of their office. But the right of the State to control and administer Church property, was frequently and most resolutely resisted.[1] There were also *notaries* (*notarii, exceptores*) for drawing up ecclesiastical deeds; *archivists* (*χαρτοφύλακες*), to whose safe-keeping these were committed, and *defenders* (*ἔκδικος*), who looked after the rights and privileges of the Church before the secular tribunals. On the other hand, the office of *deaconess* was permitted to fall gradually into disuse throughout the West during this epoch,[2] but was retained for some time longer in the East. The *chorepiscopi* (*vide* p. 394) were abolished at the Synod of Laodicea, "*that disgrace might not come upon the name and authority of Bishop.*"

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[1] We read, even in the Constitut. Apostol. II. 34: *Ὅσῳ τοίνυν ψυχὴ σώματος κρείττων, τοσούτῳ ἱερωσύνη βασιλείας· δεσμεύει γὰρ αὐτὴ καὶ λύει τοὺς τιμωρίας ἢ ἀφέσεως ἀξίους. διὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον στέργειν ὀφείλετε ὡς πατέρα, φοβεῖσθαι ὡς βασιλέα, τιμᾶν ὡς κύριον.*—By as much, therefore, as the soul is superior to the body, by so much is the priesthood superior to royalty: for it either binds or looses those who are worthy either of punishment or pardon; wherefore you should love the bishop as a father, fear him as a king, honor him as your Lord. (*Galland.* bibl., T. III., p. 58; *Mansi*, T. I., p. 336.) *Gregory Nazianzen*, Orat. XVII., p. 271, says to the princes: *Ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νόμος ὑποτίθησιν ὑμᾶς τῇ ἐμῇ δυναστείᾳ καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ βήματι. ἄρχομεν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοί, προσθήσω δ' ὅτι καὶ τὴν μείζονα καὶ τελεωτέραν ἀρχὴν, ἢ δεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑποχωρῆσαι τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ τοῖς γηΐνοις τὰ ἐπουράνια.*—The law of Christ subjects you also to my power and to my throne: for we also rule, and I will add that we wield a higher and a more perfect power; for, if this be not so, then the spirit must yield to the flesh, and things heavenly to things earthly. The same is found also, in several places, in *Chrysost.* de sacerdot. III. 1, homil. XV., in ep. II. ad Corinth. and hom. IV. de verb. Jesaiae. We find, in the first place: *ἱερωσύνης δὲ προκειμένης, ἢ τοσοῦτον ἀνωτέρω βασιλείας ἕστηκεν ὅσον πνεύματος καὶ σαρκὸς τὸ μέσον, τολμήσει τίς ἡμᾶς ὑπεροψίας γράφεσθαι.*—But since the priesthood, of which we propose to speak, is as much superior to royalty as the spirit is superior to the flesh, will any one then dare accuse me of pride? The words addressed by *Constantine* the Great to the bishops of Nice are particularly remarkable: Deus vos constituit sacerdotes et potestatem vobis dedit *de nobis quoque judicandi*, et ideo nos a vobis recte judicamur. Vos autem non potestis ab hominibus judicari, propter quod Dei solius inter vos exspectare judicium et vestra jurgia quaecunque sunt, ad illud divinum reserventur examen, in *Rufin.* hist. eccl. X. 2.

[2] The *Council of Chalcedon*, in its actio IX., purposely establishes and fixes forever the office of *householders*, to prevent any arbitrary administration of Church property. See *Harduin*, T. II., col. 606.

The bishops were now constantly attended by the "*syncellus*" (*σύγκελλος, cubicularius*), whose office was either that of adviser or father confessor; the *archpriest* was in all spiritual affairs the vicar of the bishop. The *archdeacon* took the chief burden in administering the temporal affairs of the diocese, and in the East enjoyed, after the bishop, the greatest consideration; was present at Councils as his representative (*vicarius, delegatus*); became, on the death of the bishop, the administrator of the diocese, an office which he held during the vacancy of the see, to which he himself usually succeeded.

Finally, there grew up about the episcopal sees pious confraternities, whose members took upon themselves the duties of visiting the sick and burying the dead. These were called *Parabolani*,[3] from the courage which they exhibited in seasons of epidemic and pestilence, and also went under the name of Diggers (*Fossores*). As all those who performed these works of charity were classed under the general name of clerics, and as the other orders of the clergy—of *priests*, *deacons*, and *subdeacons* (the last named being now ranked among the higher orders), and among the minor orders, those of reader, chanter, exorcist, and porter—continued still to exist, it began to be feared that there might be too great a number entering the clerical state, and *imperial prohibitory laws*[1] were issued, which imposed certain restrictions and qualifications upon candidates seeking admission into the ranks of the clergy.

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[1] Conf. *Braun*, p. 58–80.

[2] *Pankowsky*, de Diaconissis, Ratisb. 1866.

[3] Derived from *παραβάλλεσθαι τὴν ζωὴν, ψυχήν*, because these men exposed their lives during the prevalence of contagious diseases. The expression *κοπιάται* (copiatae), grave-digger, was applied to them. The treatise de Sept. ordinib. Ecclesiae (*Hieronym.*, opp. ed. *Vallarsii*, T. X., p. 157 sq.), falsely attributed to St. Jerome, designates the copiatae under the name of *fossarii*, as the last order of the clergy. According to the *Codex Theodos.* XVI. 2, 42, of the year 416, there were to be but 500 parabolani at Alexandria, but by the lex 43 of the year 418, 600 were granted, and, according to the *Codex Justinian.* I. 2, 4, their number was reduced at Constantinople from 1100 to 950.

A law, passed in the year 520, prescribed that the principal Church of Rome should have sixty priests, one hundred deacons, ninety subdeacons, one hundred and ten readers, twenty chanters, and one hundred and ten porters, whereas in the year 300 there were in the whole city of Rome but one hundred and fifty-four ecclesiastics.

The *Church* also added, besides the qualifications prescribed by the above law, still others, requiring that all candidates for holy orders should be free from all *corporal defects* and monstrosities.

§ 127. *Education, Election, Celibacy, Ordination, and Support of the Clergy.* (Cf. §§ 84 and 85.)

Thomassini vet. et nova eccl. disciplina, T. I., lib. II., c. 60–62 (de coelibatu Clericor. in eccl. oriental. et lat.); lib. III., c. 2, 5 (de congregationibus mere clerical. et de seminariis). *Aug. Theiner*, Hist. of Institutions for Clerical Education, Mentz, 1835, p. 1–26. *Hefele*, Contributions to Ch. H., Vol. I., p.

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[1] *Constantine* had already commanded, anno 320: Nullum deinceps decurionem vel ex decurione progenitum, vel etiam instructum idoneis facultatibus, atque obeundis publicis muneribus opportunum ad clericorum nomen obsequiumque confugere; sed eos de caetero in defunctorum duntaxat clericorum loca subrogari, qui fortuna tenues, neque muneribus civilibus teneantur obstricti. Still more special restrictions in *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 2, 17, 32, 43; XIII. 1, 11; XIV. 3, 11; XV. 4, 8 (against slaves; the latter could be received among the clergy but with the consent of their masters). *Justin.* Nov. 123, 17, against those liable to military duty. Cf. *Innoc.* I. ep. 2, 3. *Ambros.* ep. 29. *Leo M.* ep. I. 1, on the obtrusiveness of the copiatae, fossores, parabolani. *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 2, 15; XIII. 1, 1; VII. 20, 12; and XVI. 2, 42, 43. *Justin.*, Nov. 3 of the year 535.

127 sq. † *Göschl*, on the Origin of Ecclesiastical Tithes, a Programme, Aschaffenburg, 1837. Conf. literature before § 85.

During this epoch, as during the preceding one (see p. 395), the education of the clergy was mostly acquired by practice and by exercise in ecclesiastical functions, under the immediate supervision of their bishops. The greatest Doctors of the Church, during this epoch, had not made their studies with the purpose of entering upon a clerical state of life, but, having once been called to a higher destiny, they put the learning, which they had acquired with quite a different aim in view, to the very best advantage in the service of God and of His Church. As the external relations and conditions of the Church had now undergone a complete change, the want of a special scientific and theological training began to be felt. Some such system was required as that which had been so successful in the *Catechetical School* of *Alexandria*, and which had already been imitated at *Caesarea*, *Antioch*, and *Rome*. In the East the *exegetical School* of *Antioch* was extensively copied: one was founded at *Edessa* through the efforts of *Ephraëm* the Syrian, which was specially intended for the education of the Persian clergy; and others of a similar character, at *Nisibis*, in Mesopotamia, and at *Rhinocorura*, in Palestine.

The impulse given to theological studies in the West was due principally to the efforts of St. *Augustine*, who was himself, both in his writings and in the holiness of his life, a perfect pattern for his young clergy. There were *seminaries* established for the instruction and education of the clergy in both Africa and Italy, modeled after that of the great bishop of Hippo. It will be sufficient, as an example of these, to mention the institutions called into existence through the efforts of St. *Eusebius* of *Vercelli* and St. *Exsuperantius* of Milan, which combined all the benefits of a close observance of monastic rule with the scholarly attainments of the Levite. If we add to all this the inspiring example of good and holy priests, and the influence of the *writings* of the Doctors of the Church, who, both by word and deed, commanded the admiration and reverence of the world for the sublime dignity of the priestly character, we shall have some notion of the elements that contributed to the education of a priest in those days. Moreover, there appeared in rapid succession such writings as the treatise of St. *Ambrose on Duties;*[1] the Discourse of St. *Gregory Nazianzen on the Flight;*[2] the incomparable work of St. *Chrysostom on the Priesthood;*[3] and the Sermons of St. *Ephraëm* the Syrian, who was before even the Orator, called from his eloquence the Mouth of Gold, in speaking of the sublime dignity of the priesthood.[4] Some of the epistles of St. *Jerome*[5] and St. *Augustine*[6] are also taken up with enthusiastic descriptions of the ideal priest. Finally, the *pastoral rules of Gregory the Great,*[7] because of their excellence and practical bearing, were widely circulated throughout the Christian world, and have continued to exercise a powerful influence down to the present day. Councils and Popes endeavored by their ordinances to produce a class of priests who would express by the holiness of their lives, by the dignity of their characters, and by their eminent learning, the ideal priesthood so beautifully described by the Doctors of the Church.

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[1] *Ambros.* de officiis ministror., libb. III., ed. *Bened.*, T. II., p. 1–142, and several other separate editions, cum commem. de philosoph. morali veterum, ed. *Foertsch*, Stuttg. 1698, 8vo; ed. Lps. 1699, 8vo; ed. *Gilbert*, Lps. 1839; ed. *Krabinger*, Tübg. 1857. Cf. †*Bittner*, de Ciceronianis et Ambrosianis officiorum libris commentatio, Brunsb. 1848. Transl. into German by *P. Lichter*, Coblenz, 1830; by *Haas*, Tübg. 1862.

[2] *Gregor. Nazianz. λόγος περὶ φυγῆς*—sermon on the flight—(opp. ed. *Morelli*, Colon. 1690, T. I., p. 1–45), ed. *Alzog*, Freibg. (1858) 1869. Gregory Nazianzen's Apology for Priests and Candidates for the Priesthood; transl. from Greek into German by *Arnoldi*, Mentz, 1826.

[3] *Chrysost. περὶ ἱερωσύνης λόγοι*—sermons on the priesthood—VI. ed. ster. e recens. *Bengel.*, Lps. (1825) 1865; ed. gr. et lat. cura *Lomler*, Rudolphopoli, 1837; Id. graece, Ibid.; transl. into Germ. by *Hasselbach*, Stralsund, 1820; by †*Ritter*, Berlin, 1821; by *Beda Weber*, Innsbr. 1833; by *Scholz*, Madgeburg, 1847; by *Mitterutzner*, Kempten, 1869.

[4] *Ephraem Syr.*, sermo de sacerdotio goes on in this way: O miraculum stupendum, o potestas ineffabilis, o tremendum sacerdotii mysterium, spiritale ac vivum, venerandum et incomprehensibile, quod Christus in hunc mundum veniens etiam indignis impertitus est.—Genu posito, lacrymis atque suspiriis oro, ut hunc sacerdoti thesaurum inspiciamus, thesaurum inquam his, qui eum digne et sancte custodiant. Ed. *Assemani* syriace, gr. et lat. T. III.

[5] *Hieron.* epp. ad Pammach., ad Nepotian. (opp ed. *Vallarsii*, T. I., p. 254.)

[6] On *St. Augustine*, see Theiner, l. l., p. 11 sq.

[7] Regulae pastorales (opp. *Greg. M.*, ed. *Bened.*, T. II., p. 1 sq.), ed. *Westhoff*, Monast. 1846; in German by *Felner*, Hadamar, 1828; by *Feyerabend*, Munich, 1827.

These ordinances forbade persons to go up for deacon's orders before the age of thirty, although they might receive the minor orders at any time under that age.

An interval of five years was required between the diaconate and the priesthood, and ten years of active service and an unblemished character, from their first reception of orders, to be eligible to the episcopacy.

These laws, however, were not always strictly observed. Many bishops, desirous of having about their persons a numerous clergy, who would contribute to their vanity and desire of empty show, prematurely ordained subjects, who entered the ecclesiastical state simply and solely for its temporal advantages and privileges.

The exalted idea formed of the priesthood increased the *obligation of clerical celibacy*, which *grew daily more and more imperative* (cf. p. 398 sq.); and the arguments constantly advanced in support of this rule were, that the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice and the administration of the Sacraments required this purity of body; that he who taught the faithful and preached the Gospel, should be free from the distracting cares of the world, that he might *have time to devote to higher studies*, and take under his charge, not one or two children, but the children of his entire flock, begotten not of the flesh, nor by the will of man, but of God.

According to the testimony of *Eusebius*, *Chrysostom*, *Jerome*, *Epiphanius*, and others, celibacy would seem to have been pretty *generally* observed in the *East*.[1] The refusal of *Synesius* to accept the bishopric of *Ptolemais* because he would not separate from his wife, and did not wish to be considered while living with her as an adulterer, instead of disproving, rather *confirms* this statement. It can not, however, be denied that there were frequent exceptions to the rule, as we learn from the words of St. *Epiphanius*, so commonly quoted in this connection. In speaking of the rule of celibacy, he says, "that it is the custom wherever the laws of the Church are duly observed." But apart from all such testimony, there were many notorious examples of utter disregard for the rule of celibacy, and particularly in the *patriarchate* of *Constantinople.*

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[1] *St. Jerome* says: Episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi aut virgines eliguntur, aut vidui, aut certe *post sacerdotium* in aeternum pudici (ep. ad Pammach.), and to Jovinian he says: Certe confiteris, non posse esse Episcopum qui in episcopatu filios faciat. Alioquin si deprehensus fuerit, non quasi vir tenebitur, sed quasi adultur damnabitur (adv. Jovin., lib. I.) Likewise adv. Vigilantium: Quid facient Orientis ecclesiae, quid Aegypti et sedis Apostolicae? quae aut virgines clericos recipiunt aut continentes, aut si uxores habuerint, *mariti esse desistunt.* *Epiphanius* relates: Eum qui adhuc in matrimonio degit, ac liberis dat operam, —*nequaquam ad diaconi, presbyteri, episcopi* aut *hypodiaconi ordinem admittit* (ecclesia) haeres. 59, c. 4. Similarly *Chrysost.* homil. X., in ep. ad Timoth.

The austere old man and holy bishop, *Paphnutius*, when the subject was brought before the Council of Nice, obtained by his representation the *renewal* of the ordinance requiring that those who had been ordained either deacons, priests, or bishops, before marriage, should remain unmarried; but that *laymen*, who had married before taking orders, should not be obliged, under the then existing state of affairs, to give up the society of their wives.[1] Hence, also, the Synod of *Gangra*, held about the middle of the fourth century, defended the cause of married priests against the extreme Eustathians, who asserted "that no one should take part in the sacrifice of a married priest."[2] The *Council of Nice* also passed, in its Third Canon, a disciplinary regulation forbidding "bishops, priests, deacons, or other persons in clerical orders, to have about them *συνείσακτοι* or *ἀγαπηταί* (*subintroductae, adopted or spiritual sisters*), unless they were their mothers, sisters, aunts, or some such persons upon whom no suspicion could fall."[3] Several synods, held at Carthage after the year 490, threatened bishops, priests, and deacons with deposition, if they continued to persist in violating this rule.[4] The rule of celibacy was far more strictly observed in the *West;* here it included also *subdeacons*, because they also had then been admitted to serve at the altar. St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Jerome labored to inspire the Popes *Siricius*, *Innocent I.*, *Leo the Great*, *Pelagius II.*, and *Gregory the Great*, with an enthusiastic love for the celibate or virginal state, and *many synods* insisted on the strict observance of the laws relating to it.[1] The subject was even taken up by *Justinian*, who urged the strict enforcement of the rule of celibacy, and even went so far as to attempt to exclude widowers from the episcopate, but this excessive zeal was resisted by the Church.[2] After the true character of the priesthood had become almost extinct in the Greek Church, the *Trullan Synod* of A. D. 692, composed chiefly of bishops from the patriarchate of Constantinople, went so far as to make the rule of celibacy obligatory only on *bishops*, and declared that subdeacons, deacons, and priests might marry once *before* their ordination, and this lax discipline is *still* permitted among the Greeks.[3] In this way the application of the Tenth Canon of Ancyra was restricted (*vide* p. 403, n. 4).

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[1] Conf. *Freiburg. Eccl. Cycloped.*, art. "*Nice*," Vol. VII., p. 557 sq.

[2] *Hefele*, Hist. of Counc., Vol. I., p. 755 sq., and Contrib. to Ch. H., Vol. I.

[3] Ibid., p. 363. *St. Chrysostom* also preached two sermons: *περὶ τοῦ μὴ τὰς κανονικὰς συνοικεῖν ἀνδράσιν* and *πρὸς τοὺς συνεισάκτους ἔχοντας*.—That virgins, dedicated to the service of the Church, should not live together with men, and against those who kept mulieres subintroductas.

[4] *Hefele*, l. c., Vol. II., pp. 46, 70, and 112.

The sacrament of *orders*, which confers the grace and the power necessary for the exercise of the sacred functions peculiar to each office of the hierarchy, imprints an indelible character upon the soul, and on this account can not, any more than baptism, be received oftener than once. As qualifications for the reception of Holy Orders, it was required that the candidate should never have belonged to an heretical or a schismatical sect, and should never have performed a public penance; and, in the case of one going up to receive *priest's orders*, it was also necessary that the congregation there present should signify their approval by saying, "*He is worthy.*" With exceptional cases, priests were always ordained for particular churches, and they were not allowed to pass from one church to another without very substantial and satisfactory reasons.[1]

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[1] Witness, especially, the two strong epistles, written A. D. 385, by Pope *Siricius* to *Himerius*, Bishop of Tarragona, and A. D. 405, by *Innocent I.*, to *Exsuperius*, Bishop of Toulouse, Vicars Apost. for Spain and Gaul, to be found in *Coustant's* Collection of the Epistles of Roman Pontiffs, col. 623. Cf. *Palma*, praelectiones hist. eccl., Vol. II., p. 148 sq. (TR.'s NOTE.) Cf. also *Klitsche*, Hist. of Celibacy, p. 98–133.

[2] Ibidem, pp. 65, 66. *Justinian* offers this reason: Vix fieri potest, ut vacans hujus quotidianae vitae curis, quas liberi creant parenti maximas, omne studium, omnemque cogitationem circa divinam liturgiam et res ecclesiasticas consumat. Oportet enim episcopum minime impeditum affectionibus carnalium liberorum omnium fidelium spiritualem esse patrem.

[3] *Canon.* VI. runs thus: Quoniam in Apostolicis canonibus dictum est, eorum qui non ducta uxore in clerum promoventur, solos *lectores* et *cantores* uxorem posse ducere; et nos hoc servantes decernimus, ut deinceps nulli penitus hypodiacono, vel diacono, vel presbytero *post* suam ordinationem contrahere liceat. Si autem fuerit hoc ausus facere deponatur. Si quis autem eorum, qui in clerum accedunt, velit lege matrimonii mulieri conjungi antequam *hypodiaconus*, vel *diaconus*, vel *presbyter* ordinetur, hoc faciat.

The *support* of the clergy, as has been said above, was obtained from the voluntary contributions of the faithful. This practice was in imitation of the *tithes* paid by the Jews to their priests and levites, and according to the teaching of Christ and His Apostles,[2] and was frequently insisted upon by St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and others.[3] To these offerings should be added the numerous *legacies* which the Church received about this time, and the contributions of corn granted annually to the clergy out of the public granaries by order of Constantine. In the *West* the revenues were usually divided into four parts—*one for the bishop*, *one for the clergy*, *one for the poor*, *and one for* constructing and keeping in repair *ecclesiastical buildings*.

Still, there were bishops, and priests, *and deacons*, during this epoch, who, following the advice of the Fourth Council of Carthage, earned their livelihood by the labor of their hands.[4] There were, however, many occupations and professions specified which the clergy were not permitted to enter upon.

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[1] *Thomassini*, l. c., T. II., lib. I., c. 1–4.

[2] Luke x. 7; 1 Cor. ix. 13.

[3] *Hieronym.* comment., in Malach., c. 3. *Augustin.* comment., in Psalm 146. *Chrysost.* homil. XV., in ep. ad Ephes. Cf. *Thomassini*, l. l., Tom. III., lib. II., c. 12–14. See *Freiburg Eccl. Cyclopedia*, Vol. I., p. 801 sq.

[4] *Concil. Carthag.* IV., anno 398, can. 52: Clericus victum et vestitum sibi artificiolo vel agricultura, absque officii sui detrimento paret. Can. 53: Omnes clerici, qui ad operandum validiores sunt et artificiola et litteras discant. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 982; *Mansi*, T. III., p. 955.) Cf. *Thomassini*, T. III., lib. III., c. 17.

§ 128. *The Bishop and his Diocese.*

Thomassini, l. l., T. I., lib. I. (de primo et principe Cleri ordine, de Episcopatu et omnibus ejusdem gradibus), c. 50–55, de Episcopis et de episcopal. sedib. et Episcopatu ipso; T. II., lib. II., c. 1–9 (de electionibus Episcoporum). *Staudenmaier*, Hist. of the Election of Bishops, p. 29–56.

The altered condition of the Church during this epoch became especially visible in the *episcopacy.* The persecutions which the Church had but lately passed through, had produced a clergy firm in their faith, sound in their morals, and adorned with every priestly virtue. *Theodoret* said, and without any exaggeration, of the three hundred bishops assembled at Nice, and whose dress was a witness of their poverty, "*that in them one might behold a band of the true martyrs of Christ.*"

But as things went now, a fine exterior was but too frequently the token of the poverty within; from this time forward, bishops, instead of the trials and persecutions that had been a condition of their office, were the recipients of wealth and honors, which excited the cupidity and inflamed the ambition of some, and fed the vanity and ministered to the prodigality of others. It is true, many of the laymen in the Catholic communities of the larger cities exacted a certain state and magnificence, and found fault with the episcopal simplicity of St. John Chrysostom. But, apart from all this, *Ammianus Marcellinus* witnesses the fact,[1] that, as a rule, the bishops remained faithful to the simplicity of the Gospel, a manner of life which both edifies and comforts the Church of Christ.

At the opening of this epoch, the *people* still had a voice in the *election of bishops;* they sometimes proposed a candidate to be confirmed by the metropolitan of the province, and sometimes signified their assent to the choice of the clergy.

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[1] *Ammian. Marcellin.* XXVII. 3, whilst severely censuring the Roman bishops for giving banquets, surpassing even those of kings, goes on to say: Qui esse poterant beati re vera, si magnitudine Urbis despecta quam vitiis opponunt, ad imitationem Antistitum quorundam provincialium viverent: quos tenuitas edendi potandique parcissime, vilitas etiam indumentorum, et supercilia humum spectantia, perpetuo Numini verisque ejus cultoribus ut puros commendant et verecundos. Ed. *Valesii*, p. 481.

These latter, however, gave the decision in case of doubt, and, when there was danger of the choice falling upon an unworthy person, they fixed upon one more worthy, and thus changed the result of the election. It was the custom in some places for the bishops of the province to propose three candidates, from whom the clergy and people were to select the one they thought the most worthy; while in other places the very converse of this was the rule, and the clergy and people proposed three, from whom the *metropolitan* selected and consecrated one. When it chanced that the election was either contested or divided, the metropolitan acted as arbitrator.[1]

By a decree of the Council of Nice, which served as a rule for both the East and the West, if possible *all the bishops of the province*, and *in any case three* of them, should participate in the election of a bishop; their choice should be approved in writing by those who were absent, and confirmed by the *metropolitan*.[2] The Council of Antioch (A. D. 341) and the Fourth Council of Carthage[3] passed similar decrees. The emperors, in virtue of the privileges granted them by the Church *circa sacra*, had always some share in the election of bishops; if they did not propose the candidates, they confirmed the appointment.

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[1] For the Greek Church we refer to the Second Ecumenical Council (381), in an epistle to Pope Damasus and the bishops of the West: Nectarium in concilio generali, communi omnium consensu, praesente Imperatore, totius denique Cleri, *totiusque civitatis suffragiis* Episcopum constituimus. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 826; *Mansi*, T. III., p. 586.) *Theodoret.* h. e. IV. 20, relates of the Arian bishop Lucius: Electum fuisse Episcopum non Episcoporum orthodoxorum synodo, non clericorum virorum suffragio, non *petitione populorum*, ut ecclesiae leges praecipiunt. And for the Latin Church we refer to *Leonis M.*, ep. X., c. 6: Qui praefuturus est omnibus, ab omnibus eligatur. On the other hand, St. Leo also protests against the clamorous and improper demands of the people, ep. 12: Mirantes tantum apud vos per occasionem temporis impacati, aut ambientium praesumtionem, aut tumultum valuisse populorum, ut indignis quibusque et longe extra sacerdotale meritum constitutis, pastorale fastigium et gubernatio ecclesiae crederetur. Non est hoc consulere populis, sed nocere, nec praestare regimen, sed augere discrimen: integritas enim praesidentium salus est subditorum, etc. (opp. edd. *Ballerini.*, T. I., pp. 639 and 658.)

[2] *Concil. Nicaen.*, can. 4: Quum quispiam Episcopum constituere animo habuerit, quando is super regionem, aut civitatem aut pagum sub Metropolitano constitui petit: oportet ut ad constitutionem illius synodus Episcoporum provinciae, qui circa eum sunt, sub potestate Metropolitae ejus aut Patriarchae congregetur: vel si illud iis difficile fuerit, — tres omnino Episcopi ad eum conveniant, vel duo vel unus saltem necessario, etc. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 338; *Mansi*, T. II., p. 670.)

[3] *Concil. Antioch.*, a. 341, can. 16: Si quis Episcopus vacans in ecclesiam vacantem prosiliat; sedemque pervadat *absque integro perfectoque concilio;*

When, however, Christian *communities*, instead of following the example of the primitive Christians, and making choice of worthy persons for the episcopal dignity, selected those who sought the office from motives of vanity and ambition, and who were in some instances infected with heresy,[1] they entirely lost their influence in episcopal elections. From this time forward the decrees of the *Councils of Sardica* (A. D. 343) and *Laodicea* (A. D. 372) were more generally observed, and bishops were no longer elected and instituted, except by the joint action of the clergy, the bishops, and the metropolitan.[2] Sometimes, however, arrogant and despotic emperors, such as *Constans* and *Valens*, violated the canons of the Church, and arbitrarily appointed bishops by their own authority.[3] The

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hic abjiciatur necesse est, etsi cunctus populus, quem diripuit, eum habere delegerit. Perfectum vero concilium illud est, ubi interfuerit metropolitanus Antistes. *Concil. Carthagin.*, IV., a. 398, capitul. 1: Quum in his omnibus (num sit natura prudens, docibilis, moribus temperatis, vita castus, etc.) examinatus inventus fuerit plene instructus; tum cum consensu clericorum et laicorum et conventu totius provinciae Episcoporum maximeque Metropolitani, vel auctoritate vel praesentia ordinetur Episcopus. (*Harduin*, T. I., pp. 600 and 978; *Mansi*, T. III., p. 949.)

[1] *St. John Chrysostom* (de Sacerdotio I. 3) expresses his indignation at the base motives and sordid passions which were allowed to influence elections for ecclesiastical dignities.

[2] *Concilium Laodicenum*, can. 13: De eo quod non sit populis concedendum electionem facere (*τὰς ἐκλογὰς ποιεῖσθαι*) eorum, qui altaris ministerio sunt applicandi. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 783; *Mansi*, T. II., p. 565. [Tr.'s Add.—Ex *Conc. Sardicensi*, cap. 2, tit. VI., lib. I., Decretalium Greg. IX.: Hosius episcopus dixit: Si quis ita temerarius exstiterit, ut talem excusationem afferens asseveret, quod literas populi acceperit, quum manifestum sit, plures eorum, qui sinceram fidem non habent, praemio et mercede corrumpi, ut clamarent in ecclesia, et ipsum petere viderentur (episcopum), omnino fraudes has damnandas esse arbitror ita, ut nec laicam in fine communionem, nisi de hoc poenituerit, talis accipiat. Si vero omnibus placet, statuite. Synodus respondit: Placet.]

[3] This was no exercise of the "jura circa sacra," but a violent invasion of the "jura in sacra." Vide the protestations of *Athanasius*, Hist. Arianor., p. 51: "Quis canon praecipit ut e palatio mittatur Episcopus?" (Opp. T. I., n. 296.)

nomination of bishops to the principal churches was also confirmed by the emperor, who in troubled times, and particularly in the see of Constantinople, frequently put an end to intrigue, and prevented crimes and violence, by directly interfering, and appointing a bishop whom he thought a worthy person, and fit to hold the office. Thus, Theodosius I. selected the name of Nectarius from among those that had been proposed by the synod of bishops (A. D. 381) to fill the patriarchal throne of Constantinople; and upon the death of Nectarius Arcadius called St. John Chrysostom from Antioch to succeed to him, and the clergy and people, as if by a second election, approved the choice of the emperor.

The bond which united the bishop to his church was held to be almost as indissoluble as the marriage tie, and hence the Councils of Nice and Antioch forbade the translation of bishops from one see to another; and at Sardica, special emphasis was laid upon the canon prohibiting the removal of a bishop from a less to a greater church.[1]

The right of *conferring orders* and *preaching* was specially and *exclusively the prerogative of the bishop.* The custom was gradually introduced into the East of permitting a priest to preach in the presence of a bishop, but in the West, St. *Augustine* was the first priest who enjoyed this privilege. It was also a duty of the bishop to visit his diocese; if, however, he could not do it in person, he might appoint *Visitors* (*περιοδευταί, circumeuntes*), who now took the place of the abolished chorepiscopi.

To meet the wants of the increasing numbers of Christians, new churches were being constantly erected, not only in cities and by the side of the cathedral, but also *up and down the country.* The bishop had but small claim upon their revenues, and each church managed its own. Each congregation (*παροικία*, paroecia, ecclesia plebana, titulus, as distinguished from the ecclesia cathedralis—in Africa, ecclesia matrix) had a priest set over it (*πάροχος*) of the bishop's appointment, who was, as a rule, ordained for that particular church, and might be regarded as holding the position of the chorepiscopus of earlier times.

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[1] *Concil. Nicaen.*, c. 15: Praecipimus etiam, ut nec episcopis ipse, nec presbyter, nec diaconus transiliat nec migret e loco, cui praepositus est, et nominatim assignatus, in alium, non sua, nec alterius voluntate, etc. (*Harduin*, T. I., col. 342; *Mansi*, T. II., p. 674.) Out of regard for this canon, *Eusebius*, Bishop of Caesarea, refused the patriarchate of Antioch.

Justinian, by a law of the year 541, recognized a kind of *patronage*,[1] by granting to those who built churches, and permanently endowed them with a sufficient income for the decent support of the clergy attached to them, the right of presenting to the bishops worthy ecclesiastics to fill vacancies. This right passed on to the heirs of the founders.

§ 129. *Metropolitans, Exarchs, and Patriarchs.*

Morini, diss. de Patriarcharum et Primatum origine (exercitat. ecclesiast. et bibl., Paris, 1669, fol.) *Mamachi*, antiquit. christ., lib. II. (with geograph. maps.) *Le Quien*, Oriens christianus. *Wiltsch*, Eccl. Geography and Statistics, Vol. I., p. 67–214. *Thomassini*, T. I., lib. I., c. 7–20 (de patriarchis, c. 40, de potestate et officio Metropolitanor. per V. priora ecclesiae saecula). Hist. chronolog. Patriarcharum (T. III. of the praefation. tractat., etc., in *Bollandi* acta SS.) *Mast*, Dogmatical and Historical Treatise on the Legal Standing of Archbishops, Freiburg, 1847. †*Maassen*, The Primacy of the Bishop of Rome and the Ancient Patriarchal Churches, being an elucidation of can. 6 of the Council of Nice, Bonn, 1853.

Metropolitan rights, which had been recognized in the preceding epoch (*vide* p. 407), were further developed in the present. Before the institution of patriarchates, the metropolitans had the entire supervision and control of all the ecclesiastical affairs of the province (*ἐπαρχία*), and convoked and presided over provincial councils, which were prescribed to be held twice a year—in spring and autumn. In deciding questions of general interest, the metropolitan *took counsel with the other bishops* of the province.

Rome, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch* possessed, from a very early date, a preëminent authority over even those metropolitan sees which had several *metropolitan provinces* under their jurisdiction, and this precedence of rank and authority was confirmed by the Council of Nice (Canon VI.) The limits of metropolitan authority usually corresponded to certain political and territorial divisions, and hence the metropolitan bishop was called an *exarch* (*ἔξαρχος τῆς διοικήσεως*), yet more frequently archbishop (*ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*, chief bishop).[1] Eventually the more appropriate ecclesiastical title of "Patriarch" was applied exclusively to the bishops of the five most distinguished metropolitan sees, which then went under the name of *Patriarchates*. Besides *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, *Constantinople* was also, because of its political importance, raised to the dignity of a patriarchal see. The prerogatives which this dignity conferred, and the continual presence of a great number of bishops in the capital of the East, who constituted the *σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα*, became, later on, a source of much trouble and embarrassment to the Church. Constantinople had hitherto been subject to the metropolitan of Heraclea, in Thrace, but the Second Ecumenical Council (Canon III.) raised it to a rank second only to Rome, and gave it precedence before the sees of Antioch and Alexandria.[2] The Pope expressed his disapprobation of this canon, the bishop of Antioch was displeased with it, and the bishop of Alexandria openly opposed it.

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[1] *Justiniani*, novell. 57, c. 2, 123, c. 18: *Εἴ τις εὐκτήριον οἶκον κατασκευάσει καὶ βουληθείη ἐν αὐτῷ κληρικοὺς προβάλλεσθαι, ἢ αὐτός ἢ οἱ τούτου κληρονόμοι, εἰ τὰς δαπάνας αὐτοὶ τοῖς κληρικοῖς χορηγήσουσι καὶ ἀξίους ὀνομάσουσι, τοὺς ὀνομασθέντας χειροτονεῖσθαι.*—Si quis oratorium exstruxerit, in eoque clericos constituere velit vel ipse, vel heredes ejus, si ipsi clericis impensas praebeant, et *dignos nominent*, nominati creenter. (Transl. from the Corpus Jur. civ., ed. by *Kriegel Bros.*, Vol. III., p. 551.) Conf. *Thomassini*, T. II., lib. I., c. 29, de jure patronatus per V. priora eccl. saecula.

The patriarchs of Constantinople went on encroaching upon the rights of other bishops in Pontus and Asia, and even in the patriarchate of Antioch, till finally the Council of Chalcedon decreed, in its Sixth and Seventh Canons, that those bishops who had any complaint to make against their metropolitans should lay the same before the primates of their respective dioceses, the bishops of Ephesus and Caesarea, in Pontus, or before the bishop of Constantinople. Still, the Byzantines were not yet satisfied; their Church must not only enjoy a patriarchal dignity, but must also rank above every other patriarchal see of the East, and, if possible, must be in the East what Rome was in the West. A favorable opportunity to carry out this design presented itself shortly before the close of the Council. The see of Alexandria had become vacant by the deposition of Dioscorus; Maximus of Antioch was indebted for his elevation to the influence of Anatolius of Constantinople; Thalassius of Caesarea, in Pontus, had received orders at his hands; Ephesus was without a bishop, and the bishop of Heraclea was absent. The clergy of Constantinople, taking advantage of the absence of so many bishops—there were then present at Chalcedon only two hundred, among whom there were no Egyptians—procured the passage of a canon which embodied the pretensions of their own church. As the Papal Legates had already departed, no opposition was made. This Canon, which is the Twenty-eighth, after referring to another of a similar character, passed at the Council of Constantinople, held A. D. 381, went on to say, that, as *New Rome* enjoyed the distinguished preëminence of being the residence of the emperor, and the place of meeting for the senate, and possessed political privileges equal to those of old Rome, it should also have an equal rank in its ecclesiastical relations (see p. 610), and therefore decreed that the metropolitans of the dioceses of *Pontus*, *Asia*, and *Thrace*, and the bishops of those countries in the possession of the *Barbarians*, should be ordained by the bishop of Constantinople. The *supremacy of the Bishop of Rome* was not called in question; on the contrary, when, in the next session, the Papal Legates protested against the canon passed in their absence, the Imperial Commissaries declared that "*the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome over all* (πρὸ πάντων πρωτεῖα) had been preserved inviolate;" and that the canon guaranteed to the bishop of Constantinople only a patriarchal rank equal to that of the Bishop of Rome, and patriarchal rights over three dioceses. Still, the acts of the Council, and the Canon respecting the elevation of Constantinople, as the emperor Marcian and the patriarch Anatolius admitted in their epistle to Pope Leo, required the confirmation of Rome, without which, as the patriarch confessed, after he had learned of the Pope's disapprobation, the canon would have neither force nor validity, for these required the consent of the Roman Pontiff as an absolute condition. Many of the Eastern patriarchs, who never lost an opportunity of asserting their rights, admitted the superior authority of the Pope, and acknowledged their subjection to him. The conduct of Anthimus and Mennas is proof of this, and even the emperor Justinian asserted in his laws that nothing should be determined in ecclesiastical affairs which had not first received the sanction of the Pope, the head of all the bishops. The Pope confirmed the protest which the Papal Legates had entered against the Twenty-eighth Canon; the whole Western Church rejected the canon, and the Greeks themselves did not insert it in their collections until after the time of Photius. Acacius, however, obtained a rescript (A. D. 476) from the emperor Zeno, granting plenary patriarchal rights to his see. Three Eastern patriarchs tamely submitted to this usurpation, but the Apostolic See again protested against the Twenty-eighth Canon. Pelagius II. and Gregory the Great, still later on, courageously opposed the assumption of John the Faster, who styled himself the *Ecumenical* or Universal *Patriarch* (*patriarcha universalis*).

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[1] In the Council of Sardica, c. 6, every metropolitan was called *ὁ ἔξαρχος τῆς ἐπαρχίας*; but in the Council of Chalcedon, can. 9, *ἔξαρχος* had already become a distinguishing title, and was given only to prominent metropolitans (*Mansi*, T. VII., pp. 361 and 365; *Harduin*, T. I., col. 644 sq.) *'Αρχιεπίσκοπος*, first used by Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria. Cf. *Athanas.*. apol. II.; *Epiphan.* haer. 68. Professor *de Camillis* of Rome said that the title "archbishop" was applied when the political capital had lost its prerogatives. [The last authority added by translator.]

[2] *Concil. Constantinopolit.*, can. 3: Τὸν *μέντοι* Κωνσταντίνου *πόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν* 'Ρώμης *ἐπίσκοπον διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν* 'Ρώμην.—The Bishop of Constantinople shall enjoy a primacy of honor after the Bishop of Rome, because this city is the New Rome.

The Council of Chalcedon also assigned an extensive ecclesiastical territory to the see of Constantinople. It had under it several dioceses along the Danube, and the Provinces of *Thrace*, *Asia Minor*, and *Pontus*. The sees of *Heraclea*, *Ephesus*, and *Caesarea*, which had formerly been the mother-cities of the translated provinces, were now known by the modest title of *exarchates;* that is, they were left in the enjoyment of their independence, but were degraded to an inferior rank. Lastly, the Church of Aelia, which, "as the Mother of all Churches," had once more come to be known as the Church of "*Jerusa-*

lem," was raised to the patriarchal rank,[1] and *the three provinces of Palestine*, known as Palestina Prima, Palestina Secunda, and Palestina Salutaris, made its suffragans. The *patriarchate of Alexandria*, always extremely conservative and jealous of its power, had under it *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Pentapolis;* the *patriarchate* of *Antioch* at first comprised Syria, Cilicia, Isauria, Osroëne, Mesopotamia, Cyprus, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Arabia; but the Council of Ephesus (A. D. 431) made Cyprus an independent province, with Constantia as its capital, and Palestine passed under the authority of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. It is difficult to determine, with any degree of precision, the limits of the *Roman patriarchate*, because, in this case, it is not clear where the line should be drawn between the patriarchal and primatial rights. This much, however, is certain, that the patriarchate of the Bishop of Rome, the "*Leader of the West*," comprised *Italy* and *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, and *eastern* and *western Illyria*. Patriarchal rights were exercised in all these provinces by Vicars Apostolic.[2] Sometimes the *African Church*, with its numerous episcopacy, and *Maurus*, Bishop of *Ravenna*, a city now the residence of an exarch, objected to be subject to the *Roman patriarchate*, without, however, denying its *primatial rights*.

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[1] *Concil. Chalcedon.*, act. VII. (*Harduin*, T. II., p. 491 sq.; *Mansi*, T. VII., p. 177 sq.)

[2] The Council of Antioch (A. D. 341) had already prescribed in its ninth canon that every metropolitan should take up his residence in the capital of the province (see p. 406, note 1); and now that the organization of the Church had been considerably increased, the *political* division of the Roman empire was made a basis for the ecclesiastical. The grand divisions of the Roman empire were the *Four Prefectures* of the *East*, of *Illyricum*, of *Italy*, and of the *Gauls*. The prefecture of the East comprised *five* dioceses, each of which was subdivided into either six, eleven, or fifteen provinces. The establishment of ecclesiastical *metropoles* was based on the division into provinces. The limits of the *exarchates* and *patriarchates* were about the same as those of the political organization of dioceses. [*De Angelis*, formerly a professor of canon law at Rome, maintained that the exarchs enjoyed precisely the *same* degree of honor and jurisdiction as the patriarchs, and were in no way subordinate to the latter, and that the only distinction between the two consisted in the fact that the exarchs presided over a *smaller* extent of *territory*.—Tr.] Notwithstanding all this, when *Anthimus* of Tyana, upon the political division of Cappadocia into two provinces, claimed metropolitan privileges equal to those of Caesarea, Innocent I. asserted that "the Church does not change with the caprices of human affairs." Hence the *Fourth Ecumenical Council* (A. D. 451) decreed that political changes shall not involve any change in the *existing ecclesiastical* organization, for this would imply an unbecoming dependence of the Church on the State, making the condition of the latter a sort of rule for the former.

The principal prerogatives of the patriarchs were, at *this epoch*, to confirm the metropolitans, and transmit imperial rescripts to them; to convoke councils, and preside over them; to receive appeals, and the like. The patriarchs and metropolitans were frequently admonished not to decide upon any affair of importance without the consent of a synod.[1]

§ 130. *The Primacy of the Bishop of Rome.*

Mamachi, antiquitat. christ., lib. IV. †*Rothensee*, The Primacy of the Pope. †*Kenrick*, Primacy of the Apostolic See. (See § 87.)

The spirit which most strikingly characterized the present epoch was an unmistakable tendency to bring out and strengthen the *principle of the Primacy of the See of Rome;* to assert it as a necessary condition of the unity and authority of the Church; to proclaim the Papacy as the *foundation and corner-stone* of the House of the Living God; to recognize the *Pope as the visible representative of ecclesiastical unity*, and, above all, as the *supreme teacher* and *custodian of the faith; as the supreme legislator; as the guardian and interpreter of the canons; as the legitimate superior of all bishops; as the final judge of councils, an office which he possessed in his own right, and which he actually exercised by presiding over all Ecumenical Synods, through his Legates*—who, before any conciliar decisions had been made, read before the assembled Fathers a written decree from the Pope, which served as a rule of action in all their proceedings—and *by confirming the acts of the Council as the Supreme Head of the Universal Catholic Church.* It is hardly to be wondered at, then, that the Pagan historian, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, should have styled Pope Liberius "*the Overseer of the Christian religion.*"[2]

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[1] *Concil. Chalcedon.*, can. 7: Si quis clericus cum proprio vel etiam alio episcopo negotium, aut litem habeat, a *provinciae synodo* judicetur. The same provision repeated in can. 17.

[2] *Leo M.* ep. X. ad Episcopos provinc. Vienn. Divinae cultum religionis, quem in omnes gentes omnesque nationes Dei voluit gratia coruscare, ita Domi-

The following circumstances in particular were decisive in effecting the recognition of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff:

1. The outrages committed at times by bishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs, forced the oppressed to seek somewhere for protection against such abuses of power, and all instinctively turned to the *Bishop of Rome*. Had the latter acquired his preëminence of honor and jurisdiction, as has been frequently asserted, by "*ambitiously arrogating to himself the rights of others*," and not by Divine appointment,[1] as was universally believed, would those who were unjustly oppressed, have sought redress from one who was himself a *notorious tyrant?*

2. During the distracting controversies on the Christian dogmas, it was not an unusual thing to see bishops, and *even patriarchs*, defending the cause of heresy; while there is not a single instance of a Pope who departed one hair's breadth from the true faith of the Church—a fact which is admitted

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nus noster Jesus Christus—instituit, ut veritas, quae antea legis et prophetarum praeconio continebatur, per apostolicam tubam in salutem universitatis exiret. Sed hujus muneris sacramentum ita Dominus ad omnium Apostolorum officium pertinere voluit, *ut in beatissimo Petro, Apostolorum omnium summo principaliter collocarit; et ab ipso quasi quodam capite, dona sua velit in corpus omne manare:* ut exsortem se mysterii intelligeret esse divini, qui ausus fuisset a Petri soliditate recedere. Hunc enim in consortium individuae unitatis assumtum, id quod ipse erat, voluit nominari, dicendo: Tu es Petrus, etc., ut aeterni templi aedificatio, mirabili munere gratiae Dei, in Petri soliditate consisteret; hac ecclesiam suam firmitate corroborans, ut illam nec humana temeritas posset appetere, nec portae contra illum inferi praevalerent (opp. edd. *Ballerini*, T. I., p. 633). *Ammian. Marcellin.*, rer. gestar. I. 15: "Liberius, christianae legis antistes."

[1] *Socrat.*, h. e. II. 15: Eodem tempore Paulus quoque Ct. episcopus, Asclepas Gazae, Marcellus Ancyrae—accusati et ecclesiis suis pulsi in urbem regiam (Romam) adventant. Ubi cum Julio Rom. episcopo causam suam exposuissent, ille, quae est ecclesiae Rom. *praerogativa*, liberioribus litteris eos communitos in Orientem remisit, singulis sedem suam restituens simulque perstringens illos, qui supradictos episcopos temere deposuissent. *Sozom.*, h. e. III. 8: Et quoniam propter sedis dignitatem omnium cura ad ipsum (episcopum Rom.) spectabat, suam cuique ecclesiam restituit (ed. *Valesii*, T. II.) Precisely similar is the language of *Leo M.*, ep. 12, ad univers. Episcop. Afric., at the beginning: Ratio pietatis exigit, ut pro sollicitudine, quam universae ecclesiae ex divina institutione dependimus (opp. T. I., p. 669).

even by Protestant writers.[1] This being the case, the conviction that the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome is of Divine institution, was gradually and powerfully borne in upon the minds of men.

3. Finally, the emperors having, during this epoch, abandoned Rome as a place of residence, the Popes availed themselves of the greater freedom which they thus enjoyed to give definite shape to their primatial prerogatives.

Scarcely had Arianism, which found so powerful a protector in the son of Constantine, fully broken out, when all the persecuted bishops—such as *Athanasius*, *Eustathius* of *Antioch*, *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, *Lucius* of *Adrianople*, and, later on, *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, and *Chrysostom* of *Constantinople*—straightway appealed to the Bishop of Rome. Even the heretics, Pelagius, Nestorius, Eutyches, and others, acknowledged the prerogatives of the Pope, and sought from him protection and support. The Pope courageously defended these orthodox bishops, and openly declared that no one of them could be deposed from his see without Papal authority and sanction. The Council of Sardica (A. D. 343), which was so numerously attended that it has been asserted by some to have the character of an Ecumenical Council, ratified the *right of appeal* to the Pope.[1]

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[1] "The history of the controversies of this period prove how much the See of Rome gained in public estimation by the perseverance with which its bishops maintained, almost without exception, their dogmatical views, and by the victory they bore away at all times." *Engelhardt*, Ch. H., Vol. I., p. 312 sq. *Marheinecke*, Univ. Ch. Hist., Erlangen, 1806, p. 308, speaking of this subject, says: It was not by any *external* power that this authority (of the Popes) was founded. It sprung spontaneously from a sacred germ. Its growth was from within. Courage, energy, and perseverance were often victorious, and their triumph saved everything. It has not been sufficiently explained why the *bishops of Rome*, and no others, should in some sort lose their individuality in the episcopal dignity. So truly was this the case that even in the midst of the most evil days the sanctity of that see was never wholly obscured."

The true explanation of this must be sought for in the prayer of Christ, in which a promise is given to *Peter* (and his successors) that they shall enjoy immunity from all error in matters of faith (Luke xxii. 32), and to which pointed reference is made by the Popes *Leo the Great* and *Agatho*. (See p. 642, note 1.) Pope *Leo* says in his sermon IV. 4: "All are confirmed in Peter, and the assistance of divine grace so regulated that the grace which is conferred by Christ on Peter passes on through Peter to the other apostles. Since, therefore, so great a safeguard has been provided for us by divine appointment, let us, as is fitting, give joyful thanks to Christ Jesus our King and Redeemer, who granted power to the Prince of the Apostles in such sort that what is done in our day by us, his successors, must be attributed to the influence of that divine guidance committed to *him* of whom it was said, '*confirm thy brethren*.'"

The following facts are still stronger proof that the Primacy was universally recognized:

1. Appeals were sent from every quarter of the world to the Roman Pontiffs; and questions were put to them relating to almost every conceivable point of discipline, and the answers which they returned are contained in their "*Decretals*," dating from the Pontificate of Pope Siricius, A. D. 385.[2] "It is but right," said Pope *Innocent I.*, "that you should observe the ancient practice of consulting the Apostolic See, to which the care of all the churches has been committed."

2. *Apostolic Legates*[3] were sent from Rome to every part of the Christian world to watch over the interests of the Church,

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[1] *Synod. Sardic.*, can. 3: Quodsi aliquis Episcoporum judicatus fuerit in aliqua causa et putat, se bonam causam habere, ut iterum concilium renovetur; si vobis placet, *S. Petri Apostoli memoriam honoremus*, ut scribatur ab his, qui causam examinarunt, Julio Romano Episcopo: et si judicaverit *renovandum esse judicium, renovetur et det judices.* Si autem probaverit, etc. Si hoc omnibus placet? Synodus respondit: Placet. Can. 4: Addendum si placet huic sententia, quam plenam sanctitate protulisti, ut quum *aliquis Episcopus depositus fuerit eorum Episcoporum judicio, qui in vicinis locis commorantur*, et proclamaverit *agendum sibi negotium in urbe Roma:* alter Episcopus in ejus cathedra, post appellationem ejus qui videtur esse depositus, omnino non ordinetur: *nisi causu fuerit in judicio Episcopi Romani determinata.* Can. 7: Et hoc placuit, ut si Episcopus accusatus fuerit, et omnes judicaverint congregati Episcopi regionis ipsius, et de gradu suo eum dejecerint: si appellaverit (ἐκκαλεσάμενος) qui dejectus videtur, et confugerit ad beatissimum Romanae eccl. Episcopum, et voluerit se audiri: si justum putaverit, *ut renovetur examen*, scribere his Episcopis dignetur Romanus Episcopus, qui in finitima et propinqua altera provincia sunt, ut ipsi diligenter omnia requirant, et juxta fidem veritatis definiant. Quodsi is qui rogat causam suam iterum audiri, deprecatione sua moverit Episc. Romanum, ut de latere suo presbyteros mittat, erit in potestate ipsius, quid velit et quid aestimet. Si decreverit mittendos esse, qui praesentes cum Episcopis judicent, ut habeant etiam auctoritatem personae illius, a quo destinati sunt; erit in ejus arbitrio. Si vero crediderit sufficere Episcopos comprovinciales, ut negotio terminum imponant, faciet, quod sapientissimo consilio suo judicaverit. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 639 sq.; *Mansi*, T. III., p. 23 sq.) Conf. *De Marca*, de concord. sacerdot. et imper., lib. VII., c. 3.

[2] Epistolae Romanor. Pontificum a St. Clem. ad St. Sixtum III., ed. *Petr. Coustant*, Par. 1721, fol., ed. *Thiele*, a S. Hilaro usque ad Pelagium II. (578–590), Brunsb. 1867.

[3] *Thomassini*, l. l., T. I., lib. II., c. 117, de legatis, per V. priora eccl. saec. Cf. Hist. Polit. Papers, Vol. VIII., p. 564–576.

and preserve proper relations with the State. The *Apocrisiarii*, or Responsales, sent to the Court of Constantinople, will serve as an example in point.

3. The rights of the Primacy were recognized by imperial laws, as in the instances of *Valentinian* and *Justinian*. "According to *ancient custom*," says the law of Valentinian, "neither the bishops of Gaul, nor those of any other provinces, may undertake anything (i. e. of importance, *causa major*), without the authority of the venerable Pope of the Eternal City. Whatever, therefore, has been or may be approved by the authority of the Apostolic See, let *it* be a law for all." Peace, it was said, would then reign in all the churches *when they had recognized their legitimate ruler*.[1]

These arguments are still further strengthened by the declaration of the synod, which King Theodoric summoned to meet at Rome A. D. 503, for the purpose of passing judgment upon Pope Symmachus, who had been accused of various misdemeanors. The assembled bishops cried out that the idea of "*subjecting the Head of the Church*[2] *to the judgment of*

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[1] Lex Valentiani III., a. 445: Ne quid praeter auctoritatem sedis illius illicita praesumtio attentare nitatur, cum sedes apostolica *Primatum St. Petri meritum*, qui princeps est episcopalis coronae, et Romanae dignitas civitatis, sacrae etiam synodi firmavit auctoritas. Ne quid tam episcopis Gallicanis quam aliarum provinciarum consuetudinem veterem liceat sine viri venerabilis papae urbis aeternae auctoritate tentare. Sed hoc illis omnibus pro lege sit, quidquid sanxit, vel sanxerit apostolicae sedis auctoritas. The *cause* of this law was the resistance of Bishop Hilary of Arles to the Holy See. Emperor *Justinian* calls the Bishop of Rome caput omnium Dei sacerdotum; omnium ss. ecclesiarum; and the Church of Rome apex pontificatus, by whose judgment heretics were at all times overthrown. (Cod. Justin. de summa Trinit., l. I., lex 7 and 8, novel. 9, at the beginning.) Conf. *Hergenröther*, Photius, Vol. I., p. 155 sq.

[2] *Synod. Rom.* III.: Memorati pontifices, quibus allegandi imminebat occasio, suggesserunt, *ipsum*, qui dicebatur impetitus, *debuisse synodum convocare:* scientes, quia ejus sedi primum Petri Apostoli meritum vel principatus, deinde secuta jussionem Domini conciliorum venerandorum auctoritas, ei singularum in ecclesiis tradidit potestatem, *nec antedictae sedis Antistitem minorum subjacuisse judicio* in propositione simili, facile forma aliqua testaretur. (*Mansi*, T. VIII., p. 247–248; *Harduin*, T. II., p. 967.) These same assertions occur, but in still more forcible language, in libell. apologet. pro synodo IV. Romana. (*Mansi*, T. VII., p. 271 sq.) Cf. also *Avitus* Episc. Vienn. ad Senatores urbis Romae. Speaking in the name of the bishops of Gaul, and alluding to the Third Council of Rome, which declared Symmachus innocent before all men, and left all further decision of the question to the judgment of God, he says:

his inferiors, was entirely unheard of." The reply of the Eastern bishops was of a similar character.[1]

The *specific reason why* the Bishop of Rome *should enjoy a preëminence* of honor and jurisdiction, was universally admitted to be that this is an inherent right of the successor to Peter, and the object of this primacy was said to be that schism might be prevented. "Therefore," says St. *Jerome*, "was one of the Twelve set over all the others as the recognized Head, that all occasion of schism might be removed." And again: "I myself preserve a fellowship with the Chair of Peter because I know that the Church is built upon this Rock. Whoever is *not in communion with the Church of Rome is outside the Church.*" Hence, he says again, St. Athanasius had recourse to Rome as to a safe harbor of Christian communion.[2]

Quam constitutionem licet observabilem numerosi reverendique concilii reddat assensus, intelligimus tamen, Stum Symmachum Papam, si saeculo primo fuerat accusatus, consacerdotum suorum solatium potius, quam recipere debuisse judicium: quia sicut subditos nos esse terrenis potestatibus jubet arbiter coeli, staturos nos ante reges et principes, in quacunque accusatione praedicens, ita non facile datur intelligi, qua vel ratione vel lege ab inferioribus eminentior judicetur. And further below: In sacerdotibus caeteris potest, si quid forte nutaverit, reformari: at si Papa urbis vocatur in dubium, *episcopatus jam videbitur, non episcopus vacillare.* (*Mansi*, T. VIII., p. 293 sq.; *Harduin*, T. II., p. 981.)

[1] Cf. *Socrat.* h. e. II. 8: Sed neque Julius interfuit Romanae urbis Episcopus, nec quemquam eo misit, qui locum suum impleret: quum tamen ecclesiastica regula vetet (*κανόνος ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κελεύοντος*), ne absque consensu Romani Pontificis quidquam in ecclesia decernatur. *Sozom.* h. e. III. 10: Legem enim esse pontificiam (*νόμον ἱερατικόν*), ut pro irritis habeantur, quae praeter sententiam (*παρὰ γνώμην*) Episcopi Romani fuerint gesta (ed. *Valesius*, T. II., pp. 70 and 415). Cf. *De Marca*, l. l., lib. V., c. 12, § 1.

[2] *Hieronym.* adv. Jovian., lib. I., n. 26: Propterea inter duodecim *unus* eligitur, ut capite constituto schismatis tollatur occasio (opp. T. II., p. 279). Ep. 15: Ego nullum primum nisi Christum sequens, Beatitudini tuae, id est, cathedrae Petri, communione consocior. Super illam Petram aedificatam esse ecclesiam scio. Quicunque extra hanc domum agnum comederit, profanus est. And still further on: Ideo mihi cathedram Petri et fidem Apostolico ore laudatam censui consulendam (opp. T. I., pp. 38 and 39). Epist. ad Principiam virg.: Quasi ad tutissimum communionis suae portum Romam confugerat. Conf. also *Optat. Milevit.*, l. l. II. 2. In urbe Roma primo cathedram episcopalem esse collatam, in qua sederit omnium Apostolorum caput Petrus, unde et Cephas appellatus est, in qua una cathedra unitas ab omnibus servaretur, ne caeteri Apostoli singulas sibi quisque defenderent, *ut jam schismaticus et peccator esset, qui*

"The judgment of Rome," says St. *Augustine*, "is the judgment of the Church; there is no appeal from it; it must be received and carried into execution everywhere.[1] The confirmation of the two Councils held to condemn the Pelagian errors, has been received; *Rome has spoken; there is now an end of the affair, would that there was an end of error also.*" It required several more efforts before the prayer of Augustine was heard (*vide* p. 582 sq.)

The Greek Synods and Doctors of the Church are not less explicit, and frequently more rhetorical, in asserting the primatial prerogatives of the Bishop of Rome, "who," they say, "has no need of being taught, because he knows, with an unerring knowledge, what is requisite for the unity of the body of the Church."[2] Pope *Hormisdas* said in the same spirit: "The faith of the Apostolic See has always been inviolate; she has preserved the Christian religion in its integrity and purity, therefore anathema upon all who depart from this faith."[3]

The Bishop of Rome, however, was not designated by *a title distinctively* and peculiarly his own before the middle of this epoch; for the titles *Papa*, *Pater Patrum*, *Apostolicus*, *Vicarius Christi*, *Summus Pontifex*, *Sedes Apostolica*, were equally applied to other bishops and sees.[4]

Ennodius, Bishop of *Ticinum* (Pavia), A. D. 510, appears to have been the first who applied the title of *Papa* exclusively

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contra singularem cathedram alteram collocaret. St. Gregory the Great thus sums up these arguments: Quis enim nescit sanctam ecclesiam in Apostolorum principis soliditate firmatam, qui firmitatem mentis traxit in nomine, ut Petrus a *petra* vocaretur? cui veritatis voce dicitur: "*Tibi dabo claves regni coelorum.*" Cui rursus dicitur: "Et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos." Iterumque: "Simon Joannis, amas me? *pasce oves meas.*" (Epist. lib. VII., ep. 40.)

[1] *Augustin.*, lib. II., adv. Julian. Pelag., c. 9, T. X., p. 549; ep. 190, n. 22 (ad Optat.), T. II., p. 706 sq., lib. I., adv. Julian., c. 2, T. X., p. 499. Sermo 132, n. 10.

[2] Conf. *Hergenröther*, Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, Vol. I., p. 129; and *Pichler*, Hist. of the Schism between the Church of the East and the West, Munich, 1864, Vol. I., pp. 116, 117; p. 123–126.

[3] In *Mansi*, collect. concil., T. VIII., pp. 407, 408.

[4] Conf. *Thomassini*, T. I., lib. I., c. 1. Praesulibus quidem omnibus communia fuisse nomina Papae, Apostoli, Praesulis, etc., sed ea tamen jam tum singulari quadam cum honoris praerogativa Romano pontifici attributa sunt.

to the Bishop of Rome,[1] and since his time the designation has been in use throughout the West. Later on, when *John the Faster*, Patriarch of Constantinople, wished to arrogate to himself the proud title of "Ecumenical Bishop,"[2] Gregory the Great, desirous of putting an end to such contentions, set an example of humility, and called himself "The Servant of the Servants of God" (*Servus Servorum Dei*), which has always been retained by his successors, who in this follow the counsel of Christ: "He that is greater among you, let him become the servant of all." Among the most distinguished Popes of this epoch were *Sylvester I.*, *Julius I.*, *Liberius*, *Innocent I.*, and *Gregory the Great.*

LEO THE GREAT AND GREGORY THE GREAT, A. D. 440–461.

The idea of Papal Supremacy obtained its most adequate expression during the pontificates of these two Popes. The former was universally acknowledged to be a man of great strength of character,[3] and was a most zealous defender and an uncompromising supporter of the doctrine of the Church assailed by Eutyches. When Leo's letter to Flavian had been read at the Council of Chalcedon, the assembled Fathers cried out with one voice, "*Peter has spoken by the mouth of Leo.*"

The Latrocinium, or Robber Synod of Ephesus, gave great pain to Leo, and he made every effort to avert from the Church the evil results which followed. He watched over the Church with a vigilant solicitude worthy an Apostle, was not slow in detecting the shameful crimes of the *Manichaeans*, and was fortunate enough to bring back a great number of these sectarians to the true faith, and to baffle the wicked designs of others. He summoned the National Council of the Spanish bishops, held to condemn the *Priscillianists*, a sect allied to the Manichaeans. His ninety-six Festal sermons, written in a vigorous style, and in which the allegorical method is pursued, sufficiently prove that, amid the burdensome cares and pressure of business, consequent upon his high office as successor to Peter, his episcopal and priestly duties were always uppermost in his mind and nearest his heart. By his prudence and energy he succeeded in keeping the church of Illyria under the Western obedience; and his grave and dignified rebukes to *Anastasius, the Metropolitan of Thessalonica*, had the effect of bringing the arrogant prelate back to that spirit of mildness which so well becomes a representative of the Apostolic See.

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[1] Conf. *Sirmond.* (ed. opp. *Ennodii*, Paris, 1611; and in *Galland.*, T. XI., p. 47) ad Ennod., l. IV., ep. 1. Also, at the synods held under the Roman bishop *Symmachus*, "papa" is used as a title of honor. See the acts in *Mansi*, T. VIII., p. 247 sq.

[2] Conf. *Thomassini*, l. c. T. I., lib. I., c. 11, de controversia Gregorium Papam inter et Joannem, etc.

[3] *Leonis M.*, opp. ed. *Quesnel*, ed. II., Lugd. 1700, 2 T. fol. *Ballerini*, Venet. 1753–1757, 3 T. fol. †*Maimbourg*, hist. du Pontificat de St. Léon, Paris, 1687, 2 T. †*Arendt*, Leo the Great and His Age, Mentz, 1835. *Perthel*, Life and Doctrine of Pope Leo I., being a contribution toward the Hist. of the Church and of Dogmas, Jena, 1843.

He obliged *Hilary*, Bishop of *Arles*, who pretended to possess metropolitan rights over the two Narbonese provinces, and defended his pretension with immoderate warmth, to confine himself within just limits, by referring him to the ordinances which had been issued by Popes Boniface and Celestine, and thus reconciled him to the Holy See.[1] He also availed himself of the troubled condition of the Church of Africa, a country then devastated by the Vandals, to secure its *direct* obedience to the *patriarchate* of Rome,[2] and caused Valentinian III. to recognize his title and dignity as Supreme Head of the Church. The emperor passed a law to this effect (see p. 672, n. 1.) But Leo, while insisting on his Primatial rights, did not wish to violate those of others. He said that "*the authority of the Supreme Pontiff should be so guaranteed as to leave unimpaired the rights of the subjects of the empire.*"[3] He saved Rome A. D. 452, and turned aside from it the "Scourge of God,"[4] by boldly presenting himself, like a courageous shepherd risking his own life in defense of his flock, to *Attila*, at

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[1] Cf. *Honorati* vita St. Hilarii (*Bolland.* acta SS. ad d. V. M. Maji), and opp. *Leonis*, ep. 12.

[2] *Leonis*, ep. 12, ad episcop. Afric. (opp. T. I., p. 657 sq.); ep. 11 (T. I., p. 642, and Theodosii Novel., tit. 24, according to *Ritter's* ed.

[3] Epistola 120 ad Theodoretum.

[4] *John v. Müller*, Journeys of Popes (complete works, 8vo, Vol. VIII., in 16mo, 25 vols.); annotated ed. by *Kloth*, Aix-la-Chapelle, 1831. Conf. *Arendt*, l. l., p. 323–330.

Pavia, clad in his pontifical robes, and bearing his pastoral staff in his hand. Such was this great-minded man, the Supreme Head of that Church, "*which,*" as Prosper says, "*had made the empire more powerful by religion than it had been before by arms.*"[1]

Attila, as the popular legend runs, *frightened* at the apparition of SS. Peter and Paul, with drawn swords in their hands, yielded to the remonstrance of Leo. Even those, says *Arendt*, his biographer, who do not concede that Leo is the Head of the Church, and one of her most distinguished Doctors, can not refuse him the title of "*Great.*"[2]

§ 131. *Councils and Ecclesiastical Legislation.*

On the different synods and literature thereon, see *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. I., p. 1–68, and *Aschbach's* Eccl. Cyclopedia (see art. "Concilia"), and *Freiburg* Eccl. Cyclop. (see art. "Synod.")

Ecumenical Councils (*σύνοδοι οἰκουμενικαί*), which are the perfect expression of the life and activity of the Church, were, during this epoch, the highest courts of judicature in all dogmatic discussions.[3]

During the first epoch, the Doctors of the Church, in confuting heretics, appealed invariably to the teaching of the *universal* Church. Owing to the ceaseless energy of their persecutors, the bishops could not, during these dreary years, assemble in council and proclaim to the world the common faith of Catholics, could not so speak that their voice would be unmistakably recognized by all the faithful as the voice of the Church. But no sooner had persecution ceased than, as by common impulse, bishops came together to legislate in councils—a clear proof that these are a natural growth and a necessary requirement of the very essence of the Church, and in no sense depend on the State, save in so far as the latter may either *facilitate* or obstruct the holding of them, or the *execution* of their decrees.[1]

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[1] Words taken from the work "De Vocatione Gentium," supposed to have been written by St. Leo when still a deacon (opp. T. II., p. 167 sq.)

[2] The pontificate of *Gregory the Great* will be treated later on.

[3] The name "*ecumenical*" is derived from the designation of the Roman empire as *οἰκουμένη* (orbis terrarum), first used in can. 6 of the Council of Constant. (381.) The spirit of these councils is perfectly characterized by *Hilar.* de Trinit. XI. 1. The expressions of the Council of Constant. on the significance and tendency of these councils are important: Sanctum et universale concilium dixit: Sufficiebat quidem ad perfectam orthodoxae fidei cognitionem atque confirmationem pium atque orthodoxum hoc divinae gratiae symbolum (concilii Constant. II., a. 553). Sed quoniam non destitit ab exordio adinventor malitiae cooperatorem sibi serpentem inveniens, et per eum venenosam humanae naturae deferens mortem, et ita organa ad propriam sui voluntatem apta reperiens, Theodorum dicimus, etc.—excitavit Christus Deus noster fidelissimum imperatorem, novum David—qui non dedit somnum oculis suis, donec per hunc nostrum a Deo congregatum sacrumque conventum *ipsam rectae fidei reperit perfectam praedicationem.* (*Harduin*, T. III., p. 1398.)

The promise of Christ to abide always with the Church, was the essential sanction which gave to conciliar dogmatic definitions their only intrinsic worth and authority. The faithful were assured that by no possibility could *the whole united episcopacy mistake the true teaching of Christ.* It is true that the councils of this epoch were not always attended by all the bishops, even of the Roman empire (*οἰκουμένη*), and frequently only those of the East were present. When, however, their decrees had been *generally received* by the body of the episcopacy, had obtained the approbation of the Holy See and the assent of the Western Church,[2] the councils were recognized as *Ecumenical.* Their decisions were accepted as the inspirations of the Holy Ghost;[3] as the authentic interpretation and definition of *Catholic faith;* as the great underlying *principles* of *morality and discipline*,[1] all of which had been assailed and misrepresented by heretics.

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[1] *Euseb.* vita Constant. M. III. 7: "Constantine, by this assembly of bishops (at Nice), restored in our day the image of an apostolic assembly."

[2] It is thus Pope *Julius I.* writes: Nam tametsi solus sim qui scripsi; non meam tamen solius sententiam, sed omnium Italorum et omnium in his regionibus episcoporum scripsi.—Quapropter, dilectissimi, etiamsi solus scribo, scribere me tamen *communem omnium sententiam* vos scire volo. (*Mansi,* T. II., p. 1219.) In like manner Pope *Felix III.* expresses himself: Quotiens intra Italiam propter causas ecclesiasticas, praecipue fidei, colliguntur Domini sacerdotes, consuetudo retinetur, ut successor praesulum sedis Apostolicae ex *persona cunctorum totius Italiae sacerdotum* juxta sollicitudinem sibi ecclesiarum omnibus competentem *cuncta constituat,* qui caput est omnium. (*Mansi,* T. VII., p. 1140.)

[3] *Constantine the Great,* at the Synod of Arles, had the following declaration sent to the Donatists: "Meum judicium postulant (Donatistae), qui ipse judicium Christi exspecto. Dico enim, ut se veritas habet, sacerdotum judicium ita debet haberi, ac si ipse Dominus residens judicet. Nihil enim his licet aliud sentire, vel aliud judicare, nisi quod Christi magisterio sunt edocti." He says

The only ground that the adversaries of the Church have for throwing doubt and discredit upon the high authority and unquestioning submission with which the *decrees of these Ecumenical Councils* were accepted by the Catholic world, are some severe animadversions of St. *Gregory Nazianzen.* This holy bishop did indeed animadvert with harsh severity upon the intemperate conduct which bishops, assembled in provincial synods, sometimes exhibited, and expressed his indignation at the Arians, who were continually drawing up new formulae of faith, and throwing up one after the other.[2] But apart from this, St. Gregory, in many passages of his works, defends the authority of these holy assemblies with warmth and energy.

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of the *Council of Nice*, in the Epist. catholicae Alexandrinor. eccles., in *Socrat.* hist. eccl. I. 9: "Quod trecentis placuit (*ἤρεσεν*) episcopis, nihil aliud existimandum est, quam *Dei sententia*, praesertim quum in tantorum virorum mentibus insidens Spiritus S. divinam voluntatem aperuit (ed. *Valesii*, T. II., p. 26). He called the decrees of the Council of Nice *θεία ἐντολή*, a divine commandment. Conformably to this, it was always said in the preamble of every decree, "*The Holy Ghost ordains.*" *Basilii M.*, ep. 111 (al. 204), on the Council of Nice: "*Οἱ τριακόσιοι δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ—οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐνεργείας ἐφθέγξαντο*, sc. *τὴν πίστιν.*—The three hundred and eighteen, assisted by the guidance of the Holy Ghost, proclaimed this faith." *Leo the Great* speaks of an "irretractabilis consensus concilii Chalcedonensis" (ep. 65, ad Theodoret.) *Gregor. M.*, epp. lib. III., epistola 10: Quatuor synodos sanctae universalis ecclesiae, sicut quatuor libros sancti evangelii recipimus.—Chalcedonensis (IV.) fides in quinta synodo non est violata (opp. ed. *Bened.*, T. II., p. 632). For further *proofs*, taken *from the Fathers*, on the subject, see *Bellarmin.*, de conciliis, lib. II., c. 3 and c. 6–9 (disputation., T. II.)

[1] John xiv. 26, xvi. 13, 14; Luke xxii. 32.

[2] *Gregor. Nazianz.*, ep. 55, ad Procop.: "To tell the plain truth, such is my frame of mind that I shun every assembly of bishops, for I have as yet seen none that has had a happy issue. I have not yet seen any council which, instead of removing the evil, did not augment it, and which has not been the scene of unheard of quarreling and ambition the most boundless," etc. The cruel outrages offered to Gregory at the Second Ecumenical Council by the Egyptian and Macedonian bishops may indeed have sharpened the bitterness of his complaints; yet, as *Billius*, the Latin interpreter in the argument of that letter, justly observes, the rebuke was meant for particular provincial councils, and especially for those of the Arians. Cf., above all, the view of the Pagan *Ammianus Marcellin.*, p. 544, note 1.

At the close of this epoch, the following Councils were everywhere accepted as Ecumenical: *Nice*, A. D. 325; *Constantinople*, A. D. 381; *Ephesus*, A. D. 431; *Chalcedon*, A. D. 451, and the *second* and *third* of Constantinople, A. D. 553 and 680. It was impossible to obtain universal recognition for either the Council of *Sardica* (A. D. 343), or the *Second Trullan* Synod (A. D. 692); the former of which the West was anxious should receive an ecumenical character, and the East was no less anxious to obtain the same honor for the latter.

Besides framing dogmatic definitions, councils also passed decrees settling *questions of right*, and prescribing *general ecclesiastical discipline;* frequently deposed patriarchs, bishops, and priests, or defined and recognized the limits of their authority.

As a rule, the emperors convoked the councils held during this epoch, but, in some instances, obtained the Pope's consent.

The Sixth Ecumenical Council positively affirms, on what authority is not clear, that the emperor Constantine and Pope Sylvester convoked, by their joint act, the great Council of Nice. Be this as it may, it is certain that Marcian and Pulcheria asked and obtained the Pope's consent to convoke the Fourth Ecumenical Council, A. D. 451; and it was at this very Council that the Papal Legates, in bringing accusation against Dioscorus, charged him, among other things, with having dared to hold a general council without having first been authorized by the Pope. Hence, *Pelagius II.* (A. D. 587) claimed the right of convoking general councils as one of the prerogatives belonging to the successor to St. Peter.

There was, however, no question as to who had the *right of presiding* over general councils. This was, from the very beginning, admitted to be the peculiar and exclusive prerogative of the Popes. At Nice, Pope Sylvester was represented by Hosius, Bishop of Corduba, and the Roman priests Vitus and Vincentius. A still stranger circumstance in connection with this unquestioned concession, is the fact that those early councils were attended principally by Oriental bishops, while the Bishop of Rome was only represented by his Legates. Nay, more; Macedonius, Patriarch of Constantinople, openly told the emperor Anastasius, that "he himself could not proceed to define in matters of faith, because this was the office of an Ecumenical Council, presided over by the *Pope*."

The emperors having assumed the right of convoking Councils, as has been stated above, also sent to them deputies, invested with plenary powers, as their representatives, and sometimes assisted in person, without ever taking part in the dogmatic discussions, or directly interfering in ecclesiastical affairs. This statement is fully borne out by the conduct of Theodosius II. in the case of Count Candidian, his deputy at the Council of Ephesus. The emperors, for the same reason, also ratified the *first eight* Ecumenical Councils, but all subsequent ones were confirmed by the Pope alone.[1]

There were, besides the above-named six Ecumenical Councils, several *national*, *provincial*, and *diocesan* synods held during this epoch, at which neither the emperor nor his deputies attended. The Ecumenical *Council af Nice* prescribed that two synods should be held annually in every province—one in spring, before the forty days fast of Lent, and the other in autumn; and that all the provincial bishops should be present. The same rule was laid down by the *Council of Antioch* (A. D. 341), and reiterated by the Fourth Ecumenical *Council of Chalcedon*. The latter also censures any neglect of its observance. As, however, some ecclesiastical provinces were of more than ordinary extent, they observed a less stringent rule. The Councils of *Agde* (A. D. 506), of *Orleans* (A. D. 533), of *Tours* (A. D. 567), of *Toledo* (A. D. 589 and 633), and still later, the Seventh Ecumenical *Council*, the *second of Nice* (A. D. 787), decreed that "in such cases councils should be held annually for the purpose of removing any abuses that might have crept in during the interval."[2] All decrees relating to *faith* and *morals*, passed by these councils, were accepted as infallible utterances, after they had been received by the Universal Church and approved by the Pope. As examples of this rule, we may mention the councils of *Arles* (A. D. 314), of *Orange* (A. D. 529), and of *Valence* (A. D. 530).

There was also a class of councils peculiar to Constantinople, called *σύνοδοι ἐνδημοῦσαι*, or permanent synods, which were presided over by the patriarch, and attended by all the bishops who chanced to be in the Imperial City (*ἐνδημοῦντες*), when there was a call to hold them. They were called when any affair of importance that could not be put off came up for discussion, or when difficulties arising in the suffragan dioceses required immediate settlement. The patriarch of *Alexandria* also sometimes held similar *endemic synods* at his own residence.

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[1] *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. I., p. 23–40; Engl. transl., Vol. I., p. 25–42.

[2] †*Fessler*, Provincial Councils, Innsbruck, 1849.

Diocesan synods are supposed by some to have been first prescribed in the disputed canon "*Annis*," believed to have been enacted by the Council of Hippo, A. D. 393.

There is, however, positive proof that the holding of such synods was prescribed in the councils of *Orleans* (A. D. 511), and of *Huesca* (A. D. 598). It was further ordained that abbots, as well as clerics, should undergo the annual "*Correction*" of the bishops at these synods—the clerics at the *May* synod and the abbots at the *November* synod. The same rule is laid down by the *Fourth Council of Toledo* (A. D. 633); and the *Sixteenth Council of Toledo* (A. D. 693) threatens those bishops with excommunication who neglect or refuse to hold diocesan synods within six months after the close of the provincial council. At these diocesan synods the ultimate decision in every case rested with the bishop; the rest of the clergy enjoyed only an advisory or deliberative voice.[1]

The decrees of these councils, with the signatures of the attending bishops appended, were sent to the faithful of the various dioceses severally, in the form of synodical letters, and were put together and preserved in authentic *collections* for perpetual reference. The most ancient work containing a collection of the laws, customs, and ordinances of the Church, is a Greek compilation, which gives in *chronological* order the Canons of the Apostles, and the decrees of the councils of Nice, Ancyra, Neo-Caesarea, Sardica, Gangra, Antioch, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. *John the Scholastic*, afterward Patriarch of Constantinople († A. D. 578), taking this work as a basis, reduced the legislation of the Church to a system, arranging the subject-matter methodically under Fifty Titles, after the model of the *Justinian Code*.[1] The work entitled the *Nomocanon*, and attributed to the same author, but certainly written at a later date, embraces, besides the Fifty Titles, the corresponding civil laws enacted by Constantine the Great, but particularly by Justinian, with whom the technical name "Title" originated. The second Trullan Synod (A. D. 692) gave a complete list of the canons that possessed the authority of law in the Greek Church. It comprises all ecclesiastical legislation, from Apostolic Canons down to its own one hundred and two canons.

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[1] †*Phillips*, Diocesan Synod, Freiburg, 1849, p. 40 sq.

Frequent mention was made in the West of the so-called *Prisca Translatio*,[2] the work of *Denys the Little*,[3] a Scythian monk residing at Rome. At the request of Stephen, Bishop of Salona, in Dalmatia (c. A. D. 510), he brought together, into one collection, the first fifty of the Apostolic Canons, and, in a new translation, the decrees of the Oriental Councils, as far as that of Chalcedon, and the Canons of the councils of Sardica and Africa. In the second part of his work, compiled still later, he added the *Decretals of the Popes*, from Siricius to Anastasius II., who died A. D. 498.[4] The Spanish Church had also a collection containing none of the Apostolic Canons, but in which were to be found many decrees of the councils held in Gaul. About A. D. 610 a new and more complete collection was made, which has been erroneously attributed to *Isidore, Bishop of Seville* († A. D. 636), and hence called the "*Isidorian Collection*." It was modeled after the Greek collection mentioned above.[1] The African Church, at the Synod of Carthage (A. D. 419), approved a collection of its own, which gradually passed into the Common Law of the Church.[2] An epitome of all the collections was made by Fulgentius Ferrandus, a deacon at Carthage (c. A. D. 540), entitled the "*Breviarium*," and another by the African bishop Cresconius, entitled "*Concordia Canonum*."[3]

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[1] This collection is printed in *Guil. Voelli* et *Justelli* bibl. juris can. vet., T. II., p. 499–660. Conf. *Phillips*, Canon Law, Vol. II. † *Walter*, Church Law, Book II., "Sources of C. L.," § 65–75.

[2] In *Ballerini*, opp. Leon. M., T. III., p. 473 sq., and in *Mansi*, T. VI., p. 1105–1230. Cf. *Ballerini*, de antiquis collectionib. canon., prefacing T. III., opp. Leonis M., and in *Gallandii* sylloge.

[3] The surname "*Little*" ("Exiguus"), assumed by him probably out of humility, since the monks often took surnames of this kind, e. g. Anastasius the Librarian: "Exiguus in Christo salutem Joanni diacono;" and *Boniface*, the Apostle of the Germans, writes: "Beatissimae Virgini. . . . Vuinfredus *exiguus* in Christo Jesu intimae caritatis salutem. Conf. *Walter's* Church Law, § 85.

[4] *Justelli* bibl., T. I., p. 97 sq. Cf. *Ballerini*, dissert. (Leon. M. opp. T. III., p. 174 sq.) *Walter*, C. L., § 84–87.

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[1] Collectio canon. eccles. Hispaniae, Matrit. 1808 fol.; epistolae decretales ac rescripta Romanor. Pontificum, Matrit. 1821, fol. New and complete collection by *Tejada y Ramiro*, Mad. 1849–1855, 5 T. in fol.

[2] Cod. canon. eccles. Africanae; also in *Harduin*, T. I., p. 861 sq.; *Mansi*, T. III., p. 698 sq.; *Justelli* bibl., T. I., p. 303 sq.; and *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. II., p. 112–114.

[3] *Ferrandi* breviar. canon., in *Justelli* bibl., T. I., p. 448 sq., and the "Con cordia" of Cresconius, Ibid., T. I., append., p. 33 sq.

CHAPTER IV.

WORSHIP, DISCIPLINE, RELIGIOUS AND MORAL LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

Chardon, hist. des Sacrements; *Martène*, de antiquis ecclesiae ritibus; the works of *Mamachi, Selvaggio, Pelliccia, Binterim, Krüll*, etc. Conf., above, Lit. heading, § 88. For the deeper symbolical meaning of the principal objects worship, see the profound explanations of *Dionysius Areopagita*, in his "Hierarchia ecclesiastica." (German transl. by *Engelhardt*, Pt. II., p. 61–138.) *Wm. Menzel*, Christian Symbolism, Ratisbon, 1854, 2 vols. †*Staudenmaier*, Genius of Christianity, 5th ed., Mentz, 1856, 2 pts.

§ 132. *Churches and their Ornaments.*

On Christian *Church Architecture*, see, besides Onuphr. *Panvinus* and *Ciampinus*, also *Kreuser*, Christian Church Architecture, Vol. I., p. 203 sq.; *Sarnelli* antica basilicografia, Naples, 1686. The most important work, however, both as to design and execution, is that of †**Huebsch*, "The Ancient Christian Churches," Carlsruhe, 1858 sq.; its truly scientific text is illustrated with 63 plates. *Muratori*, de templorum apud vet. Christianos ornatu (Anecdota, T. I., p. 178 sq.) †*J. G. Müller*, Pictorial Representations in the Sanctuaries of Churches, from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Centuries, Treves, 1835. *Kugler*, Hist. of Architecture, Stuttgart, 1855. By the *same* author, Hand-book of the History of Painting since Constantine the Great, 2d ed., Berlin, 1847. *Laib* and *Schwarz*, Researches on the Hist. of the Christian Altar, Stuttg. (1858) 1864. The translator adds to these also: *Seroux d'Agincourt*, Histoire de l'art par les monuments, Paris et Strasbourg, 1823. *Bingham*, Christian Antiquities, London, 1870, Book VIII. *Dr. Wm. Lübke*, Hist. of Architecture, 2d ed., Cologne, 1858., p. 173 sq. *J. A. Mesmer*, On the Origin, Development, and Symbolism of the Basilica in Christian Architecture. *Schnaase*, Hist. of the Arts of Design, 2d ed., III. 1, Düsseldorf, 1869. *Förster*, Hist. of Ital. Art, 1 vol., Lps. 1869. *Zestermann*, The Basilicas, Lps. 1847. *O. Mothes*, The Form of Basilicas, Lps. (2d ed.) 1869. *Crowe* and *Cavalcaselle*, Hist. of Painting in Italy; Germ. ed. by *M. Jordan*, 1 vol., Lps. 1869.

The Christians, who, after the opening of this epoch, were in the enjoyment of political liberty, yielding generously to the practical and holy inspirations of Christianity, *gave full expression in their exterior worship to their pious thoughts and religious sentiments.* We accordingly behold the august and mysterious worship of the Catholic Church bursting into life and growing into definite shape—*essentially the same then*, in all its constituent elements, that it has been through every succeeding age down to our own day. The great number of symbols that now began to come into use, were so many tokens of the triumph of Christianity over Paganism.

First of all, the churches rapidly increased both in number and magnificence. Many of these were constructed and adorned by the munificent generosity of *Constantine* and his mother *Helena*. Among these were the churches of Tyre; the church of St. Sophia (of the Incarnate Wisdom), at Constantinople; the church of Mambre; that of the Holy Sepulchre on Mount Golgotha, near Jerusalem; of the Ascension, on Mount Olivet; the one at Bethlehem, built over the place of the birth of our Lord, and others, particularly at Rome, where there were forty basilicas as early as the fourth century (see p. 469). These churches were soon after adorned with silver and gold, with marble and precious stones.[1]

The Pagan temples, with their narrow cloisters, made to receive only a statue, in which it was supposed a divinity resided, and the votive-offerings of the god, were comparatively *small*, and never intended to accommodate numerous assemblies. They were, therefore, not adapted for the purposes of a Christian church, and were but seldom put to such use.

Basilicas, on the contrary, which were elegant and spacious buildings, erected for courts of justice, for what is now known as merchants' exchanges and for halls of public meeting, served admirably the purposes of a Christian church, and were frequently converted to this use by the emperors. The *Lateran* Basilica is one of those which formerly passed in this way into the hands of the Christians.

Alberti († 1472), that great engineer who immortalized himself by inventing the sluice for canals, and his many followers down to our own day, thought they were justified in deriving the origin of the ancient Christian basilica from the Roman basilica forensis, or judiciaria, simply adapted to the purposes of Christian worship.

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[1] *Hieronym.* ep. ad Paulinum de instit. monach. *Ambros.* de offic. II. 28. *Chrysostom*, hom. 50, in Matth. *Isidor. Pelusiot.*, epp. lib. II., ep. 246.

There can be no question as to the influence exercised upon the architecture of the early Christian churches by the Pagan basilica. Many of the larger churches were known by no other name. Though frequently varying in design and arrangement, the basilicas were always modeled, without loss of architectural symmetry or beauty, to suit the wants of a church, and made to harmonize with the genius of Christianity. They were called "basilicas," some assert, because in them justice was administered in the name and by the authority of the king (βασιλεύς); while others affirm that they were so designated because they were the residences of Christ, the *King of Kings*. After saying this much for the influence of Pagan basilicas generally on Christian architecture, it should not be forgotten that the basilica, as a whole, is distinctively and exclusively a Christian creation. This is admitted even by Protestant writers. All that properly belonged to the Pagan basilica was the open colonnade. The roof, at first of the plainest description, and after the fifth century ornamented; the aisles, the whole interior structure, the places set apart for men and women, for monks and nuns, for different classes of Christians, or those professing to be Christians, every character of the entire building was undoubtedly an outgrowth of Christian art and Christian genius.[1]

The *form* of the primitive Christian church was generally that of an *oblong quadrangle*,[2] divided into three, rarely five, spaces by parallel rows of columns. The middle space—which, unlike that of the Pagan basilicas, was roofed in—

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[1] *Bunsen*, The Basilicas of Christian Rome, Munich, 1843. *Platner*, Description of the City of Rome, Vol. I., p. 416 sq. Against these: *Zestermann*, The Ancient and the Christian Basilicas, Lps. 1847; *Kraus*, Ch. H., Vol. I., pp. 191, 192. Conf. *Kayser*, On the Old Christian Basilica (Austrian Theological Quarterly, year 1863, No. 3). *Allmers*, The Old Christian Basilica, Oldenburg, 1870. [*Em Veith*, in a Sermon for the Feast of the Dedication of a Church, Fest-Predigten, Vol. II., p. 263.—Tr.]

[2] Constitut. Apostolor., lib. II., c. 57: Ac primo quidem aedes sit *oblonga* ad orientem versa. [*S. Aug.*, de oratione Domini seu ad, c. vi. Matth.—Tr.] Cf. *Kreuser*, Christian Church Architecture, Vol. I., p. 41 sq. [The best specimen of a primitive basilica is *San Lorenzo* fuori le mura, Rome.—Tr.]

was called the *nave* of the building, from its similarity to a ship, while the two or four spaces on either side were called the *aisles*, or wings of the building. There were, however, many churches built in *other forms*. The church built by Constantine over the Holy Sepulchre, on Mount Golgotha, was *round;* the one built by him at Antioch, *octagon;* the church of Nazianzum, built by the father of Gregory Nazianzen, was also octagon. Others were in the form of a *cross;* such as that of the Apostles at Constantinople, built by Constantine. The church built by the same emperor at Mambre was, according to the authority of Valesius, in the form of a *quadrangle*, or square. There was still another form of church built in the figure of an arch, or *hemisphere*, resembling, if not identical with, the Pantheon at Rome. This, however, is more properly a description of *part* of a church, such as that of Saint Sophia at Constantinople, the body of which was built in the form of a *trulla*, or half globe or cupola, though the general outline of the church was oblong.

These churches were commonly so situated that the front or chief entrances faced at first toward the east, and the sanctuary, or altar, toward the west; but these positions were in the Western World reversed, and the altar was made to face toward the east, and the chief entrances toward the west. But in Ireland, as Bishop Usher, quoting from Jocelin, observes, the churches built by St. Patrick differed in position from any of these, and faced north and south.[1]

After the time of Constantine, there was a decided preference for the *cruciform*. The main oblong quadrangle was cut toward the eastern end by a second one, running at right angles with the first, and forming a *transept*. The whole structure was consequently in the shape of an *octagon*. This was the form of the Eastern churches enumerated above, and, in the West, of the *churches* of the *Lateran*, of *St. Peter* and of *St. Paul*, and of *Sta. Maria Maggiore*, at Rome; of the church of *St. Apollinaris* at Ravenna, and of many others.

During the reign of Justinian, there was a tendency to add the *cupola* (*θόλος*) to the basilica. This was an imitation of the *Pantheon* of ancient Rome, built by Agrippa, the friend of Augustus, twenty-six years before Christ, and presented by the emperor Phocas to Pope Boniface IV., who, in the year 606, dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Martyrs. Among the churches which had one cupola, and sometimes other smaller ones, was the principal church at Antioch, and also the church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, both built by Constantine; the church of St. Vitalis at Ravenna, and, the most magnificent of all, the church of *St. Sophia*, or the Incarnate Wisdom, at Constantinople, which was *rebuilt by Justinian* A. D. 537. When this church was consecrated, the emperor boasted that he had surpassed even Solomon in magnificence. He had the statue of the king of Israel set up in a niche of the fore-court, and addressing it he said, in a spirit of exultant pride, "Solomon, I have surpassed thee" (*νενίκηκά σε Σαλομών*)!

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[1] Conf. *Bingham's* Antiquities of the Christian Church, p. 286 sq. (Tr.)

The interior of the basilica was commonly divided into *three* parts: 1. At the western end was the *narthex*, ante-temple, or *vestibule* (*νάρθηξ*, i. e. rod or wand, *πρόναος*, also *παράδεισος*,[1] *atrium*, *vestibulum*), where the penitents and catechumens stood. 2. The *naos*, from its similarity to a ship, or temple (*ναός*, *navis*, *oratorium laicorum*), where the communicants or faithful took their respective places. These, according to the then existing notions of Christian decorum, were *separated according to sex*, the men occupying the north side and the women the south. Besides this general division, there was still another. In the transept, on the side occupied by the women, the consecrated virgins and widows were separated from the others in a division called the *matronaeum;* similarly, on the opposite side of the transept, monks and men of rank also held a separate position, called the *senatorium*. In Eastern churches the women occupied *tribunes*. And 3. The bema or *choir*, or sanctuary (*ἄμβων*, *presbyterium*, *sanctuarium*), which was raised by a few steps above the nave. and separated from it by a curtain (*περιπέτασμα*), or partition, usually of wood, but sometimes of marble. This terminated in a large *semi-circular hall* (*ἄψις*, *κόγχη*, *absida*, *concha*), at the central point of which, and against the wall, was the bishop's *throne*, flanked on either side by the seats for the clergy, which also ran along the wall, and partially surrounded the altar. Only the clergy were permitted to enter here. The altar stood in the center of the choir. It was simply a table, supported by four columns, usually of wood, but after the fourth century more generally of marble. In the larger churches it was surmounted by an arched *canopy;* the *cross*, and after the fifth century the crucifix, was placed not on, but over the altar. *Wax tapers* and *lamps*, which were kept burning also during the day, were ranged around the altar, or placed in chandeliers suspended from the roof, but not on the altar itself. Above the altar was the *peristerium*, a figure of a *dove*, representing the Holy Ghost, hovering in the air, in which the Blessed Sacrament was preserved. It was for a long time customary to have only *one* altar in *each* church, and no mention is made of several till toward the close of the fourth century.[1]

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[1] Luke xxiii. 43.

In order to avoid the very appearance of schism, the *bishop alone celebrated* the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and was assisted by all the clergy. After this, those who served churches in the city, took the consecrated elements with them, and distributed them to their respective congregations.

Reading-desks or *lecterns* (*ἄμβων*, from *ἀναβαίνω*, walking up), elevated one or two steps, were placed either at the end of the choir toward the nave, or in the nave itself, for the reader and chanters. The ambon, or pulpit, occupied by the bishop when instructing the faithful, was placed within the choir, and at a still higher elevation. At the entrance of the church, and immediately in front of the vestibule proper, was a court or square, surrounded by porticos or cloisters, in the center of which stood the fountain of water (*κρήνη*, *cantharus*) for the ablution of those who entered. This, with its entrance, was called the outer narthex, or *impluvium*.[2]

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[1] On the plurality of altars in *one* church, see *Binterim*, in l. c., Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 96 sq., and *Kreuser*, Vol. I., p. 82 sq.

[2] This description of an ancient church will be familiar to those who have seen and examined the venerable *basilica* of *St. Clement* at Rome. (Tr.)

The more important churches had also *exedrae*, or outer buildings, the principal of which was the *baptistery* (*βαπτιστήριον, φωτιστήριον, κολυμβήθρα, piscina*),[1] usually in the form of an octagon, or Roman rotunda, and the greater *secretarium* or *diaconicum magnum*, now known as the sacristy, in which the vestments, the sacred vessels, and all the treasures of the church were deposited.

The *consecration* of churches is mentioned almost simultaneously with their erection (see p. 447). The dedicatory ceremony was commonly performed during a synod of the neighboring bishops, all of whom took part in the services, and was regarded as a feast of great solemnity and spiritual joy. This formal establishment of a Christian community, and the setting apart of a building to Divine service, was *annually* commemorated by the celebration of the great *feast of dedication* (*encaenia, festum dedicationis ecclesiae, natale ecclesiae*).[2]

The ingenious invention of *bells* has been, without any foundation, ascribed to the pious *Paulinus*, Bishop of *Nola*, in Campania. There is no reliable mention of them in either Italy or Gaul till the seventh century, and in the East not till much later.[3]

The prejudice entertained by the primitive Christians against all *painted figures*, and particularly those of the human form, gradually wore away. The Catacombs are certainly the earliest specimens of places set apart for Divine worship, and the walls of these are adorned with paintings. But among the *pictorial representations* which adorned either the walls of temples or those of private dwellings, the *Cross* was always the most prominent—the symbol of universal execration and the instrument of unspeakable suffering had come to be *regarded with feelings of love and reverence.* It rose triumphant from house-tops; was wrought on the roofs; was to be seen in cities and hamlets, on the mountain top and in the valley, on vessels going forth to sea; was emblazoned on arms and books, and on many other articles.[1] It brought to the mind of the Christian the fundamental doctrine of his faith, and kept constantly before his eyes the fact that he, too, was called upon to follow his Master; to suffer, if need be, in His cause; that thus participating in the sufferings, he might also participate in the glory of Jesus Christ.

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[1] John v. 2, ix. 7.

[2] Conf. "*Kirchweihe*," or *consecration* of a church, in the *Freiburg Cyclopedia*, Vol. VI., p. 203–208.

[3] Cf. *Otte*, "Glockenkunde" (history of bells), Lps. 1858.

There were also many representations, chiefly in *frescoes* and *mosaics* (*musivum*, *λιθοστρώτια*), of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles, the Patriarchs, the Martyrs, and of subjects from Sacred History. These were intended for the instruction of both the educated and the uneducated classes. The Liturgical Books were also ornamented with *miniature pictures;* and the sarcophagi and ecclesiastical vessels with *alto-relievos* and *basso-relievos* (*ἀναγλυφαί*). "What Holy Scripture is to him who can read, pictorial representations are to him who can not; because in them the untutored behold *patterns* which they may copy in their lives; they are books that can be read by the illiterate." Thus wrote St. *Gregory the Great*, reproving Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, for removing pictorial representations from the walls of the churches within his diocese, thereby causing the people to withdraw from his communion. Pagan ideas having now disappeared with Paganism itself, there was no longer any reason to apprehend that these figures would be an occasion to the faithful of a relapse into idolatry. It was quite natural that these paintings and figures of Christ and His Saints, having been once set up in churches and private dwellings, should be held in honor, not because of any intrinsic merit of their own, but because of the originals which they represented. The decree of the Second Trullan Synod was directed, not against all representations indiscriminately, but only against that of *Christ under the figure of a lamb.*[2]

The chief ornament of churches, and particularly of altars, were *relics* of the true Cross of Christ and the remains of the holy martyrs. The use of these, unhappily, opened a door to fraud and abuse, which soon called for the interference of bishops, and even the emperor *Theodosius* passed laws to repress this unholy traffic.[1]

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[1] *Chrysostom*, hom. 54, in Matth., n. 4; against its extravagant and superstitious use, *Augustin.*, sermo 302, n. 3; sermo 32, n. 13.

[2] See observation at the end of § 124.

§ 133. *Liturgical Vestments, Hymnology, and Song.*

Bock, Hist. of Liturgical Vestments, Bonn, 1859, 2 vols. On eccl. poetry, conf. *Alzog's* Patrology, 2d ed., Freiburg, 1869, p. 433 sq.

The Christians, having come into the enjoyment of perfect freedom, set to work to introduce into their religious services a greater degree of magnificence than had hitherto been customary. The first evidences of this tendency were the *ornaments and vestments worn by the clergy* on solemn occasions while going through the various functions of their ministry. The garments described in the Old Testament were extensively adopted as patterns. The vestments, which distinguished the bishop from the inferior clergy, were: 1. Among the Greeks the *stole* (originally *ὠράριον*, but later "stola"). 2. A pall, made of white wool, and worn about the shoulders (*ὠμοφόριον*, *pallium*), symbolizing the lost sheep which has been found, and is now being borne back on the shoulders (*ὦμος*) of the good shepherd. The *palls*, which were also in use in the West, have been, since the sixth century, sent by the Pope to metropolitans, as a symbol of ecclesiastical union and dependence.[2] 3. The *tiara* or *miter* (*infula*), made of some costly stuff, and frequently adorned with gold and precious stones. It was in both the East and the West the symbol of episcopal authority. 4. To these were added in the West the beautiful symbols, the *ring* and *crosier.*[1]

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[1] Conf. *Augustin.* de opere monachor, c. 28, T. VI., ed. *Bened.*, and *Codex Theodos.* IX. 17, 7.

[2] *Vespasiani*, Bishop of Fano, published, in 1856, in Rome, a dissertation, in which he demonstrates that the pallium derives its origin neither from Constantine nor any other emperor, nor from the ephod or rationale of the high-priests, when, as mediators between God and man, they entered the Holy of Holies, but is taken from the body of *St. Peter*, whose authority passed over to the Pope, who wears it himself, and sends it to others as the *insignia of investiture, with a portion of his own primatial authority.* This assertion is proved by the custom of other churches, such as *Alexandria*, where the pallium of *St. Mark* was kept, with which his lawful successors were invested, so as to represent Mark with his hereditary power—in short, his whole person. *Eusebius* of Caesarea writes that *B. Linus* wore the pallium of St. Peter. Another authority mentions *St. Clement* as its first wearer. This chief supra-episcopal ornament is therefore, as it were, taken from the body of Peter, communicating a share of his solicitude of all churches, which signification is still forcibly expressed by the manner in which it is blessed. (Tr.'s Add.)

The clergy, from motives of humility, and desirous of imitating the monks, and proving themselves true servants of the Lord, either cut their hair short, or wore the tonsure (*tonsura Petri, signum passionis*). They sometimes adopted another form of tonsure, and they were obliged, still later on, by general law to wear one of some fashion.[2]

The custom for the clergy, to wear a distinctive dress when *outside the church,* did not become general till after the close of the fourth century, and was never uniform for all countries.[3]

Poetry and *music* also contributed powerfully to increase the pomp and solemnity of public worship. There was, at first, a universal outcry raised against the use of Christian poetry, introduced to lend an additional charm to the Psalms, which had been chanted from very early times in the assemblies of Christians, and to the Doxologies, which consisted of hymns and passages from Holy Writ.[4] But notwithstanding this adverse feeling, the general voice of the Christians was in its favor, and finally bore down all opposition.[1] Only such Doctors of the Church as were distinguished by their piety and their orthodoxy were recognized as true exponents of the sentiments and inspirations of Christian faith in divine song. Among the most remarkable of those who composed sacred hymns were, in the East, *Ephraëm the Syrian*, who wrote to counteract the influence of *Bardesanes*, who, as well as his son *Harmonius*, composed quite a number of hymns, which were sung in the churches by his followers for two centuries after his death; *Jacob of Sarug*, the contemplative *Synesius*, whose hymns are of an exalted and mystic character; the two *Apollinares; Gregory Nazianzen* and *Basil the Great; Paul the Silencer* and *George* the *Pisidian*. In the West there were *Juvencus*, *Victorinus*, and *St. Ambrose* (the hymns of the latter were recommended by the Fourth Council of Toledo);[2] then came Pope *Damasus* († A. D. 384), *Coelius Sedulius*, *Claudius Mamertus* († C. A. D. 470), *Paulinus* (Bishop of Nola), *Prosper* (C. A. D. 463), *Gregory the Great*, *Venantius Fortunatus* (C. A. D. 603); and, the most gifted of all, *Prudentius* († after A. D. 405).[3]

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[1] *Du Tour*, de origine, antiquitate et sanctitate vestium sacerdotalium, Paris, 1662, 4to. *Schmid*, de omophorio episcopor. Graecor., Helmst, 1698. *Pertsch*, de origine usu et auctoritate pallii, Helmst. 1754. *Schmid*, de annulo pastorali, Helmst. 1705, 4to. Cf. *Binterim*, Memorabilia, etc., Vol. I., Pt. II.

[2] *Pelliccia* l. l., ed. *Ritter*, T. I., p. 28 sq. Concil. Toletan. IV., a. 633: Omnes clerici vel lectores sicut levitae et sacerdotes detonso superius toto capite, inferius solam circuli coronam relinquant, can. 41. (*Harduin*, T. III., p. 588.) *Binterim*, Memorabilia, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 262 sq. *Phillips*, Canon Law, Vol. I., p. 285.

[3] According to *Socrates*, hist. eccl. IV. 22, the Catholic clergy at Constantinople dressed in *black* and the Novatian in *white*. *St. Jerome* expresses himself in an altogether general way on the subject: Vestes pullas aeque devita ac candidas. Ornatus et sordes pari modo fugiendae sunt: quia alterum delicias, alterum gloriam redolet. Ep. ad Nepotian, n. 9 (opp. T. I., n. 264). And the forty-fifth canon of the Fourth Council of Carthage (398) says: Clericus professionem suam et in habitu et incessu probet: et nec vestibus, nec calceamentis decorem quaerat. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 982.) Conf. *Selvaggio* l. l., lib. I., Pars. II., c. 11

[4] *Conc. Laodic.* (about 372), can. 59: *ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.*—That no private songs be rehearsed in church. Conf. can. 15. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 791.) And the First Council of Braga (561) enacts against

The "Te Deum Laudamus," the so-called Ambrosian Song

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the Priscillianists: Placuit, ut extra psalmos vel canonicarum scripturar. N. et V. T. nihil poëtice compositum in ecclesia psallatur. (*Harduin*, T. III., p. 351.) Yet the Synod of Tours of the year 567 permitted *dignified* hymns by *known* authors. Vide *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. III., p. 24.

[1] Thus *St. Jerome* says of the poet Juvencus: Historiam Domini Salvatoris versibus explicuit, *nec pertimuit evangelii majestatem sub metri leges mittere* (ep. ad Magnum).

[2] *Conc. Totetan.*, a. 633, can. 13. (*Harduin*, T. III., p. 583.)

[3] *Prudent. περὶ στεφάνων*, etc., opp. ed. *Heinsius*, Amstelodami, 1667. *Cellarius*, Hall. 1703; ed. *Obbarius*, Tüb. 1844; ed. *Dressel*, Lps. 1860. Collections of numerous poets, by *Fabricius*, poetarum vett. ecclesiast. opp. et fragmenta, Basil. 1564. Poetarum Graecor. christ. Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1609. *Binius*, collectio poetar. christianor., Paris, 1624. Hymni ecclesiae excerpti e breviariis Paris., Roman., Sarisburiensi, Eboracensi et aliunde, Oxon. 1839. **Daniel*, thesaurus hymnologicus, ed. I., Hal. 1863 sq., 5 T. **Mone*, Latin Hymns, Freiburg, 1853 sq., 3 vols. Cf. *Rambach*, Anthology of Christian Hymns, Altona, 1816–1824, 4 vols. *Simrock*, Lauda Sion, hymnos sacros antiquiores ed. in Latin and German, Cologne, 1850. *Schlosser*, The Church in her Songs, 2d ed., Freib. 1863, 2 vols. *Baehr*, The Christian Poets and Historians, Carlsruhe, 1836.

of Praise, the Christian anthem of victory, which is said to have been composed by St. Ambrose when *suddenly inspired*, and filled with the spirit of prophecy on the occasion of St. Augustine's baptism, was received with unqualified favor throughout the whole Church. Mention is made of it by St. Benedict in his Rule.

Some general attempts were made to form an *ecclesiastical chant*[1] worthy of its high purpose.

The introduction of antiphonal singing, or that which consists of addresses and responsories, sung by two courses of singers, and derived from the precedent of the Old Testament, is attributed to the Apostolic Father, St. *Ignatius* of Antioch. The anthem is proved by authentic testimonies to have been in use at a still earlier date, in the churches of Caesarea and Constantinople. St. *Basil* thus describes the high purposes of ecclesiastical chant: "The Church, in order to excite in our souls tender sentiments of piety, combines with her teaching an agreeable melody, that, though unable to understand the words pronounced, our hearts may be lured to a willing captivity in the soft bondage of its delicious sweetness." St. *Augustine*, with the memories of what he had heard at the church of Milan still fresh and warm in his memory, gives this account of the impression its ecclesiastical chant made upon his mind: "The hymns and songs, O My God, and the sweet chant of Thy Church, stirred and penetrated my being. These voices streamed upon my ears and caused truth to flow into my heart; from its springs the emotions welled up; and lastly, tears poured forth, and I rejoiced in them."

St. *Ambrose* and St. *Gregory* rendered great service to church music by the introduction of what are known as the *Ambrosian* and *Gregorian chants*. The latter, composed of notes of equal duration (*cantus firmus*, *Romanus*), is, in many respects, very similar to our present *choral* chant. The Ambrosian chant, with notes of unequal duration, has more the character of a *recitative*.[1] The Gregorian chant, so dignified and solemn, was taught and brought to perfection in a *school* founded by the excellent Pope from whom it derives its name, whence it gradually spread through the whole Church. Ecclesiastical chant, departing in some instances from the simple majesty of its original character, became *more artistic*, and, on this account, less heavenly and more profane; and the Fathers of the Church were not slow to censure this corruption of the old and honored Church song. Finally, the *organ*, which seemed an earthly echo of the angelic choirs[2] in heaven, added its full, rich, and inspiring notes to the beautiful simplicity of the Gregorian chant.

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[1] *Gerbert*, de cantu et musica sacra, 1774, 2 T. 4to. Conf. *ejusdem* Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica, T. 2, 1784; and likewise Cardinal *Bona*, De divina Psalmodia, c. 17, n. 9, on the Gregorian Chant. *Forkel*, Hist. of Music, Lps. 1788, 2 vols. *Häuser*, Hist. of Christian Church Song, Quedlinburg, 1834.

§ 134. *Feasts and Fasts of the Church.*

†*Selvaggio* l. c., lib. II., Pt. II., c. 4–7. †*Pelliccia* l. c., T. II., ed. *Ritter*, p. 276 sq. †*Binterim*, Memorab., Vol. V., Pt. I. †*Krüll*, Christian Ecclesiastical Archæology, 2d vol., p. 56 sq. *Prosp. Lambertini* (Benedict XIV.), comment. de Jesu Christi ejusque Matris Festis, Patav. 1750, fol. *Guyti*, Heortologia, Paris, 1657, fol. *Ad. Baillet*, Histoire des Fêtes, in his "Vies des Saints," Paris, 1707, 4 vols. fol. *Thomassin*, Traité des Jeûnes de l'Eglise, Paris, 1680.

Sunday, the feasts of Easter and Pentecost, and the fasts of Wednesdays and Fridays, all of which had been observed with appropriate solemnity during the First Epoch, continued, without interruption, days of festive gladness or saddening sorrow in the Church.

Constantine passed laws making the observance of Sunday obligatory, and subjecting even Pagans to the Christian rule. He ordained that all manual labor, except agriculture, and judicial proceedings should cease upon this day, and that the soldiers should assist at prayer with the Christians. As might be anticipated, this imperial recognition added to the dignity and importance of Sunday; and the ecclesiastical ordinances passed at the *Council of Laodicea*[1] had a similar effect. Later on, all public games were forbidden on this day by a law of the emperor. Sunday gradually came to be *observed with more strictness in the East than in the West*, and *Theodore* of Tarsus, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, on establishing its observance in England, adhering to the strict customs of his own country, wished to prohibit all domestic employments and traveling. The *Synod of Orleans* (A. D. 538), on the contrary, had taken quite the opposite view, and affirmed that any such regulation was characteristic of the Judaical rather than of the Christian dispensation;[2] and maintained that nothing more should be required than to leave off such labor as the cultivation of the fields, and whatever other sort might prevent attendance at Divine worship. The Synod of *Macon* (A. D. 585) prohibited the cultivation of the field under severe penalties.

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[1] Conf. the excellent contributions toward a history of the Roman choral song, in the *Munich Theol. Archives*, 1843, Nos. 4 and 6. *Lüft*, Liturgics, Vol. II., p. 207–214. †*Antony*, Text-book of Gregorian Church Song, Münster, 1829, 2 vols.

[2] *St. Cecilia*, according to a pious legend, admirably represented by Raphael, in a picture kept at Bologna, heard the choirs of the angels singing the praises of God. (Tr.) Cf. *Chrysander*, Hist. Account of Church Organs, Rinteln, 1755; *Binterim*, Memorabilia, Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 145 sq.; *Freiburg. Eccl. Cycloped.*, Vol. VII., p. 824.

The councils of *Arles* and *Nice* established a *fixed* rule for the whole Church, according to which the feast of Easter should be celebrated. But the differing calculations of Rome and Alexandria were a hindrance to this, which was not obviated till after the introduction of the Dionysian computation and Paschal cycle (see p. 526, n. 1). The *Forty Days Fast*, beginning with Ash Wednesday (*dies cinerum*), became now of more uniform observance throughout the Church. During the season of Lent, the festivals of martyrs were not solemnized, and the celebration of nuptials and birthday festivities were forbidden.[1] The week immediately preceding Easter, or the Great and Holy Week (*ἑβδομὰς μεγάλη*), had an especially sacred character; and the Thursday (*dies anniversarius Coenae Domini*), Friday (*ἡμέρα τοῦ σταυροῦ*, *dies crucis*), and Saturday (*Sabbatum Magnum*), within it, enjoyed a distinction peculiarly their own. *Easter Sunday* was celebrated with a greater degree of solemnity and joyous festivity than any other festival of the year; the people embraced and kissed each other, a practice still observed in the Greek Church—one giving the salutation, "The Lord is risen," and the other replying, "He is risen indeed."

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[1] The *Council of Laodicea* (about 372) prescribes that the Sabbath shall not be observed with the Jews, nor labor intermitted on that day, but that Sunday shall be the recognized day of rest and devotion. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 785; *Mansi*, T. II., p. 569.)

[2] TRANSLATOR'S ADDITION.—Cf. Matt. xii. 8: "For the Son of man is Lord even of the Sabbath day." *Dr. J. P. Lange* (Protestant), Professor of Theology at the University of Bonn, says, in his Comment. on the Gospel of St. Matthew, p. 217: "The Son of man is the Lord of the Sabbath,—as being himself the Divine Rest and the Divine Celebration, He is both the principle and the object of the Sabbath. He rests in God, and God in Him. Hence He is the Mediator of proper Sabbath observance and the Interpreter of the Sabbath law." *D. Brown:* "In what sense now is the Son of man Lord of the Sabbath day? Not surely to establish it—but to *own* it, to *interpret* it, to *preside* over it, and to *ennoble* it, by merging it in the Lord's Day! (Rev. i. 10,) surrounding it with an atmosphere of liberty and love, necessarily unknown before, and thus making it the nearest resemblance to the eternal Sabbathism." *Dr.* and *Prof. Philip Schaff* (Berlin and New York): "A great principle regulates the whole Sabbath

During the entire week after Easter, called the "*White Week*," because, during it, the neophytes were dressed in white, the ceremony of conferring baptism was constantly going forward, and all judicial proceedings and manual labor were prohibited during both this and Holy Week preceding Easter. On the Sunday of the Octave (*ἡ κυριακὴ τοῦ ἀντίπασχα*, *Dominica in Albis*, i. e. *depositis*), the neophytes put off their white robes, and the feast of Easter was ended (*Pascha clausum*).

There is indubitable authority for saying that the *Feast of the Ascension* (*ἑορτὴ τῆς ἀναλήψεως*, in Cappadocia, *ἡ ἐπισωζομένη*, i. e. day of salvation), was celebrated in the beginning of the

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question, and settles both the permanent necessity of the Sabbath for the temporal and eternal welfare of man, and the true Christian freedom of its observance. So the family is made *for man*, i. e. for the benefit of man, and therefore a most benevolent institution, a gracious gift of God. Government is made for man, i. e. it is not an end, but a necessary and indispensable means for the protection, development, well-being, and happiness of man. If the means be turned into an end, the benefit is lost." Dr. Schaff has given his views on the Sabbath question and the merits of the Anglo-American theory and practice, as compared with the continental European, in a little book, published in New York, 1864.

[1] *Conc. Laod.*, can. 51 and 52: Non oportet martyrum natalitia celebrare, sed eorum in sabbato et dominica tantum memoriam fieri.—Non oportet in quadragesima aut nuptias aut quaelibit natalitia celebrare. Cf. can. 48 and 50.

fourth century. Moreover, the *three days* immediately preceding it were observed as *days of public prayer* (*dies rogationum*), during which, as upon other solemn occasions, the people marched in procession, headed with banners. This devotion, first introduced by *Mamertus*, Archbishop of Vienne (A. D. 469), rapidly became general in the whole Church.[1] The recitation of the "*Great Litanies*," a custom which grew out of the public calamities of the times, was somewhat similar to the preceding. The "Litanies" were introduced into Rome by Gregory the Great, and were afterward annually recited in public on the 25th of April.

There were also many among the Christians who said "that there should be no distinction of days;[2] that every day might be consecrated to God, both as a Friday by reviving the memory of Christ's Passion, and as a Sunday by celebrating His Resurrection from the dead, and by union with Him in Holy Communion; that every day of the week should be properly a holiday (*feria*), but that the Church, wisely consulting for those who either could not or would not offer daily sacrifice and prayer to God before entering upon their routine of business, had set apart certain days as feasts and others as fasts; and that the Apostolic Constitutions enjoined that all the faithful should offer up *prayer six times each day*." The times prescribed for daily prayer were: 1. At sunrise, to greet the dawn of day and thank God for it; 2. At the third hour, in memory of the condemnation of Christ; 3. At the sixth hour, in memory of His crucifixion; 4. At the ninth hour, in memory of His death; 5. At eventide, to beg of God the necessary repose; 6. And at cockcrow, to give thanks for the returning day.[3] The clergy and monks have fixed hours for prayer

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[1] After the Rogation days had been generally observed, especially throughout Gaul and Spain, *Leo III.* prescribed them for the whole Church. *St. Augustine* thus determines the *annual cycle of feasts* at the end of the fourth century: Quae toto terrarum orbe servantur, quod *Domini passio* et *resurrectio* et *ascensio* in coelum et *adventus* de coelo Spiritus St. anniversaria solemnitate celebrantur, ep. 54 ad Januar. (Augustin. opp. T. I.) *Conc. Aurelian.*, a. 511, can. 27. (*Harduin*, T. II., p. 1011.)

[2] *Hieronym.* comment. ep. ad Gal. iv. 10, 11, cf, *Chrysost.*, homil. I., n. 1, in Pentecost (opp. T. II., p. 458, ed. *Montfaucon*). *Socr.* h. e. V. 22.

[3] *Constitut. Apostolor.* VIII. 36, with this addition: Si propter infideles im-

(*horae canonicae*), sanctioned by custom and corresponding to those spoken of by the Psalmist (Ps. cxviii. 164): "*Seven times a day have I given praise to Thee* for Thy judgments and Thy justice." The several names of these prayers, and the hour assigned for the recitation of each, are: *Matins*, at three o'clock in the morning; *Prime* at six; *Tierce* at nine; *Sext* at noontide; *None* at three in the afternoon; *Vespers* at six, and *Complins* at nine in the evening.

During the fourth century, other great festivals were added to those already existing, in order to complete the cycle of sacred memorials, by which the most prominent events in the life of our Savior were annually brought before the mind of the Christian in the order in which they took place. The Eastern *feast of the Epiphany*, or *Theophany*, became now very general throughout the Western Church, but under a different signification from that which it bore in the East (see p. 446). St. Peter Chrysologus and Maximus of Turin remark, that in the West the Epiphany commemorated three distinct events in the life of our Savior—the baptism in the Jordan, the adoration of the kings, and the first miracle.

The *feast of the Nativity of our Lord*, on the contrary, originated in the West, where it was pretty generally observed during the pontificate of Pope *Liberius*. It was introduced into the East about the year 376, where, through the efforts of St. *John Chrysostom*, it rapidly gained in favor, and was finally recognized as the "mother of all other feasts."[1] Some Doctors of the Church commenting on this feast, which was celebrated during the winter solstice, professed to see an analogy between the condition of the world when Christ entered into it and the season of the year in which He was born. His birth, they said, took place when the nights were longest and the days shortest, as if to symbolize the great darkness that

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possibile est ad ecclesiam procedere, in domo aliqua congregationem facies, Episcope, ne pius ingrediatur in ecclesiam impiorum; non enim locus hominem sanctificat, sed homo locum. (*Galland.* bibl., T. III., p. 229; *Mansi*, T. I., p. 582.)

[1] *Chrysost.* **homil. in diem natal. (T. II., p. 355.)**

was over the world when the Light broke upon it, which has been gaining in luminousness and splendor ever since.[1]

The *fast preceding this feast* was first observed in Gaul (A. D. 462) by Perpetuus, Bishop of Tours, and afterward obtained the sanction of the Synod of Macon (A. D. 581). It commenced on St. Martin's day, and was observed three days in each week till the celebration of the feast.

The *fast of the Advent* (*adventus*) had passed into a general practice of the Church in the seventh century.

The *festival of Christmas*, which was of later introduction than either Easter, Pentecost, or the Ascension, and which, owing to the uncertainty of the birthday of our Lord, was for a long time celebrated with less solemnity than these, finally obtained a rank equal to Easter, the cardinal feast of the Church, and eventually rose to a more exalted distinction, by the privilege granted to priests to say *three* Masses on this day.[2]

Among the Pagans the incoming of the new year was celebrated with festivities, accompanied with every sort of dissipation, and the practice of the arts of divination and other superstitions. In order to distract and withdraw the faithful from the temptations of this season of revelry, the Catholic Church, in early times, appointed the first of January a day of fasting and prayer. Still later, it was celebrated as the Octave of the Nativity, and in Spain, from the middle of the seventh century, as the *feast of the Circumcision.* This feast, after it had been generally introduced throughout the Church, was interpreted as symbolizing the circumcision and cleansing of the heart, a signification in direct opposition to the Pagan revelry, which, at this season, was so universal, and possessed so many alluring dangers for the Christian.

Two new feasts were added to these: 1. That of the *Presentation of our Lord in the temple* (*festum praesentationis Christi in templo*), called among the Greeks the Meeting (*ὑπαπαντή*, *occursus*), from the account in St. Luke ii. 25, because Simeon went up to the temple to meet Jesus, and recognized Him as the Messiah. It was afterward celebrated in the West as the feast of the Purification of our Lady (*festum purificationis seu candelarum*), and was observed by order of the emperor Justinian on the second day of February. Pope Gelasius introduced it that it might supersede and take the place of the Pagan Lupercalia, and in the seventh century its observance had become general throughout the whole Church. 2. The feast of the Divine Conception of our Lord, or of the *Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary* (*ἡ τοῦ ἀγγελισμοῦ*, *festum annunciationis*), which, though the date of its origin is uncertain, was distinctly mentioned in the Trullan Synod of A. D. 692.[1]

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[1] *Gregor. Nyss.*, T. III., p. 340. *Augustin.*, serm. 190, n. 1. *Leo M.*, serm. 25, n. 1.

[2] Quia largiente Domino missarum solemnia *ter* hodie celebraturi sumus loqui diu de evangelica lectione non possumus. (*Gregor. M.*, homil. 8. in evangelia.)

The *feast of the Transfiguration of our Lord* (*τῆς μεταμορφώσεως*, *transfigurationis*) has been celebrated in the Greek Church from the seventh century down. The feast commemorating the heavenly birth *of the Apostles* was also ranked among the greater feasts of the Greek Church, and Valentinian gave it special importance, by suspending all proceedings in courts of judicature upon this day.

The *Holy Martyrs* were at first commemorated only in those churches in which they had lived and suffered, and their feasts were not, as now, *of universal observance* in the Church. But by and by, as they increased in number, they also grew in importance, and their memories were held in honor and reverence throughout the Catholic world. In the Western Church the memory of St. *Stephen*, the *first Martyr*, was ingeniously connected with the feast of Christmas-tide, in order to show that in his case the martyr's crown was the special gift of Christ, "whom Stephen beheld standing at the right hand of God, assisting and comforting him in his agony, thus strengthening him to bear witness to the Incarnation of the Son of God." The memory of the Apostle and Evangelist, St. *John*, "the disciple whom our Lord loved," was also commemorated within the Octave of Christmas, on the 27th of

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[1] *Conc. Quinisext*, can. 52: In omnibus sanctae quadragesimae jejunii diebus, praeterquam sabbato, et dominica et *sancto annuntiationis die* fiat sacrum praesanctificatorum ministerium. (*Mansi*, T. XI., p. 967; *Harduin*, T. III., p. 1682.) Cf. *Lambertini* commentarius de Jesu Christi ejusque matris festis. Patav. 1782, fol.

December, and on the 28th the *Massacre of the Innocents at Bethlehem* and in its environs, the festival of martyrs and innocent children, who are the roses and the lilies that sprung up about the manger of our Lord.

The anniversary of the Apostles SS. *Peter and Paul* was first celebrated at Rome on the 29th and 30th days of June, when they were born to a new life in Heaven.

Finally, an annual feast, commemorating *all Martyrs and Saints*, was celebrated in the East on the Octave of Pentecost, as early as the fourth century. This day was selected for their feast to indicate that their fortitude and holiness were due entirely to the working of the Holy Ghost. It was introduced into the West A. D. 606, when the emperor Phocas donated the Pantheon to Pope Boniface IV., who dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin and the Martyrs. Gregory III. transferred the feast from the 13th of May to the 1st of November. Besides the *Birthday of Christ*, the only other one then celebrated by the Church, was that of St. *John Baptist*, which was commemorated on the 24th of June, when the days begin to grow short. St. Augustine on this account, in speaking of the feast, alludes to the words of the Baptist himself, "He must grow, but I must decrease,"[1] and in the most ancient calendar the feast is called the Passing-away (*transitus seu assumptio*), and was not known until later as "*Natale Sancti Joannis Baptistae.*" The feast of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist has been, from the fifth century, celebrated on the 29th of August.

The finding of the true Cross by the empress Helena brought mingled feelings of joy and grief to the hearts of all Christians,[2] but when, after it had been lost, the emperor Heraclius, by his splendid victory over the Persians (see § 105), forced them to deliver it into his hands, a feast commemorative of the event was established, called the Feast of the *Exaltation of the Holy Cross* (*festum exaltationis Sanctae Crucis*), and set for the 14th of September. Later on, the Feast of the *Find-*

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[1] *Augustin.*, homil. 287. John iii. 30.

[2] Cf. **Dieringer*, System of Divine Actions, Vol. I., p. 214; 2d ed., p. 151.

ing of the Holy Cross (*inventio Sanctae Crucis*) was appointed to be celebrated on the 3d of May.

The Doctors of the Church, appealing to the Old and New Testaments[1] as authority for their doctrine, taught the faithful to revere and invoke the *angels.* This doctrine gradually took shape, and distinct traces of it are recognizable as early as the fifth century, when mention was made of the feast of St. *Michael* the Archangel.

St. *Epiphanius* gives a very full description of the Feasts and Fasts of the Church as they were observed at the close of the fourth century.[2] "Ecclesiastical assemblies," he says, "are, by Apostolic ordinance, held on the *fourth* and *sixth* days and on *Sunday.* A fast is observed till the ninth hour (3 P. M.) on the fourth and sixth days—on the fourth, because on this day Christ was taken captive, and on the sixth, because it was the day of His crucifixion. It is a rule throughout the orthodox church to observe the fast till the ninth hour during the whole year, with the exception of the fifty days preceding the feast of *Pentecost*, when it is not permitted either to fast or bend the knee. During this season the Wednesday and Friday assemblies are held not at the ninth hour, but in the morning, as on Sundays. In the *feast of the Epiphany*, when our Lord was born according to the flesh, no fast is kept, even though it should fall either on the fourth or the sixth day. The ascetics who have voluntarily taken upon themselves fastings and watchings, observe them all the year round, except during the Fifty Days, and on Sundays. The Catholic Church regarding all Sundays as days of rejoicing, forbids any fast to be kept on them, as it is not proper to fast on a day of such a character. She does not even permit fast on the Sundays within the forty days preceding *Easter*, a season during which it is otherwise strictly enjoined. In all countries during the six days immediately before Easter, no more than the xerophagy is taken, that is, a meal consisting of only bread, salt, and water, and this only in the evening. Some who are more zealous, take nothing for two, three, or four days, and still others do not break their fast till cockcrow on Sunday morning. During this week six vigils are observed, and as many assemblies of the faithful held. Assemblies are also held during the whole of Lent, from the ninth hour till evening. In some places night-watches are kept on the fifth and the sixth days, and are at times continued until Sunday morning. In other places, again, the Holy Sacrifice is offered on the fifth day, at the ninth hour, after which the people are dismissed, but the xerophagy continues. In still other places the Holy Sacrifice is offered at cockcrow on Sunday morning, the great feast of the Resurrection, after which the people are dismissed according to custom. Baptism and the other mysteries are performed according to the tradition of the Gospel and of the Apostles. Prayers, sacrifices, and mysteries are offered for the souls of the *departed*, who are mentioned by name. According to the usage of the Church, which is carefully observed, *morning-prayer* must be accompanied with songs of praise, and *evening-prayer* with psalms."

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[1] Deut. xxxii. 8; Dan. x. 13, 21; Matt. xviii. 10; and Apoc. xii. 15.

[2] *Epiphan.* exposit. fidei, c. 22 sq. (opp. ed. *Petav.*, T. I., p. 1104.)

REALIZATION OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP THROUGH THE SACRAMENTS.

Sacramentarium Leoninum, Gelasianum, and Gregorianum (see *Freiburg* Cycloped., Vol. VI., p. 549). *J. Goar*, euchologium seu rituale Graecor. gr. et lat., Par. 1647. †*Brenner*, Hist. Exposition of the Ministration and Distribution of the Sacraments, Bamberg, 1818–1824, 3 vols. *Liturgics*, by Schmidt, Lüft, and Fluck. *Guéranger*, Hist. of Liturgics (in German, by Fluck), Ratisbon, 1854.

§ 135. *Baptism and Confirmation.* (Conf. § 88.)

Selvaggio, l. l., lib. III., c. 1–7. *Pelliccia*, l. l., p. 14 sq. Cf. *Binterim*, Memoirs, Vol. I., Pt. I. *Krüll*, Christian Archæology, Vol. I., p. 122 sq. *Böhmer*, l. c. supra, Vol. II., p. 265. *Cyrilli Hierosolym.* cateches. mystagog. I.–III., deserving special attention. *Dionysius Areop.* de hierarchia ecclesiast., c. 2 and 3, †*Mayer*, Hist. of the Catechumenate and Catechisation during the First Six Centuries, Lps. 1868. *Weis*, Primitive Eccl. Pedagogics exhibited in the Catechumenate and in Catechisation, Freiburg, 1869.

In proportion as Christian worship developed, the deep meaning and the richness of sacramental grace received a more adequate interpretation and a fuller expression.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his Catecheses, gives a full account of the period of the *catechumenate*, which was observed in this as in the first epoch of the Church;—of the instruction and gradual introduction of the catechumen into full fellowship with the Church. It was necessary not only to get by *memory* the Symbol of Faith, but also to understand it, that its teaching might not be written on tablets only, but also engraven on the hearts of the faithful. Such was the emphatic instruction of St. Cyril and St. Augustine, St. Jerome and St. John Chrysostom.

The catechumens frequently put off receiving baptism—some for a period of years, and others to the end of their lives. The reasons that induced these to remain so long out of the Church and deprive themselves of her graces for such a length of time were various. Some desiring to live loose lives did not wish to be bound down by the constraints which the Church would put upon them; while others did it in the hope of receiving baptism in their last sickness, that thus departing this life cleansed from all stain of sin, they might enter upon the next with every assurance of salvation. This practice accounts for the frequent exhortations of the fathers, warning catechumens not to defer too long their earnest preparation for the reception of baptism. According to the Synod of Elvira, and one of the *Novellae of Justinian*, the ordinary period of the catechumenate was *two* years; but, according to the apostolic constitutions, it was *three* years. By degrees it was abridged, and the Synod of *Agde* prescribed eight months for a Jewish catechumen. In danger of death it was terminated at once by baptism.

Among the ceremonies immediately preceding baptism were the breathing upon the catechumen by the bishop; a touching of the ears, accompanied by the word "Ephpheta," in token of the spiritual voice that was shortly to penetrate his intelligence; the putting of a grain of salt into his mouth, symbolizing the divine word and wisdom, but in some cases milk and honey were used instead, as signs of regenerating grace and evangelical sweetness (*signum regenerantis gratiae et suavitatis evangelicae*). Water was then poured three times upon the head of the catechumen to be baptized. It was also the practice to baptize by triple immersion, but St. Gregory the Great recommended but one because the Arians also practiced triple immersion, and took it to signify that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were essentially distinct. The forehead and breast of the catechumen were signed with the *sign of the cross.* The water and oil employed in conferring baptism were blessed—a practice, it is claimed, of apostolic origin. The forms of prayer and ceremonies used in this blessing in different churches were not by any means uniform.

The catechumen (*φωτιζόμενος*) who was receiving baptism, held in his hand a wax taper, and, turning toward the west, renounced Satan and all his works; facing about to the east, he consecrated himself entirely to Christ. He was then immediately clad (*candidatus*) in white robes, typical of that pure and holy life he was expected to lead.

It was not long before *infant baptism* became general in both East and West, and Gregory Nazianzen sharply rebuked those mothers who, from over solicitude for the health of their children, put off their baptism on the plea that their tender age and weakness could not endure so severe a trial. "Do not," he says, "expose your children to evil, but sanctify them and consecrate them to the Holy Ghost from their tenderest years. Do you, indeed, fear to seal them with the seal of God because of the weakness of nature? O ye mothers of little faith! Did not Anne consecrate Samuel to God even before his birth? and did she not afterward bring him up a priest, and clothe him in the garb of a priest? She, putting her trust in God, took no account of human fears."[1]

Solemn baptism was usually administered at *Easter*, but likewise at *Pentecost.* The practice of baptizing on *Epiphany* was not common in the West, but in the East and in Africa it was the rule. On Easter Sunday the Neophytes put on long white garments, which they wore throughout the week. These were put aside on the following Sunday (*dominica in Albis, sc. depositis, seu dominica post albas*). *St. Augustine*, referring to this custom, reminds the newly made Christians that having put aside their external robes of innocence, they should preserve without stain the purity of the vesture with which their souls were clad. "*Ita tamen, ut candor, qui de habitu deponitur, semper in corde teneatur.*"

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[1] *Gregor. Naz.* Or. 40, T. I., p. 648.

During the first centuries there was no specified place for conferring baptism. It was sometimes administered in private dwellings, again in prisons, and frequently at a convenient place in a river. But when persecution had ceased, it was conferred only in *baptisteries*, which were usually circular buildings, situated at a little distance from the church, and, as a rule, on the south side. In large cities they were frequently so spacious that councils were sometimes held in them. They also contained altars, at which Mass was said, and from which the Neophytes received Holy Communion. In the early ages, each diocese had only *one* such baptistery, and this was connected with the cathedral. The reason of this rule was because, until the close of the seventh century, bishops were the ordinary ministers of the sacrament of baptism, and priests and deacons exercised this office only by commission from the ordinary. Rome alone had more than one baptistery. In cases of necessity, lay persons might baptize, but only under certain conditions. Baptism conferred by *lay* persons was everywhere acknowledged as valid in the West, but in the East it was regarded as doubtful, particularly if administered by a woman.

Godfathers, or those who presented the child for baptism, lifted him from the baptismal fount (*susceptores*), and gave guaranties for his future fidelity (*sponsores*), are mentioned in the second century.

A *Christian name* was taken at baptism, generally that of an apostle or some martyr, a great preference being shown for that of St. John.[1] There are many examples of this practice, though it was by no means general throughout the Church.

In the preceding epoch the sacrament of *confirmation* was administered at the same time with baptism, but this was no longer the practice, because priests were now permitted to baptize more frequently than formerly, and confirmation was, *with exceptional cases*, the special function of the bishop,[1] who, when he administered it outside his own cathedral, did so while making the visitation of his diocese. In the East the priest enjoyed the privilege of conferring confirmation. The practice was, at first, confined to Egypt, thence it spread over the whole Greek Church. In parts of the West, as in Gaul and Spain, priests were permitted to confirm only in cases of necessity. Gregory the Great granted the privilege to the priests of Sardinia.[2]

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[1] *Eusebius* relates that the newly converted Pagans had such reverence and love for St. John that the majority of them selected his name. See *Life Pictures* of the Passion of Christ, by *Em. Veith;* Engl. transl., p. 292; German orig., p. 298, 3d ed. (Tr.)

Chrism was, from the earliest times, consecrated at the altar by the bishop, and in the East the right was afterward confined to the patriarchs, and after the fifth century it was prescribed that this consecration should take place on Maundy, or Holy Thursday. This was looked upon as one of the most solemn and sacred of ecclesiastical functions. St. *Cyril*, in speaking of it, used the following impressive language: "Have a care that you despise not the oil of chrism, or regard it as common oil; for, as the bread of the Eucharist when consecrated by the invocation of the Holy Ghost, is no longer common bread, but the Body of Christ; so also the oil of unction, when sanctified in like manner by the invocation of the Holy Ghost, is no longer common oil, effecting no more than an ordinary anointing, but is the very gift of Christ and His Holy Spirit, made efficacious through the power of God Himself."

§ 136. *The Holy Eucharist the Center of all Christian Worship.*

Renaudot, liturgiar. oriental. collectio, Par. 1715–16, 2 vols. 4to. *J. A. Assemani*, codex liturgicus eccl. univ., Rome, 1749–1766, 13 vols. 4to. *Daniel*, codex liturgicus eccles. univ. in epitomen redactus, 4 T. The Liturgies of the GREEK CHURCH: 1. Of the Church of Jerusalem, or of SS. James and Cyril; 2. Of Constantinople, or of SS. Basil and Chrysostom; 3. Of Alexandria, or of SS. Mark and Cyril; 4. The Egyptian Jacobites made use of the Liturgy of Alexandria and of two others, attributed to Gregory Nazianzen and to Basil;

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[1] Pope *Innocent I.*, in a decretal of the year 416, forbids priests to anoint with chrism, quod *solis debetur episcopis*, cum tradunt Spiritum Paracletum.

[2] *S. Gregor. M.* ad Januarium episc. (Calarit.), in Registr., lib. III., ep. 26, in fin. (Tr.)

5. The Ethiopians had twelve liturgies from the Egyptian Jacobites; 6. The Nestorians had three Syriac liturgies—the *most ancient* the so-called liturgy of the Apostles, that of Theodore of Mopsvestia, and that of Nestorius. In the Church of the West, the *Roman* liturgy of Pope *Gregory the Great;* that of *Milan*, or of *St. Ambrose*, similar to that of the East; the *Gallican;* the *African;* in Spain, the *Gothico-Spanish* or *Mozarabic* liturgy. Conf. *Muratori*, liturg. Rom. vetus, Ven. 1748, 2 vols. fol. *Mabillon*, de liturgia Gallicana, Paris, 1729, in 4to. *Mone*, Lat. and Gr. Masses, Frcft. 1850. *Pamelii*, liturgicon eccl. lat., Coloniae, 1571, 2 vols. in 4to. *Grancolas*, les anciennes liturgies et l'ancien sacramentaire de l'église, Paris, 1704, 3 vols. in 4to. The divergencies of these liturgies most carefully indicated by *Martène*, l. c., lib. I. 3–5, T. I., p. 97 sq. Cf. *Pelliccia*, loco cit., ed. *Ritter*, T. I., p. 183 sq. *Binterim*, l. c., Vol. IV., Pts. II. and III.; Vol. II., Pt. I., p. 93 sq. *†*Kössing*, Difference between the Greek and Roman Liturgies, shown in the Canon of the Mass. (*Freibg. Theol. Review*, 1841, Vol. VI., p. 225–275.) By the *same* author, Liturgical Lectures on the Holy Mass, 3d ed., Ratisbon, 1869. *Neale*, The Liturgies of SS. Mark, James, Clement, Chrysostom, and Basil, London, 1859. (Greek and English.) †*Probst*, Administration of the Holy Eucharist, Tübing. 1853. By the *same*, Liturgy of the First Three Centuries, Tübg. 1870.

At the beginning of this epoch the faithful were summoned to the celebration of the Eucharist, as they were to their morning and evening devotions, by the stroke of a mallet upon a metal gong; but from the seventh century down, bells were substituted for this rude contrivance, as a more convenient method of calling the people to church.

The celebration of the Eucharistic Sacrifice consisted of two principal parts, the first of which was the Mass of the Catechumens (*Missa Catechumenorum*), at which *Catechumens* and even *Pagans* were permitted to assist; the second was the Mass proper, during which only the *baptized faithful* were allowed to remain.

The Mass of the Catechumens commenced, according to the different liturgies, either with the singing of Psalms or with the reading of a passage from Holy Scripture. All present either sang the Psalms together, or, as the custom was in the East from the fourth century and in the West from the time of St. Ambrose, antiphonally, divided into two choirs, the one leading off and the other responding. The first psalm which was sung answered to the *Introit* of our present Mass. Then, according to the authority of the most ancient liturgies, the Divine mercy was invoked in precisely the same form of words that is in use at the present day (*κύριε ἐλέησον*, Lord, have mercy on us); after which came the Gloria or Doxology, which contained a more or less full expression of doctrine, according to circumstances. This was followed by the salutation, "Peace be with you," or "The Lord be with you," after which a prayer was sung, called the "Collect," because in it the priest offered up the collective prayers of the whole assembly (*collecta, qua fidelium vota ab eo quasi colligebantur*). The bishop then having taken his seat upon his throne, the reader ascended the ambon, or reading-desk, and read in the language of the people a passage from either the Apostolic Epistles or from the Old Testament. These passages were collected in a Lesson-book, and arranged in order according to time. This was followed by the singing of a psalm, called the Gradual (*gradualis*), after which the *reader* read the Gospel. From the seventh century onward, this office was committed to the *deacon* alone. The reading of the Gospel finished, the bishop gave an explanation of its meaning, either from his throne or from the altar, adding some practical and plain remarks (*ὁμιλία, tractatus*), but he sometimes gave a discourse (*sermo*) on a subject, chosen at will. During this epoch, preaching reached its highest state of development. It was the golden age of pulpit oratory, rendered famous by such names as Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom and Cyril, in the East; and in the West, by Ambrose and Augustine, Leo and Gregory the Great, Peter Chrysologus and Maximus of Turin. It was not an unusual thing for the people, when carried away by some eloquent passage or stirring appeal, to applaud a great preacher in real old Pagan style, by loud acclamations and the clapping of hands. St. John Chrysostom reminded them on one occasion that they were not in a theater, listening to comedians; and on another, he said, "You have indeed given me your applause, but I feel that now weeping is more befitting me."[1]

The homily over, the deacon gave notice to the infidels, catechumens, energumeni, and penitents to depart, and invited those whose privilege it was to remain, to pray, particularly for those who had been dismissed, for the clergy, for the whole Church, for all classes of society, and for both friends and enemies.

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[1] Homil. 26, in ep. I. ad Corinth.

The Mass of the Faithful now commenced. It consisted of three parts, viz: the offertory, the consecration, and the communion. It was customary in Constantinople from the year 519, in Spain from the year 589, and in Gaul at a still later date, to recite the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed before the offertory; and in the West the priest also saluted the people, saying, "The Lord be with you," but in the East the kiss of peace was given instead.

The faithful then brought forward their gifts of bread and wine; and, in the earlier ages, the first-fruits, or the one-sixtieth part of the crop, were part of their offering, and received the blessing of the bishop. One of the Apostolic Canons permitted the practice of placing young ears of corn and bunches of grapes, accompanied with oil and incense, upon the altar. This mention of incense clearly proves that it must have been used during the Holy Sacrifice; and, moreover, since St. Ambrose speaks of the incensing of the altar, and St. Ephraëm the Syrian of the burning of incense at Mass, there can be no question but that incense was used, in some churches at least, as early as the fourth century.

From the time that the sacrament of the Eucharist was instituted, there have been abundant proofs that the Catholic Church uniformly believed it to be the *true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and a true sacrifice.*

These testimonies are especially numerous in the writings of the Fathers of this epoch, and in the *peculiar and expressive ceremonies of the Mass of the Faithful*, which correspond precisely with those of the Mass as celebrated at the present day. Thus, to take one witness from among a number, St. *Cyril of Jerusalem*, when laying open the mysteries of the Blessed Eucharist to the newly baptized Christians, tells them: "Christ, at the marriage feast of Cana, did indeed change water into wine, which in a sense resembled blood, and should we hesitate to believe that He now changes wine into His own Blood? Let us, then, accept what is placed before us, with an undoubting belief that it is the *Body and Blood of Christ.* Ye receive the Body of Christ under the appearance of bread, and His Blood under the appearance of wine, that ye may become one body and blood with Him. Do not, therefore, regard the bread and wine as simple elements—they are the *Body and the Blood of Jesus Christ*, for our Lord has said it. Should your senses rebel against such a doctrine, trust to your *faith* as to an infallible guide! Let not the testimony of the sense of taste deceive you, but, on the contrary, abandoning yourselves fully to the authority of faith, be assured that you truly and really receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ."[1]

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[1] *Cyrilli* catecheses mystagogicae IV., nros. 2, 3, 6 (opp. ed. *Touttée*, p. 319 sq.) So likewise *Gregor. Nyssen.* orat. catech., c. 37: Per Verbum Dei et orationem statim in Verbi corpus transmutatur (μεταβάλλεται) panis sanctificatus. *Ambros.* de mysteriis, c. 8: Ista esca, quam accipis, iste panis vivus, qui descendit de coelo, vitae aeternae substantiam subministrat—est corpus Christi, c. 9. Forte dicas: aliud video; quomodo tu mihi adseris, quod Christi corpus accipiam? Et hoc nobis adhuc superest, ut probemus.—Quod si tantum valuit humana benedictio (III. Reg. XVIII. 38), ut naturam converteret; quid dicimus de ipsa consecratione divina, ubi verba ipsa Domini Salvatoris operantur? Nam sacramentum istud, quod accipis, Christi sermone conficitur. Quod si tantum valuit sermo Eliae, ut ignem de coelo deponeret; non valebit Christi sermo, ut species mutet elementorum?—sermo Christi, qui potuit ex nihilo facere, quod non erat, non potest ea, quae sunt, in id mutare quod non erant? (opp. ed. *Bened.*, T. II., pp. 337 and 339). Cf., particularly, *Chrysost.*, homil. 24 and 27 in 1 Cor., and homil. 83 in Matth. and *Augustine:* Mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Christum Jesum carnem nobis suam manducandam, bibendumque sanguinem dantem fideli corde atque ore suscipimus, quamvis horribilius videatur, humanam carnem manducare quam perimere, et humanum sanguinem potare quam fundere. Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum II. 9, ed. *Bened.*, T. VIII. *Klee*, Hist. of Dogmas, Vol. II., p. 170 sq. On the Eucharist as a "sacrifice," cf. *Cyrilli* cateches. mystagog. V., explaining the liturgy of the sacrifice of the mass. *Chrysostom*, de sacerdot. III. 4: Cum videris Dominum immolatum et jacentem, et sacerdotem sacrificio incumbentum ac precantem, omnesque pretioso illo sanguine rubentes; an putas te adhuc cum hominibus et in terra esse? an non potius in coelis translatum? O miraculum, o Dei benignitatem! Again, in the Liturgy of *St. Chrysostom*, we read: Tibi inclinata cervice supplico et te rogo—dignare, ut a me peccatore et indigno peccatore, servo tu, haec dona offerantur. Tu enim es, qui *offers et offereris*, assumis et distribueris, Christe, Deus noster. *Hieronym.*, ep. 21, ad Damas. (al. 146): Vitulus saginatus, qui ad poenitentis immolatur salutem, ipse Salvator est, cujus quotidie carne pascimur, cruore potamur—hoc convivium quotidie celebratur, quotidie *Pater Filium recipit:* semper Christus credentibus immolatur (opp. T. I., pp. 79 and 80). *Gregor. M.* dial. de vita et miracul. PP. Italicor., lib. IV., c. 58: Debemus quotidianas carnis et sanguinis hostias immolare. Hinc pensemus, quale sit pro nobis hoc sacrificium, quod

"Both," says St. *Ambrose*, "are given under the appearance of bread and wine, lest there should be a shrinking from receiving very blood as drink (*ut nullus horror cruoris sit*)."

St. *Augustine* is no less positive in affirming that "the bread which you behold upon the altar by the word of God *is the Body of Christ;* that the chalice, also sanctified by the word of God, or rather what it contains, *is truly the Blood of Christ;* and," he goes on to say with marked emphasis, "as such we should receive them into our mouths with believing hearts, *even though it should seem to us more terrible to eat human flesh than to commit murder, and to drink human blood than to shed it.*"

The deacon and subdeacon took from the bread and wine offered by the faithful as much as was necessary for Holy Communion, and whatever remained over was divided among the clergy and the poorer members of the community. No offerings were accepted from those who had been denied the privilege of receiving Holy Communion.

The money and other offerings made for the support of the clergy, were not placed upon the altar; the giver handed his name to the deacon in writing (*nomen offerebat*), who read it aloud before the assembled faithful, together with the amount of the gift. It was customary in the Roman and African churches, and perhaps in others also, for the priest to commemorate by name in his prayer both the giver and the gift. From the sixth century on, the practice obtained of offering gifts for the service of the altar on Sundays only. While the offering was being made, the choir sang a psalm, and, still

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pro absolutione nostra passionem unigeniti Filii semper imitatur (opp. ed. *Bened.*, T. II., p. 473). The sentiment of the Fathers of the First *Council of Nice* merits, above all, our thoughtful attention: In divina mensa ne humiliter intenti simus ad propositum panem et poculum; sed attollentes mentem, fide intelligamus, situm in sacra illa mensa *agnum illum Dei*, tollentem peccatum mundi, incruente a sacerdotibus immolatum (ἀϑύτως ϑυόμενον): et pretiosum ipsius corpus et sanguinem vere sumentes, credere haec esse nostrae resurrectionis symbola. (*Gelasii*, hist. conc. Nicaen, lib. II., c. 30, in *Harduin*, T. I., p. 429; *Mansi*, T. II., p. 887.) *Freiburg* Eccl. Cycloped., Vol. XI., p. 133–163. *Arnauld*, *Nicole*, et *Renaudot*, perpétuité de la foi de l'église, touchant l'eucharistie, Paris, 1775 sq.; the same, enlarged with the Perpetual Faith of the Church in the *Sacrament of Penance*, Paris, 1841, 4 vols. *Probst*, The Eucharist as a Sacrifice, two Essays, Tübingen, 1857.

later, a versicle, called the antiphon or offertory (*offertorium*). As the number of those who received Holy Communion grew less as time went on, and since the unleavened bread, now used for the Eucharistic sacrifice, was prepared by the clergy, there no longer existed the same need as formerly of altar-offerings, and these fruits of the earth were in consequence changed into donations of money. But as the bread and wine were made a perfect offering only by being changed into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, the sacrifice was called in the accompanying prayers the "*sacrifice of propitiation*" for the sins of men, the "*sacrifice of a spotless Victim born of the womb of the Virgin Mother*," who was none other than our Lord and Savior Himself. The use of incense at the Eucharistic sacrifice is also often mentioned as early as the fourth century. At the close of the offertory, the deacon presented water to the bishop, with which the latter washed his hands; then followed an admonition, twice repeated, warning those present to examine their consciences, that each might discover if he had anything at heart against a brother. Next came the Preface (*præfatio, πρόλογος, εὐχαριστία*), in which the people were exhorted to turn their thoughts and affections heavenward. "Let us turn our thoughts upon the Lord with fear and trembling; let us lift *our hearts to things above* (*sursum corda*);" and the assembled faithful answered, "We have indeed raised our hearts to the Lord;" and the bishop having requested them to join him in giving thanks to God, they replied, "It is but fitting and just;" the bishop then took up their answer, and, having repeated it, went on with the preface, which was closed by all the people singing, in concert, the words of the seraphic hymn: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, the heavens and earth are full of Thy glory."[1]

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[1] The preface (in the ancient liturgies of the West, "contestatio, inlatio, immolatio"), according to the example set by Christ, preceded, as a prayer of thanksgiving, the act of consecration. It is found in the liturgy of the apostolic constitutions, in perfect correspondence with the liturgies of our own times. In the *East* the preface was the *same* in every mass, and contained a prayer of thanksgiving for all the gifts of God; but in the *West it changed* with the festivals. *The Sacramentarium* of St. Gregory contains all the changes of the prefaces which are now in use. To the nine usual prefaces, found in all

Now, the secret (*ἀναφορά, actio, secretum*), or the *essential* and most solemn and sacred *part of the Mass*, was entered upon. This has been called the *Canon* since the time of St. Gregory, and *is precisely the same to-day in form and word that it was then.* Pope Gelasius inserted it in his Sacramentary as it existed in his time, and in this essential form it has come down to us. At the opening of the Canon, prayers were offered for all the faithful—for the bishop, and, in the East, for the patriarch, for the emperor or king; for all benefactors of the Church, and for those who had made offerings. The *Pope's* name is found in the liturgies of both the Eastern and Western churches at a very early date, and it was also inscribed on the *diptychs*.[1] After mention had been made of the living, the Saints in Heaven, and particularly the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the martyrs who had lived, and were now held in honor, in the community, were commemorated.

According to the liturgies of Spain and Gaul, a prayer containing the doxology of the Son followed the Sanctus, or close of the preface; but, according to the liturgy of the Apostolic Canons, it was immediately followed by the historical narrative of the institution of the Blessed Eucharist and by the Consecration.

In the Greek liturgies, the words of our Lord used in consecration are preceded by a prayer, in which God is besought to send down His Holy Spirit, that He may change the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. A similar prayer is found in the same part of the Mass in the Mozarabic liturgy. The Roman Canon contains an invocation which immediately precedes the words of institution and consecration, and which is to the same purpose and the same in sub stance as those contained in the other liturgies.

Many of the Greek Fathers used expressions which would

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the missals anterior to A. D. 1200, however, Urban II. added that of the Blessed Virgin, and that most ancient one called "communis." Cf. *Benedict XIV.*, de sacrificio missae, lib. II., c. 11, n. 16. (Tr.)

[1] The *diptychs*, from *δὶς* and *πτύσσειν* = bis plicare, were tablets, *twice folded*, designated in ecclesiastical language also by *ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ κατάλογοι*, sacrae tabulae, or liber viventium et mortuorum. There were distinct tablets, *δίπτυχα ζώντων* and *νεκρῶν*. The deacon, and, in later times in the West, the priest, read them aloud.

seem to imply that they attributed the power of consecration to this prayer. The ambiguity arises from the fact, that in their liturgy it formed an integral part of the consecratory act. For that which God does instantly is, from the very character of language, prayers, and acts, represented as taking place in parts which succeed each other in order, and, all taken together, are the sum of *one* uninterrupted, moral action. Hence it sometimes happened that now one part, and now another, was spoken of as the instrument and efficient cause of the mystery, when, in reality, it was intended to designate the action as a whole.

In the East, when the bishop was approaching the solemn act of consecration, a curtain was drawn between him and the people, to shut them out from view of the altar during this sacred part of the sacrifice.[1] The bishop then pronounced the words of consecration, "*This is My Body*," and the *invocation* (ἐπίκλησις) to God. The bread and wine having been changed, by the power of these words, into the Body and Blood of Christ, the people in a body answered "Amen," or "We believe." Before Communion the veil was withdrawn, the Eucharistic God elevated by the celebrant in sight of the people, who prostrated themselves in adoration before Him.

This *elevation* was introduced into the Western Church at a much later date, and took place, as at present, immediately after the consecratory act. But, according to the witness of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, the *Eucharist* was not *adored* during the Mass until immediately before being received at Holy Communion.[2] According to an Apostolic tradition, prayers were said for the repose of the dead after the consecration; the names of those who departed in communion with the Church were inscribed on the diptychs, and read aloud to the assembly; bishops were named first, next after them the other clergy, and then the emperors and all the remaining faithful. Then followed the Lord's Prayer, with the ancient introduction, found in the works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in the very words in which it has come down to us. This was the preparation for Holy Communion. The *Embolismus*, or the *Libera nos*, which follows as a conclusion to the Lord's Prayer, is contained in the Sacramentary of Pope Gelasius.

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[1] See Antiqq. of the Christ. Church, by *Bingham*, Vol. I., p. 298, against *Alzog*. (Tr.)

[2] Et quia illam carnem manducandam nobis ad salutem dedit, nemo autem illam manducat, nisi *prius adoraverit*, sic inventum est, quemadmodum adoretur tale scabellum pedum Domini, ut non solum non peccemus adorando, sed peccemus non adorando. *Augustini* enarratio in Psalm. xcviii. (ed. Bened., T. IV., p. 1064 sq.)

The practice of breaking the Host was common to all churches, and the hymn *Agnus Dei*, sung by both priest and people during the act, was introduced into the Roman liturgy by Pope Sergius I. in the year 687. The dropping of a particle of the Host into the consecrated Wine is mentioned in the Council of Orange, A. D. 441, and is prescribed in the liturgy of St. James. The salutation and kiss of peace was again given by the bishop to the deacon, by the deacon to one of the people, all of whom then embraced each other. The same hierarchical order was observed in receiving Holy Communion. The bishops received first; then followed successively the priests and inferior clergy, the ascetics, the monks, the nuns, and lastly the lay people. The consecrated elements were presented with these words: "*The Body of Christ, the Blood of Christ,*" or, "*May the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ keep thy soul,*" and the people replied "Amen." While the distribution of Holy Communion was going forward, a psalm, usually the XXXIII., was sung. A portion of the Blessed Eucharist was preserved in the church in vessels, made either in the form of a small tower or *dove* (*παστοφόριον, περιστήριον, thalamus, sacrarium*). This was done to signify that the Eucharistic Sacrifice went on continually without interruption. The prayer after Holy Communion, beginning with the words, "What we have taken in our mouth" (*Quod ore sumpsimus*), was found in a Sacramentary of a date going back beyond the pontificate of Gelasius. All liturgies contain a prayer of thanksgiving, to be recited after Holy Communion; and those of the East, also a form of benediction, which the bishop pronounced upon the people.

The assembly was then dismissed by the deacon; in the Eastern church with the words, "Go in peace," and in the Western with the words, "*Ite Missa* (*missa, dimissio*) *est.*"

The Eucharistic Sacrifice was offered for both the *living* and the *dead who had died in the faith.* It was offered for the latter principally on the day of their decease, but also, as was prescribed in the Apostolic Constitutions, on the third, ninth, and fortieth day after death, and on each recurring anniversary.[1] The present practice of renewing the funeral services of the Church on the *third*, *seventh*, and *thirtieth* (and fortieth) day after the departure of the faithful, is of very early date, for it is mentioned by St. Ambrose as having been observed in the funeral services of the emperor Theodosius.[2]

The Holy Sacrifice was also offered to obtain some special favor, such as rain in seasons of drought, to beg a blessing and an increase upon the fruits of the earth, to avert some calamity, or to escape some danger. These were called Votive Masses.

Communion, given in public, was always under *both* kinds; but for all that, it is evident that the faithful believed that the substance of the Sacrament was contained entire under *either* kind, that both the Body and Blood were received under either the form of bread or the form of wine. The Apostle's words are plain on this point: "Whoever eats *or* drinks unworthily" (1 Cor. xi. 27). Communion under one form, we may fairly conclude, was frequent in the primitive Church. Moreover, during the first epoch, and particularly in seasons of persecution, or when about to undertake a long journey by land or a voyage at sea, the faithful, and the anchorets who dwelt in the wilderness where there was no priest, obtained permission to take the Blessed Eucharist with them. There was no reason, therefore, for the Church to fear that the faithful would show less reverence to the Blessed Sacrament, or receive it with less devotion at their homes than in religious assemblies. And, in fact, St. Basil says that this Communion was neither less holy nor less perfect than that received in the Church. But in all these instances, as well as in the case of giving *Communion to the sick*, and in the *Mass of Presanctification* (*Missa Praesanctificatorum*), celebrated in the Latin Church on Good Friday only, but in the Greek on every day during Lent, with the exception of Saturdays and Sundays, the Communion was only under the *one form* of *bread*, which, nevertheless, St. Basil pronounces neither less holy nor less perfect than that partaken of in the Church.

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[1] *Constitut. Apostolor.* VIII. 30. Congregamini in coemeteriis, lectionem sacror. librorum facientes, atque psallentes pro defunctis Martyribus et omnibus a saeculo sanctis et pro fratribus vestris, qui in Domino dormierunt: item antitypam regalis corporis Christi et *acceptam seu gratam eucharistiam* offerte in ecclesiis vestris et in coemeteriis, etc. *Augustin.* confess., lib. IX., c. 12, speaks de sacrificio pretii nostri pro defuncta Monica.

[2] This assertion is taken from the Institutes on Canon law, by *Prof. de Camillis*, Propaganda, Rome. The same authority adds: Definivit autem Ecclesia, exequias repetendas in die tertio in memoriam resurrectionis Dominicae, ob cujus merita, a primogenito mortuorum defuncti requiem deprecatur. Designavit diem septimum ob mysticam ac symbolicam relationem, quam hic numerus habet ad plura fidei catholicae capita, sc. ad septem sacramenta, dona Sp. s. et Christianas virtutes. Trigesima dies retentus fuit propter similitudinem funeris peracti in morte Moysis, quod per triginta dies celebratum fuisse legimus, in Deut. xxiv. Tandem ad instar funeris Jacob, Gen. L., celebratur dies quadragesimus. Insuper quotannis anniversaria mortis die suffragia non omittit Ecclesia repetere. Card. Wiseman, in his Fabiola, remarks that for this reason the *day* of the departure was carefully engraved on the tombstone in the catacombs, although the *year* was omitted. (Tr.)

Again, it can be shown, beyond all manner of doubt, that *children*, who, from the very earliest times, received the Blessed Eucharist immediately after baptism, received it only under the *one* form of wine.[1] It was optional with the faithful to receive Holy Communion in public, under either one kind or both. By the use of this privilege, the Manichaeans, who, detesting wine as an evil thing in itself, and not believing that the Blood of Christ shed upon the cross was His real blood, avoided the chalice, and partook only under the form of bread, were, for a long time, enabled to escape detection. As many among the faithful who were really orthodox, partook only under one kind, the *Manichaeans* mingled with the throng, and approached the altar without exciting suspicion. But such an exceptional habit could not be kept secret when practiced by so great a number, and it finally betrayed them. Pope *Leo* ordered that they should be summarily driven from the Church, and Pope *Gelasius* commanded that Holy Communion should be received under both forms, for no other reason than to teach that the doctrine of the Manichaeans, who denied the reality of the Blood of Christ, and thus rejected one-half of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, was a sacrilege and the offspring of error. The Pope, however, never intended to say that the reception under one form only would be a sacrilegious separation of the two species.

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[1] *Selvaggio*, l. 1, lib. III., c. 9, particularly §§ 1 and 2, and c. 10.

Nearly all the Churches of the East used *leavened* bread in the Eucharistic Sacrifice. In the Western Church, the practice of using *unleavened bread* was almost universal at the time of Photius, when the rule was made strictly obligatory on all.[1]

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[1] We are prepared to say that "*unleavened bread*" was, even *before Photius*, generally used in the Latin Church, contrary to the statement of the author in the German original. It is certainly strange that he should have made use of such an assertion—one which is contradicted by the very highest authority. Thus, for instance, *St. Gregory the Great*, in Registro, quoted by *St. Thomas*, in Summa Theol., Pt. III., qu. 74, art. 4, in corpore: "Romana Ecclesia offert *azymos* panes, propterea quod Dominus sine ulla commixtione suscepit carnem; sed Graecae Ecclesiae offerunt fermentatum, pro eo quod Verbum Patris indutum est carne; sicut fermentum miscetur farinae." And the Angelical Doctor adds: Consuetudo de pane azymo celebrandi tamen rationabilior est, primo quidem propter institutionem Christi, qui hoc sacramentum instituit *prima die azymorum*, ut habetur, Matt. xxvi., et Marci xiv., et Lucae xxii., qua die nihil fermentatum in domibus Judaeorum esse debebat, ut habetur Exodi xii., etc.

St. Thomas, libb. *Sent.* IV., dist. 11, qu. 2, art. 2, quaestione 3, says that unleavened bread was in use in the apostolic church, and that the Church of Rome received the practice from the Apostles, by whom it was established. *Leo IX.*, quoted by *Innocent III.*, de Mysteriis Missae, lib. IV., cap. 4, says that on the breaking out of the Ebionitic heresy, about A. D. 70, it was customary to use unleavened bread for consecration, but that because the heretics, who maintained the equal obligation of observing both the Law and the Gospel, professed to recognize a symbol of their belief in unleavened bread, the Fathers of the Church, in order not even to seem to agree with them, and guided by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, determined to use *leavened bread for a time* in the Holy Sacrifice. When, however, this heresy had passed away, *the Church of Rome again returned to the primitive custom.* There is an instruction of Pope Alexander I., about A. D. 131, to this effect, as may be seen in Platina's Lives of the Popes, in the letter of Barlaam, Bishop of Hieracea, in Calabria, to the Greeks, and in Radulphus of Tongres, lib. de canonum observantia, propos. 23.

But the Greeks preferred to retain the practice which had been temporarily introduced, and Michael Caerularius even added that the sacrament could not be validly consummated in unleavened bread. This is the substance of what St. Thomas says on the subject. Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventure, Scotus, Durandus, and the Schoolmen generally, take the same view.

Modern critics are reluctant to admit this account, because of the silence ob-

The practice of mingling *water* with the wine in the sacrifice of the altar is of very ancient origin.

It would seem that the custom of receiving the Eucharist *fasting* was the spontaneous outgrowth of a deep feeling of reverence toward the Blessed Sacrament. It is spoken of by Tertullian, and the *third* synod of Carthage (A. D. 397) pre-

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served on the question by early ecclesiastical writers. They argue that leavened bread has always been in use, at least in the Greek Church, because, they go on to say in proof of their assertion, the Greek Fathers, in speaking of the bread used in consecration, invariably call it *common* or *ordinary* bread. They, however, *except* the *Armenians* and the *Maronites*.

Sirmond maintains that the custom of using leavened bread prevailed, not only in the Greek, but also in the Latin Church, during the first eight centuries, and that the use of unleavened bread was an innovation introduced in the interval between Photius and Michael Caerularius, i. e. between A. D. 886 and 1053.

Card. *Bona*, lib. I., Rerum liturgicarum, cap 23, adopts the same view, with this difference, that during these centuries both leavened and unleavened bread was used.

The Benedictine, *Mabillon;* the Augustinian, *Christian Lupus*, and *Juenin*, dissert. IV., qu. 2, § 5, ad qu. 74, art. 4, Partis III., Sum. St. Thomae, all claim that the use of *unleavened* bread has never been intermitted in the Latin Church from the apostolic age down to our day.

Nor are authorities wanting to corroborate this view. *Drouen*, De Re Sacramentaria, p. 360 sq., after alluding to the rule of limitation, quotes the following: 1. *Alcuin*, a writer of the eighth century, who was famous as a staunch defender and champion of Roman customs, says: Tria sunt, quae in sacrificio offerenda sunt: panis aqua et vinum. Panis qui in Christi corpus consecratur, *absque fermento* . . . . debet esse mundissimus. He is joined by his disciple, *Rhabanus Maurus*, Archbishop of Mentz, likewise a faithful expounder of Roman customs. In his three books on ecclesiastical offices, he says, in the first book, c. 31: In the sacrament of the altar nothing else should be offered up save what our Lord has authorized by His example; and he continues: Ergo panem infermentatum, et vinum aqua mixtum, in Sacramentum Corporis et Sanguinis Christi sanctificari oportet. And in c. 33 he says: Istum ergo ordinem ab Apostolis and Apostolicis viris traditum Romana tenet Ecclesia, et per totum pene Occidentum omnes Ecclesiae eandem *traditionem* servant. The same view was maintained by *Amalarius Fortunatus*, *Paschasius Radbertus*, and *St. Ildephonse*, the Spanish archbishop, who teaches: Panem eucharisticum infermentatum, et intra ferrum coctum esse debere.

Nor should we omit the weighty testimony of Pope *St. Leo IX.*, the worthy adversary of the schismatic Michael Caerularius. He says: Quis non stupeat, quod post tot sanctos et orthodoxos Patres, post mille et viginti a Passione Salvatoris annos, novus calumniator Ecclesiae Latinorum emersisti; anathematizans omnes et publicam persecutionem excitans, in eos quicunque participarent ex azymis? (Tr.)

scribed that, with the exception of Thursday in Holy Week, when Mass was celebrated in the evening in honor of the institution of the Blessed Sacrament, every one should receive before having broken the fast.[1]

The primitive Christians, so great was the ardor of their devotion, approached the Holy Table *every day*, or, at least, *as often as they assisted at the Holy Sacrifice*. St. *Augustine*, having been consulted *as to how often a Christian should communicate*, replied: "Some say every day, and others a certain number of times in the week; but for my own part, I would counsel that both these parties keep peace in the Lord, and that none receive Him unworthily." And St. *Ambrose:* "Let the faithful hear Mass daily, and receive Holy Communion every Sunday; during the season of Lent they should also hear Mass daily, and, if possible, also communicate."

St. *John Chrysostom*, on the other hand, complains that in his time the ancient practice of the Church was being neglected, and that many who were present at the Holy Sacrifice did not communicate; nay, even, that there were others who did not receive the Holy Eucharist but once a year.[2]

In the sixth century, those who should pass three successive Sundays without approaching the Holy Table were declared excommunicated. The Synod of *Agde* (A. D. 506) enacted that all should receive Holy Communion at least *three* times in the year, viz: at Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas. The great majority, however, continued to receive every Sunday.

On account of the great abuses which gradually crept into the celebration of the Agapae, or Love-feasts,[3] formerly connected with the Holy Eucharist, the Council of *Laodicea* (A. D. 372) and that of Hippo (A. D. 393) prohibited the holding of them, at least, in churches. But when these canons were enacted, the Agapae had ceased to have any connection with the

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[1] *Conc. Carthag.* III. (397), can. 29: Ut sacramenta altaris nonnisi a jejunis hominibus celebrentur, excepto uno die anniversario (quo coena Domini celebratur). In *Harduin*, T. I., p. 964; *Mansi*, T. III., p. 885.

[2] *August.*, quaest. 118, alias 54; *Ambros.*, sermo 34; *Chrysost.*, hom. 3, in cap. I., epist. ad Ephes., and homil. 5, in cap. I., ep. I. ad Timoth.

[3] *Selvaggio*, l. c., lib. III., c. 9, § 6, de Agapis. *Binterim*, Memorabilia, Vol. II., Pt. II., p. 82 sq.

Eucharistic banquet; they were then celebrated in honor of the martyrs and in chapels dedicated to them, and formed part of the ceremony at burials and marriages. As they were the occasion of much intemperance, St. *Ambrose* abolished them at Milan, and after a few years they were entirely given up in the greater part of Italy and Africa.

But St. *Gregory the Great*, in order to supply the newly converted people of England with something of a Christian character to take the place of their former Pagan festivities, permitted them to celebrate the Agapae in their churches. They were not abolished in Gaul or at Rome till some time later. All that was attempted in the East was to insist on having them celebrated somewhere else besides in the churches.

§ 137. *Discipline of the Secret.*

The literature on this subject by *Schelstrate*, De Disciplina Arcani, Romae, 1695, 4to. *De Moissy*, Methode dont les pères se sont servis en traitant des Mystères, Paris, 1683, 4to. *Scholliner*, Dissertatio De Disciplina Arcani, 1756, *Toklot*, *Rothe*. Conf. p. 436, note 2. [*Bingham's* Antiquities, Book X., c. 5.—Tr.]

Our Lord, when preaching His doctrine and laying open the depths of its mysteries, always observed a certain *reserve*, whether with the multitude or with His Apostles. He Himself gave the rule, "Give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine;" and having done so, there was not only a right, but also a duty, upon the primitive Church, to keep back both from the Pagan and the lately converted believer, whose mind had not yet been prepared for the reception of the whole truth, the full knowledge and unreserved explanation of the most sacred mysteries. The Discipline of the Secret included not only the dogmas, but also the ritual of the Church. Particular care was taken to observe it with regard to the mystery of the Trinity, the Professions of Faith, and the Lord's Prayer. The manner of administering the sacraments,[1] and especially the Blessed

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[1] Hence, *Dionysius Areop.* says in fine eccles. Hierarch. (cap. ult. inter med. et fin.): "Consummativas invocationes (i. e. verba quibus perficiuntur sacra-

Eucharist and the sacrifice of the Mass, was kept entirely secret, even from those who were about to receive them. The rule of the discipline will account for the frequent occurrence in the Liturgies of such passages as, "*Things holy for those who are holy.*"

It is clear, from the catecheses of St. Cyril, that the catechumens were not let into the knowledge of the stupendous nature and mysterious effects of the sacrament until *after they had been admitted* into the Church *through baptism* (Matt. vii. 6). This reserve was especially necessary, when Christians and Pagans had no interest or sympathy in common, and stood to each other in the attitude of uncompromising opponents. But during the present epoch, the rule of the discipline was not so carefully observed, particularly after the close of the Arian controversy, although it was not entirely abrogated. This is clear from the frequent allusions to it in the writings of the more prudent of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and particularly of St. John Chrysostom, who uses such expressions as, "My meaning will be clear to the initiated," "I shall be understood by the faithful," and the like. St. Epiphanius, in speaking of the Eucharist, brings forward the words of consecration in such way that their meaning could not possibly be got at except by those who had had a previous knowledge of the mystery.[1]

The most notorious and best example of the two rules observed by the Church—the one toward unbelievers, and the other toward believers—is given in the account of the entrance of the soldiers into the church of St. John Chrysostom at Constantinople, when the chalice containing the Sacred Blood of our Lord was overturned. St. *John*, in a private letter written to Pope Innocent, speaks in words of indignant sorrow of the sacrilege that had been committed, by the spill-

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menta), non est justum Scripturas interpretantibus, neque mysticum earum, aut in ipsis operatas ex Deo virtutes ex occulto ad commune adducere; sed nostra sacra traditio sine pompa (i. e. occulte), eas edocet." Wherefore also the Apostle, speaking of the celebration of the Eucharist (1 Cor. xi. 34), says: "Caetera, cum venero, disponam." *St. Thomas*, Sum. Theol., Pt. III., qu. 72, art. 4, ad primum. (Tr.)

[1] *Τοῦτό μοὑ ἐστι τόδε.* Hoc meum est hoc, said he.

ing upon the ground of the *Most Precious Blood of Christ.* But Palladius, St. John's biographer, narrating the fact in a work intended for the public eye, speaks of it as the *spilling of the symbol.*[1]

Apart from the fact that there does not exist in ancient Christian literature a single work containing anything approaching a full and exhaustive treatise on the Sacrament of the Eucharist, it is perfectly clear how Lutheran writers should have quoted, and do still quote, in their favor Fathers of the Church who teach, in words the most emphatic and explicit, the Catholic doctrine, viz: that the bread and wine are changed into the substance of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

§ 138. *The Sacrament of Penance—Penitential Discipline—Indulgences.* (Cf. § 90.)

Conf. literature heading § 90. *Boileau*, historia confessionis auricularis, Paris, 1684 sq. *Klee*, Confession, being an Historical and Critical Treatise, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1828. *Binterim*, Memorabilia, Vol. V., Pt. II., p. 168 sq. *Frank*, The Penitentiary Discipline of the Church, etc., down to the Seventh Century, Mentz, 1867.

When the circumstances of the age came to be such that the Church was at liberty to develop to the full the beauty, strength, and energy of her interior life, one of the characteristics of this development was the positive assertion of her faith in the priestly power of *binding* and *loosing*, and in the necessity of a detailed confession of sins on the part of the penitent. That this was her teaching, there is abundance of evidence to show, reaching back to the very earliest times.

St. Chrysostom[2] calls this special prerogative of the priesthood a superhuman power, whose effects, unlike the earthly authority of princes, which concerns the bodies of men only, extend to the soul also, and are of such avail, that whatever is done in its name on earth receives the immediate sanction of Heaven.

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[1] *Chrysost.* ep. ad Innocent. Papam: Neque hic malum stetit:—et *sanctissimus Christi sanguis*, ut in tanto tumultu, in praedictorum militum vestes *effundebatur*. (*Mansi*, T. III., p. 1089.) *Palladius*, vita Chrysost. gr. et lat. cura Emer. *Bicotii* Lut. Paris. 1680, 4to: Et in diaconum procaciter illisus, *symbola effudit:* Presbyteros verò grandaevos fustibus in capite feriens, sacrum fontem cruore conspersit, p. 85.

[2] *Chrysost.* de sacerdot., lib. III., c. 5.

St. *Ambrose*,[1] writing against the Novatians, maintains that the exercise of this power is the exclusive prerogative of the priesthood. *Pacian*, Bishop of Barcelona (c. A. D. 370), is very particular in exhorting the faithful to conceal nothing from the priest.[2]

St. *Basil the Great*[3] speaks of confession as being to the soul what the medical practice is to the body: "There is," he says, "an analogy between corporal and spiritual infirmities, for as the former should not be laid open except to a skillful and practiced physician, so also neither should the latter be made known except to him who is *capable of healing* them."

"Go confidently to the priest," says St. *Gregory of Nyssa*,[4] "and lay open to him the secrets of thy heart, and the depths of thy soul, as thou wouldst expose the wounds of thy body to a physician. Have no false shame; thy honor will be sacred in his keeping, and thy soul's health secured."

"When St. *Ambrose*," says his biographer,[5] "heard the confession of a sinner, he wept so bitterly that his grief affected the penitent to tears also. The sins and sorrow of another were made his own. He kept faithfully the secret which had been intrusted to him in confession, and spoke of it only in his prayers to God. He thus became a pattern for his successors in the priesthood, teaching them *that they should be mediators for their brethren before God, and not their accusers before men.*"

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[1] *Ambros.* de poenit., lib. I., c. 2. Alluding to John xx. 22, 23, accipite Spirit. St., quorum remiseritis, etc., he concludes: Ergo qui solvere non potest peccatum, non habet Spiritum sanctum. Munus Spir. St. est officium sacerdotis, jus autem Spiritus St. in solvendis ligandisque criminibus est; quomodo igitur munus ejus vindicant, de cujus diffidunt jure et potestate? (opp. ed. *Bened.*, T. II., p. 392.)

[2] *Paciani*, epp. 3 ad Sympron. contr. Novatianor. error. and paraenesis ad poenitentiam (bibl. max. PP. T. IV., p. 305–317).

[3] *Basil. M.* regulae brevior. ad interrogat. 229, opp. ed. *Garnier*, T. II., p. 335 sq.

[4] *Gregor. Nyss.* or. 12, ad eos, qui durius atque acerbius alios judicant.

[5] *Paulinus* in vita *S. Ambrosii.* (*Galland.* bibl., T. IX., p. 23 sq.)

The confession of sins was either *private* or *public*.

Public confession was made when the guilt of the sinner was great and generally known;[1] when the zeal of the penitent and the impulses of devotion prompted this course; and, finally, when for weighty reasons the priest declared it necessary.

After the persecutions that took place in the former epoch, under Decius, had ceased, it was necessary to treat those who had lapsed during them with much more tenderness than would have been shown to them at an earlier period. On this account the severity of the ancient *penitential discipline* was much relaxed, and the length of its duration shortened. But for all this, there still remained *four distinct classes of penitents*, graded according to their various stages of advancement, and a very definite penitential discipline corresponding to each.

According to the rule of St. *Basil*, the *murderer* should do penance for *four* years among the mourners, for *five* among the hearers, for *seven* among the prostrate, and for *four* among the co-standers or consistentes; and hence, after his entry upon penitential discipline, it would require the space of twenty years before he could be reconciled with the Church. Fifteen years of punishment was the penalty for *adultery*, four of which were to be spent in the first, five in the second, four in the third, and two in the fourth grade of penitents. The penitential terms for fornication, perjury, theft, spoliation of graves, incest, divination, etc., were regulated according to the character of the offense. Moreover, the permission to enter upon a penitential state was itself regarded as a privilege, and granted as a favor only to those who had begged it with many and humble supplications, and who, prostrate before the Church, had sought the prayers and the intercession of the faithful as they passed in. And when their request was finally granted, they were received among the penitents by the bishop, who, with his presbytery, laid hands upon them, and prayed over them.

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[1] *Augustine*, sermo 82, says on this head: Corripienda sunt *coram omnibus*, quae peccantur coram omnibus. Cf. sermo 351, n. 2 and 9.

Absolution and full *reconciliation* with the Church were, according to ancient discipline, granted only after the canonical penance had been entirely completed. Holy Thursday in the Western Church, and in the Eastern either Good Friday or Holy Saturday, were the days set apart for this function.

After the emperor *Theodosius the Great*,[1] carried away by a sudden fit of blind rage, had caused his soldiers to put to death seven thousand of the inhabitants of Thessalonica, Ambrose sternly insisted that he, too, should undergo penitential discipline for his crime; and Bishop Synesius conducted himself toward the *prefect Andronicus* with similar severity. One beneficial result of the courageous conduct of St. Ambrose was the enactment of an imperial law, forbidding the execution of those condemned to death before the lapse of thirty days from the date of sentence.

Both bishops and clergy were also liable to these ecclesiastical penalties; and, as is clear from the decrees of the Fourth Synod of Toledo, were dealt with much more severely than lay persons.[2]

In the earliest times, lesser sins excluded the offenders from all participation in the sacraments; but, besides this *exclusion*, which was only *for a time*, and was called the minor excommunication (*ἀφορισμός*, *segregatio*, *excommunicatio minor*, or *prohibitio medicinalis*), there was also an *entire cutting off from the Church*, called the major excommunication (*παντελὴς ἀφορισμός*, *ἀνάθεμα*, *excommunicatio major*), and passed upon those who were guilty of certain great crimes, such as obstinate heresy, apostasy from the faith, idolatry, and the like. Those who lay under the *major excommunication* were also subject to many social restrictions. They were not unfrequently shunned altogether, excluded from the advantages of commercial intercourse, deprived of civil offices, and shut out from all hope of military honors. The bishop sent word into the neighboring dioceses and the principal metropolitan sees that they might be everywhere avoided.

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[1] *Synes.*, epp. 57, 72, 89. *Theodoret.* V. 17, 18. *Sozom.* VII. 24. *Rufin.* XI. 18. Conf *Villemain*, Genius of Ancient Christian Literature, Ratisb. 1855, p. 149 sq.

[2] On the penitent Bishop Basilides, cf. *Euseb.* h. e. V. The capit. Synod. Tolet. IV., in *Harduin*, T. III., p. 578; *Mansi*, T. X., p. 615. *Dr. Kellner*, Penances and Punishments of Clerics, Treves, 1863.

The consequences of the major excommunication were so terrible that the Fathers of the Church earnestly prayed that it might be employed with great caution, and only in very extreme cases.

After the time of the Decian persecution and the Novatian schism, one *particular priest* was appointed, called the *penitentiary*, whose special office it was to hear the private confessions of penitents, prescribe to each the kind and *amount* of penance to be undergone, to watch over the conduct of the penitents, and to decide when they might receive Holy Communion. Owing to the great number of penitents, one was frequently unable to meet the wants of all.

A young lady of high standing and respectability, having made open confession, substantiated by the witness of others, that while performing the penance imposed upon her, she had been outraged by a deacon, made such an impression upon *Nectarius*, Patriarch of Constantinople, by the sad story of her wrongs, that he determined to abolish the office of penitentiary, and discontinue public confession (A. D. 390).[1] Nectarius was the occasion of introducing into the Church a practice, if not the same, at least very similar to the one of the present day. The penitent might select his own confessor, and the penance, either recommended or made obligatory upon his conscience, was a matter of entirely personal responsibility. This necessitated the abolition of the first, second, and fourth classes of penitents, and the dismissal of the third at the commencement of the Mass of the Faithful was all of the ancient discipline that was retained, and even this, which was observed only in a few churches, did not require the services of any special official, as the penitents generally withdrew without any direct admonition.

Thus the ancient penitential discipline passed away; but the secret judicial confession, which had existed before it, remained all the same. By the change, only public confession was abolished, which had been regarded, and had been in fact, an integral part of satisfaction up to the time it was done away with, after which both the performance of the penance itself and the manner of performing it were left to the discretion and religious impulses of the faithful, who acquitted themselves of this duty before going to Holy Communion. The practice of private confession was spread in the Western Church principally through the efforts of St. *Augustine* and, particularly, *Leo the Great*.[1]

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[1] *Socrat.* h. e. V. 19. *Sozom.* VIII. 19. *Niceph.* XII. 28. Cf. *Zaccariae* dissertat. de poenitent. Constantinop. sublata a Nectario (T. II. dissert., Fulginae, 1781).

There was still a possibility that priests might proceed arbitrarily in imposing canonical punishments and works of penance, and to prevent anything of this nature, and cause the sacrament to be administered with becoming gravity, dignity, and uniformity, the most celebrated teachers of the Eastern Church—such as *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, and, still later, *Basil*, *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*, and *Gregory* of *Nyssa*—issued canonical epistles, giving instructions on this subject,[2] and the same was done in the West in the fourth century by *Ambrose* and *Pacian*.[3]

Still later, *penance-books* were compiled for the instruction and guidance of the priests; they were in use among the British and Irish in the fifth century, and in the kingdom of the

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[1] *Augustin.*, sermo 83, de tempore, c. 7: Si peccatum secretum, in secreto corripe, si peccatum publicum est et apertum, publice corripe, *ut ille emendetur et caeteri timeant. Leon.*, ep. 168 ad episcop. Campan. De poenitentia, quae a fidelibus postulatur, ne de singulorum peccatorum genere libello scripta professio publice recitetur; cum reatus conscientiarum sufficiat solis sacerdotibus indicari confessione secreta. Quamvis enim plenitudo fidei videatur esse laudabilis, quae propter Dei timorem apud homines erubescere non veretur; tamen quia non omnium hujusmodi sunt peccata, ut ea, qui poenitentiam poscunt, non timeant publicare, removeatur tam improbabilis consuetudo, ne multi a poenitentiae remediis arceantur, dum aut erubescunt, aut metuunt inimicis suis sua facta reserari, quibus possint legum constitutione percelli. Sufficit enim illa confessio, quae primum Deo offertur, tum etiam sacerdoti, qui pro delictis poenitentium precator accedit (opp. T. I., p. 1431). Cf. *Thomassini* l. l., Tom. I., lib. II., c. 7.

[2] *Basilii M.* epp. canonicae (containing 85 canons. See opp. T. III.) *Amphilochii* ep. synodica. (*Cotelerii* monum. gr., T. II.; *Gallandii* bibl., T. VI.) *Gregorii Nysseni* ep. canonica ad Letoium Meliten. episc. *Pitra*, jus eccles. graec., 3 T.

[3] *Ambrosius* de poenitentia, libb. II. (opp. ed. *Bened.* T. II., p. 389 sq.) *Paciani* paraenesis ad poenit. (Max. bibl. PP. T. IV., p. 315 sq.)

Franks at the time of St. *Columbanus* († A. D. 615). *John* the *Faster*, Patriarch of Constantinople, also composed a work of this character about the beginning of the seventh century. There was another written by *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, about A. D. 670, and several others by different authors during the course of the succeeding century.[1]

We have seen that in the preceding epoch there were many in whom the generous courage of the early Christians was gradually growing weak, and who crowded around those about to suffer martyrdom, in the hope of obtaining commendatory letters, by which they might, when persecution had ceased, escape canonical punishments. Something similar took place during the present epoch. The fine enthusiasm of former days seemed to have cooled in the hearts of all, and there were but few who were manly, and courageous, and humble enough to pass through the penitential discipline of more early days. By far the greater number solicited a *relaxation or indulgence of canonical penance*, or a commutation of it into other pious works, such as prayer, fasting, and almsdeeds. The Church, appealing to the precedent of St. Paul, who, though he had entirely cut off the man guilty of incest from the Christian community of Corinth, yet, upon sufficient evidence of sincere repentance and change of heart, received him back again,[2] adopted the same rule, and remitted, upon certain conditions, *a part* of the canonical penance which the offender would otherwise have been obliged to perform. The penance was relaxed upon evidence of sincere sorrow, or when there was danger of death, or of apostasy from the faith, or when the penitent had, by his zealous efforts, brought an infidel into the Church. There are but a few instances scattered here and there in which the *whole canonical penance* was *remitted*.[3]

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[1] *Wasserschleben*, Penitential Ordinances of the Western Church, Halle, 1851. Conf. *Walter's* Canon Law, 13th ed., § 93, p. 195 sq.

[2] 1 Cor. v. 1 sq. Cf. 2 Cor. ii. 5 sq.

[3] *Muratori*, diss. de redemtione peccator. (antiqq. Ital. med. aevi, T. V., p. 712 sq.) *Binterim*, Vol. V., Pt. II., p. 315 sq.; Pt. III., p. 165 sq. An instance of an entire remission of *all* ecclesiastical punishments in the third century is the priest *Maximus*, who had apostatized to the Novatians, and was afterward converted. Cf. ep. Cornelii ad Cyprian. (inter epp. Cypr. 46, quon-

It is prescribed in the "*Penitential*" of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, that the penitent shall be admitted to Holy Communion after having gone through twelve or six months of penance.

It was but natural that when lukewarmness began to set in, some, in the earnestness of their zeal, should go to the opposite extreme of mortification, and of these *Symeon the Stylite* carried his penances to the greatest excess.[1] He dwelt, from the year 420, for thirty succeeding years, on a pillar near Antioch, set up, as it were, to mediate between earth and heaven. His contemporaries, in their admiration of him, called him the Star of the Earth and the Wonder of the World. Bishop Theodoret, a witness of these marvels of penance, professed that he had no hope of getting future generations to believe the truth of what in his own time was known to all the world.

§ 139. *Orders, Matrimony, Extreme Unction, Burials.*

J. Morini, Commentarius de SS. Ecclesiae Ordinibus, Amstelod. 1709, fol. *Binterim*, Memorabilia, Vol. VI., Pt. I.–III. *Pelliccia*, T. II., p. 444 sq. *Gibert*, Tradition de l'Eglise sur le Sacrement de Mariage, Paris, 1725, 3 vols. 4to. *E. von Moy*, "Das Eherecht der Christen bis zur Zeit Carl's des Grossen" (Law of Marriage amongst Christians to the time of Charlemagne), Ratisbon, 1833.

From the days of the Apostles, the *Sacrament of Holy Orders* (*ordinatio, sacramentum antistitis, benedictio presbyterii, χειροτονία*) has always been administered by the *laying on of hands*, by which the Holy Ghost is imparted to the person ordained. It has been customary since the third century, when a bishop is being consecrated, to add to the ceremony of the laying on of hands that of placing upon his head the *book of the Gospels*. The *anointing*, first mentioned by Pope Leo, was unknown in the East, in Africa, and probably also in Spain. In ordaining a *priest*, the bishop, and *all the clergy* in priest's orders present, laid hands upon him. The anointing of the hands was not

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dam 135). *Kamper*, histor. indulgentiar, Mogunt, 1787. *Thomassini* l. l., T. I., lib. II., c. 15. †*Bendel*, The Indulgences of the Church, their Historical Development, Dogmatic Aspects, and Practical Application, Rottweil, 1847. †*Gröne*, Indulgences, their History, and Influence in the Order of Salvation, Ratisbon, 1863.

[1] *Theodoreti* historia religiosa, c. 26. *Evagrii* h. e. I. 13. See p. 601, note 1.

practiced either in the East or at Rome before the ninth century, although it had been previously introduced into Gaul, and the authorship of the hymn, "*Veni Creator Spiritus*," sung while the anointing is going on, has been attributed to Charlemagne.[1] In the ordination of deacons, the bishop alone laid on hands. *Subdeaconship*, unlike priesthood and deaconship, was not given in the sanctuary before the altar, but *in the sacristy*, or diaconicum; neither was the laying on of hands used in conferring it. The *Minor Orders* were conferred by presenting to those, who went up to receive them, the *instruments* or symbols of their ministry. The sacred vessels were handed to the subdeacon; the lamps to the acolyth; the book containing the forms of exorcism to the exorcist; the lesson-book to the reader; and the keys of the Church to the porter.[2]

The Fathers of this epoch bear abundant witness, in many precise passages of their writings, to the sanctity of marriage, its *sacramental character*, and its consecration by the *priest's blessing*.[3] This blessing was given in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and while it was going on, the bride was covered with a purple veil, and had a crown placed upon her head. Both bride and bridegroom then presented gifts at the altar, and received Holy Communion. After the blessing, their hands were bound together with white and red fillets, in token of the absolute indissolubility of the marriage-tie.

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[1] *Mone*, Latin Hymns, etc., I. 241, 242, both from most ancient MSS. and intrinsic reasons decides in favor of *Gregory the Great.* (Tr.)

[2] *Döllinger's* Ch. H., Vol. II., p. 341. (Tr.)

[3] *St. Basil.* characterizes Christian matrimony as a διὰ τῆς εὐλογίας ζυγός (homil. 7, in hexaëmeron). *Innocentii I.*, ep. 9 ad Probum: De eo, cujus de captivitate reversa est uxor, *statuimus, fide catholica suffragante, illud esse conjugium quod primitus erat gratia divina fundatum:* conventumque secundae mulieris, priore superstite nec divortio ejecta, nullo pacto posse esse legitimum. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 1008.) *Ambrosius*, de Abraham, lib. I., c. 7: Cognoscimus velut praesulem custodemque conjugii esse Deum, qui non patiatur alienum thorum pollui: et si qui fecerit, peccare eum in Deum, cujus legem violet, gratiam solvat. *Et ideo quia in Deum peccat, sacramenti coelestis amittat consortium.* And ep. 19: Cum ipsum conjugium *velamine sacerdotali et benedictione* sanctificari oporteat, quomodo potest conjugium dici, ubi non est fidei concordia? (against mixed marriages.) *Conc. Carthag.* IV., a. 398: Qui (sponsus et sponsa) benedictionem (sacerdot.) acceperint, eadem nocte pro reverentia illius benedictionis in virginitate permaneant.

The doctrine of the indissolubility of marriage was the abiding belief and sentiment of the early Christians. This is clearly proved by the emphatic expressions of Athenagoras, and by passages contained in the "Pastor" of Hermas and in the Apostolic Canons.

As time went on, some Churches began to entertain a doubt on this point. The Eastern Church put an interpretation upon the passages in Matt. v. 32 and xix. 7 favorable to divorce, which was sanctioned by imperial law. But the Western Church of Rome and Africa clung to the *Apostolic* and *Evangelic tradition*, insisting upon the absolute and unconditional indissolubility of marriage, and punished with excommunication those who attempted any violation of this fundamental law. This is clear from the declarations of the Popes *Innocent* and *Leo*, and from the canon of the *Synod of Mileve* (A. D. 416).[1]

Marriages between Catholics and either Pagans or Jews, and also *Heretics*, were prohibited by the early Fathers of the Church,[2] and never permitted, except on condition that the non-Catholic party should enter the Church. The principal reasons for this prohibition, and the consequent condition for annulling it, were a fear that the faith of the Catholic might be corrupted and lost by contact with an unbeliever, and that such a union would be a hindrance to the fulfillment of ordinary religious duties, and an obstacle to the Christian education of the children.

This prohibition, however, was only disciplinary, and did not invalidate the marriage contract.

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[1] *Canon. Apostolor.* 47: Si quis laicus sua ejecta uxore aliam duxerit, vel ab alio solutam, segregetur. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 22.) Conf. *Liebermann*, institut. theol., ed. V., T. II., p. 348–354. After long fluctuation and frequent connivance, the *Synod of Mileve*, in 416, at which St. Augustine was present, forbade remarrying, without regard to guilt or innocence, and *Innocent I.*, ep. 6 ad Exsuperium, c. 6, maintained this prohibition throughout the West.

[2] *Ambrosius*, de Abrah., lib. I., c. 7: In conjugio una caro et unus spiritus est. *Quomodo autem potest congruere caritas, si discrepet fides? Concil. Laod.*, a. 372, can. 10. Quod non oporteat indifferenter ecclesiasticos (orthodoxos) foedere nuptiarum haereticis suos filios filiasque conjungere. Likewise can. 31 (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 783 sq.) and Conc. Chalced., c. 13. Conf. Concil. Trullan., a. 692, c. 72. *Photii*, nomocanon tit. XII., c. 13.

In Gaul and Spain, during the sixth and seventh centuries, marriages between Catholics and either Pagans or Jews were forbidden under penalty of excommunication, and the penalty was not removed until a separation had taken place.[1] The synods of Elvira, Chalcedon, and Agde prohibited marriages also between Catholics and heretics, but these were never regarded as invalid.

Marriages between persons *related* in vertical degrees, or in a right ascending and descending line, as parent and child, were considered invalid by nature, and even those between persons related in collateral lines were, for a long time, forbidden by civil law. Marriages between persons related either by consanguinity, i. e. between persons connected in right of a common ancestor, or affinity, i. e. between persons allied by marriage, were even more strictly forbidden, till, in the time of Gregory the Great, the invalidating impediments of relationship extended to the seventh degree, according to the mode of calculation then in use. These impediments, in the nearer degrees, were also extended to the *spiritual* relationship existing between sponsors and the persons baptized.[2]

Civil relationship, or that contracted by adopting a person into a family as a member of it, was introduced as an impediment by Justinian, and had about the same effect and extension as that of natural relationship. Still later, Pope Nicholas I., in his "Answers" to the Bulgarians, recognized this law of Justinian as of force in the Church. After the time of the Council of Chalcedon, and the publication of the decrees of Popes Innocent and Leo, the fact of one having entered into the *monastic state*, or consecrated his virginity to God, was made, in the case of such persons, an impediment to marriage.

Second marriages, or those contracted by one party after the death of the other, were not now, any more than in the first epoch, entirely prohibited; but, as then, Athenagoras and Origen emphatically protested against them, so also now St. Ambrose, and St. John Chrysostom, and St. Jerome earnestly endeavored to persuade the faithful from entering upon them. In the East, and in some countries of the West, canonical penances were laid upon those who had contracted a second marriage; and to such the blessing of the Church was not given, nor was the bride permitted to wear the nuptial veil and garland. Many believed a third marriage unlawful, and the Apostolic Constitutions declared a fourth marriage, which has been always condemned by the Eastern Church, as equivalent to a condition of public infamy.

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[1] Conf. Card. *Bellarmin*, de matrimonio, lib. I., c. 23, and *Benedict XIV.*, Bull, "Singulari nobis," § 10, February 9, 1749. (Tr.)

[2] Concil. Agath., a. 506, c. 61; Concil. Neocaesar, c. 2; Concil. Epaon., a. 517, c. 30; Concil. Quinisext., c. 54 sq. On spiritual relationship as an impediment, Concil. Quinisext., c. 53, and Cod. Justin. V. 4, 26.

St. *Chrysostom*,[1] in drawing a parallel between the Christian and the Jewish priesthood, mentions the *Sacrament of Extreme Unction* as the special prerogative of the former, and as indicating its superiority over the latter. This sacrament, called also the *Anointing of the Sick*, has, according to the narrative of St. James, besides a healing property, the virtue of remitting sins, and is in so far the complement and perfection of the sacrament of penance. St. *Augustine*[2] and others are witnesses to its administration in their day.

The *Sacramentary* of St. Gregory the Great contains an office entitled "*Orationes ad visitandum Infirmum*," in which the nature and form of this sacrament are explicitly set forth, and the rite for *blessing the oil for the sick* prescribed.

After the Christian had departed this life, his remains, sanctified by the grace of the sacraments, and destined to rise again in glory, were buried in consecrated ground (*areae*, *caemeteria*, *dormitoria*). The friends of the departed, strong in the belief that his death was but a passage to a glorious eternity, did not give way to unseemly sorrow, as men without hope. The Church had, from the very beginning, prohibited the excessive lamentations and lugubrious dirges common among the Pagans, and introduced at the funeral of her children the singing of hymns and psalms, in token of her joy that another soul had passed to a happy eternity. Those who accompanied the corpse to its last resting-place, carried torches and palm branches and olive branches in their hands, as fitting emblems of the great victory which the dead champion of the faith had gained while in the flesh, and as appropriate ornaments to be borne by those who followed him along his triumphal way to the grave. Here the parabolani and fossarii took charge of the body, and laid it in consecrated earth.

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[1] *Chrysost.* de sacerdotio, lib. III., c. 6.

[2] *Augustin.*, sermo 215, de temp. (according to others, composed by *Caesarius* Arelat. in the fifth century.) *Innocent I.*, ep. I. ad Decentium Eugubin. capitul. 8. (*Harduin*, T. I., p. 698; *Mansi*, T. III., p. 1031.)

The Christian places of burial were, like those of Jews and Pagans, situated outside the city walls. The most coveted places of burial during the fourth and fifth centuries were the catacombs, or subterranean crypts. The practice was now introduced of burying some persons at the Stations of the Martyrs, and hence either in or near the churches and chapels dedicated to their honor. The favor of obtaining burial in churches within the city was, for a long time, confined to emperors and bishops. The practice of reciting prayers over the graves was general, and, when the dead were persons of distinction, *funeral orations* were pronounced over them. *Gregory Nazianzen* gave to this sort of oratory its distinctive character. When the obsequies took place in the morning, Holy Mass was offered for the repose of the soul, and repeated on the succeeding third, ninth, and fortieth days.[1] The Church encouraged her children to honor the faithful departed, by almsdeeds and solemn anniversaries, which would serve both to keep the memory of the deceased fresh among the living and to preserve their active communion with the Church militant. The right of ecclesiastical sepulture was denied to those who had been put to death, or had committed suicide, and to those who had, of their own fault, neglected to receive baptism and the other sacraments.

§ 140. *Religious and Moral Life of the Christians.*

Now that Christianity was the dominant religion of the State, and in the enjoyment of the fullest immunity from any external restraint, there was a call upon it to make its influence felt upon the actions and conduct of men in every rank and condition of life. The bishops, too, possessed of an extensive authority in almost every branch of the civil service, enjoyed an exceptionally favorable position for giving wider scope to Christian ideas and the blessings of Christian influences, and they were zealous enough to put their advantages to the best account. *Educational* and *charitable institutions* were also effective instruments in carrying the beneficent influences of Christianity to all ranks of society. Among the latter class may be mentioned the foundling asylums (*βρεφοτροφεῖα*), orphan asylums (*ὀρφανοτροφεῖα*), hospices for the entertainment of strangers (*ξενοδοχεῖα*), hospitals for the aged (*γεροντοκομεῖα*), and homes for the homeless (*πτωχοτροφεῖα*). There has never been a time in the Church's history when her *ministry of charity* has been lacking in devoted and noble souls, who have given their lives to the care of the poor, and, by their kind offices, brought hope and gladness to the hearts of many.[1]

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[1] *Constitut. Apostolor.*, lib. VIII., c. 42: Quod spectat ad mortuos, celebretur dies III. in psalmis, lectionibus et precibus *ob eum* qui tertia die resurrexit;

But the continuous peace and security which the Christians now enjoyed, contributed to produce tepidity of faith and relaxation of morals. The same thing took place during the first epoch, and the early Fathers of the Church spoke with sorrow of the deterioration of life among the Christians, noticeable in intervals of peace between one persecution and another.

That tender brotherly love, deep and enduring, which formed so conspicuous a characteristic of Christian life in the first centuries, had now either altogether passed away, or was but rarely witnessed. Christians now refused to Pagans that toleration for which their own Apologists had formerly pleaded so eloquently. The Roman Church, however, forms an honorable exception to this rule. Her charities were munificent,

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item dies IX. in recordationem superstitum et defunctorum, atque dies XL. juxta veterem typum: Mosem enim ita luxit (ἐπένθησε) populus: denique *dies anniversarius* pro memoria ipsius.

[1] *Perin*, On Wealth in Christian Society (transl. from the French into German by *Waizenhofer*), Ratisbon, 1866. *Ratzinger*, History of the Church's Care of the Poor, Freiburg, 1868, p. 61–137.

and generously distributed. As Alexander Severus called the Pope the Prince of Charities, so now St. *Jerome* said of Anastasius I., "that he was a man rich in the wealth of his poverty," and this character was applicable not only to Anastasius, but to all the Roman Pontiffs of this epoch.

The immediate cause of the religious indifference which now commenced to set in, was the fact that neither the bishops nor the body of the faithful had the privations and persecutions of former days to apprehend in embracing Christianity. On the contrary, the Church had now grown powerful enough to shield her own, and opened the way to wealth, honor, and distinction.[1] Many, desirous of bettering their temporal condition, entered her fold with the sole purpose of profiting by these advantages. Thus many who became *Christians*, were such *only in name and appearance*, and being destitute of every religious impulse and disposition, went through the external form of Christian conduct, without, however, giving up their former sinful habits of life. There were also many Christians who still delighted in the bloody combats of the gladiators. When Honorius (A. D. 404) revived the gladiatorial shows, the monk *Telemachus*, hearing of it in his Nitrian cell, hastened to Rome for the purpose of putting an end to these detestable cruelties. Pressing through the crowd of spectators and into the arena of the Colosseum, he generously threw himself between two gladiators stripped for the death-struggle. The enraged mob beat him down with sticks and stones, and the gladiators, for whom he had sacrificed so much, dispatched him.[2] He indeed lost his life in a work of heroic charity, but his blood had the effect of blotting out that crying disgrace on the Roman name. The emperor *Honorius*, about the year 409, proscribed all gladiatorial shows for the future.

Many holy and devout souls among the Christians, loving their Divine Master with a generous and enthusiastic love, went on *pilgrimages* to the Holy Land, to Jerusalem in particular, to those scenes hallowed by the life and presence of our Savior, and to the Holy Sepulchre, over which the empress Helena had built the Church of the Resurrection, there to pray and meditate upon the life of Him whom they desired to imitate more closely and follow more nearly. But while many noble and pious souls joined these pilgrimages, which took place principally about Easter-tide, there was also a great number of bad Catholics who participated in them from selfish and often superstitious motives. Many of the Fathers, conscious of the evil, were stricken with grief, and St. *Gregory of Nyssa*, speaking of the abuse to his people, reminded them[1] that it was not a great matter that any one should have been at Jerusalem, but to have been there and lived well would be to the profit of the Christian. Nay, even St. *Jerome*, the enthusiastic advocate of holy shrines, said "that the Gate of Heaven was as wide in Britain as at Jerusalem."[2]

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[1] *Hieronym.:* Ecclesia nunc potentia et divitiis quidem major, virtutibus vero minor facta est. (Vita Malchi, opp. T. I., p. 41.)

[2] *Theodoreti* h. e. V. 26.

We should also bear in mind that the heated religious controversies of the East, while creating a tender devotion to the faith, and a firm reliance on its hopes and promises, had also the effect of disturbing well-ordered communities, upheaving society in the most cultivated nations, and spreading *superstitious practices* among all classes.[3] Among other abuses was the traffic carried on by monks in *relics*, which they purchased with money when they could, and when they could not, obtained them by fraud and violence. The emperor *Theodosius*, in the year 386, passed laws prohibiting this unholy commerce under severe penalties.[4] *Gregory the Great* deplored the abuse, and the sophist *Eunapius* sneeringly said that it must have been a comfort to these holy hucksterers that several of the saints had been providentially blessed with quite a number of heads, hands, and feet.

The religious and moral life of the Christians was necessarily moulded by the circumstances peculiar to each country, and bore the impress of surrounding influences. These were different in different countries. In the East, there were the interminable controversies on faith; in Africa, the religious fanaticism of the Donatists and the devastating invasion of the Vandals; and in Western Europe, the migrations of the vigorous and warlike German nations in search of land to conquer. All these distracting circumstances, each in its own way, corrupted *the faith and chilled the piety* of the faithful.

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[1] *Gregorius Nyssen.* epist. de iis, qui adeunt Hierosolym.—Ep. ad Eustat., Ambros. et Basilissam. Cf. *Hieronym.* ep. ad Paulin.; and, on *pilgrimages* in general, *Binterim*, Memorabilia, Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 610 sq.

[2] Et de Hierosolymis et de Britannia aequaliter patet aula coelestis.

[3] *Isidor. Pelusiot.* epp., lib. III., ep. 133.

[4] *Codex Theodos.* IX. 17, 1. *Greg. M.* epp., lib. IV., ep. 30.

We should, however, very much mistake, were we to imagine that all the faithful of those times were liable to these charges. The sublime character of the *many saintly Doctors* of the Church, who did so much, by the example of their lives and the depth of their learning, to edify and exalt the Christian mind during succeeding centuries; the noble lives of their *pious mothers*,[1] who had so great a share in the formation of their sons; the affectionate devotion of so many of the faithful to their bishops; the fine enthusiasm which prompted generous sacrifices for founding and endowing religious institutions:—all these are so many proofs that the spirit of life beat still in the Church with a strong pulse, and inspired both flock and pastor with high and holy aims.

Neither should we forget the frequent instances of the voluntary *abolition of slavery* that took place during this epoch, and for which the Christian bishops labored indefatigably and unceasingly, both by word and deed, and none more energetically and effectually than *St. John Chrysostom*.[2]

The great orator speaks in a number of places on the origin and nature of slavery, and on the revolution introduced by Christ in the ideas of liberty and the rights of man. He insists with that dignified and trenchant speech so peculiarly his own, on the relations of Christian charity and fraternal intercourse which should exist between masters and slaves, and on the necessity of educating and civilizing the latter, and finally closes with a direct appeal for their emancipation. *St. Ephraëm the Syrian*, when at the point of death, besought a young and noble maiden to give up the practice of being carried in a litter by slaves, because it was not becoming to employ man in such a service, for, as the Apostle says, "Christ is the Head of every man." The maiden, following the holy man's counsel, ameliorated the condition of her slaves, and left a touching example to others. Again, *St. Isidore* of *Pelusium* wrote to the master of a slave, "I should not have believed that a friend of Christ, in the full knowledge of that grace by which we are all made free, would still continue to keep a slave."

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[1] *Neander*, Ch. H., Vol. II., pp. 325 and 326.

[2] Cf. the literature cited above on p. 466, note 1; and *Schaff*, Hist. of the Ancient Church; § 89, the Church and Slavery, and § 152, the State Church and Slavery.

These energetic appeals, so full of love and tender solicitude for the oppressed, had the desired effect, and a number of imperial laws were passed for the improvement of the slave's condition.

But the chief religious and moral characteristic of this epoch is the monastic life.

§ 141. *Origin, Aim, and Scope of Monastic Life.*

Frequent attempts have been made to account for the origin of monasticism, by supposing that the pleasant climate of Egypt had a great deal to do with it, but there are obvious reasons why such a supposition should prove entirely unsatisfactory. To fully account for monasticism requires a *higher and a holier motive* than this.

Monks are men who, *acting under divine impulse and by special call from God*, give up the life of this world to live the life of angels, who feel themselves borne along by some irresistible power, and lifted to a spiritual and contemplative mode of existence they had not known before. The life of a monk is a continued reaching out and striving after a higher perfection of the spirit, *under the influence and guidance of the Christian religion*. First of all he must break those fetters, which, as he has been taught by the teachings of the Gospel and the lessons of experience, bind him down to earth, and are his most dangerous enemies in his efforts to reach a high standard of Christian perfection. He must give up his property and put aside its cares,[1] deny himself the lusts of the flesh and the promptings of a corrupt nature,[1] take no thought of marriage,[2] and have a distrust of his own will. He must take upon him the vows of *poverty*, *chastity*, and *obedience*—poverty, that he may by voluntary denial cease *to covet;* chastity, that he may be free from *the excesses of the flesh;* and obedience, that by renouncing *his will* he may not be stubborn and self-sufficient, thus opposing and crushing out the three great moral disorders of our nature by virtues the direct opposite of them.

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[1] Matt. xix. 24.

Still, there is in the heart of man a law requiring companionship with fellow-man, and do what he will he can neither alter nor ignore it. Every man comes to understand, after a little experience, that, *left to himself and to his own resources, he can accomplish nothing great*, and his toil is in vain. And so those who had lived for a time as recluses, in a row of solitary cells, called "laura," cut off from all intercourse with others, found their lives becoming burdensome, and finally all of a neighborhood would come *together under one rule and discipline*, and a *coenobium* or monastery was the result. The *individual virtue of each* was *the bond of union* that bound all together, and all submitted to be governed and *directed by the wisdom of one*. The monk, when isolated, had a distrust of his weakness; the monks, when united, found *strength in* their *union*. The three vows of *poverty*, *chastity*, and *obedience*, the great underlying principles of every succeeding form of monasticism, were the natural outgrowth and essential condition of this system of religious life. Without doubt, there have been times when monastic life was more pure and vigorous than at others; for, like everything else, there are certain seasons and circumstances specially favorable to its growth and development. It is true there were traces of the monastic mode of life among the *Essenes* and *Therapeutai*, and even in *Thibet* and *China*, but the true idea and adequate expression of such a life are to be sought for in Christianity alone. Moreover, the religious orders of the Church are an *indispensable and an essential element* of her economy, and *enable her to work out the complete solution of the problem of Christianity*, for her office is not only to *teach* what a perfect Christian should be, but also to show by *living examples* what he really is, and it is, as a rule, by the holy influences ever at work in religious communities, that these examples are produced; and, in matter of fact, such have never been wanting in the Church of Christ. And if, in the very first ages of the Church, there were no regularly constituted cloisters, in the strict sense of the word, there nevertheless always existed a body of *continentes*, *ascetics*, and *virgins*, who, according to the witness of the most ancient ecclesiastical writers and the testimony of sepulchral monuments, formed a profession and an association peculiar to themselves. Hence the first *great task* of monasticism was a tentative effort to realize the ideal of Christian perfection by first grasping it, and then giving it fixity and permanence. If the lives of the monks were not always in harmony with this ideal, and if, according to the trite saying, "corruptio optimi pessima," when engaged in controversies on their faith, they were rather caricatures than fair representatives of their calling, there were nevertheless many of them faithful to their rule of life, and the *sublimest moral characters of their age*. *St. Augustine's* words are both pointed and truthful. "I have not," says he, "found anywhere better men than good monks, and neither have I found worse than bad monks."[1] The latter were usually distinguished by ungovernable lusts, gloomy and fierce tempers, religious fanaticism, and, if a degree better, by a pharisaical reliance on the merit of external works of piety.

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[1] Ephes. v. 3, 5.

[2] Luke xx. 35.

As Christian charity is always ready to take hold of every good work, and as the Church of Christ stands as a queen at the right hand of her King, in golden raiment, wrought about with variety, so monasticism had, besides its general aim, a *special work* to take up *in meeting and supplying some pressing temporary want*. This sort of work was done by the monks during the present epoch in *both East* and *West*. In the East, the regular clergy made a determined fight against the tide of rationalism that was breaking in upon the Church, and were the staunchest defenders of orthodoxy. Athanasius and Basil, Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom, Ephraëm and Jerome, Augustine and others, had all had more or less intercourse with the monks, and at these asylums of learning and holiness had drunk in that pure faith which they left in its purity to their own and after ages. The saintly gravity of their manners, the manly dignity of their bearing, the wisdom of their doctrine, the depth of their religious feelings, the profundity of their knowledge, and the persuasiveness of their speech, were something very different from the vain and pompous pretensions to superior learning put forth by the philosophers of Athens and Alexandria. They were the genuine productions of a life of recollection and solitude, to which, like men gifted with true wisdom, they had devoted themselves, either by withdrawing alone to some solitary spot or by placing themselves under the guidance of the Egyptian and Syrian monks.[1] They frequently said that the contemplative life was that which appeared to approach nearest to Gospel perfection, and spoke of it as "*a higher Christian philosophy*" (philosophia sublimior, *philosophy* κατ᾽ ἐξοχήν).[2] For what ancient philosophers had termed man's highest calling and noblest purpose in life—the investigation of truth, an effort to become like unto God, a study of the most sublime ideas, self-knowledge and self-restraint—was here fully realized.

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[1] Similarly *St. Jerome*, ep. 125 ad Rusticum. Vidi ego quosdam, qui postquam renuntiavere saeculo, vestimentis duntaxat et vocis professione, non rebus, nihil de pristina conversatione mutarunt.

And in the *West*, the order of St. Benedict arose, and from its cloisters, during the terrible period of the migration of nations, when all was disaster and confusion, a whole army of missionaries went forth filled with the spirit and zeal of faith to minister to the spiritual wants of the people. They transcribed and thus preserved the literary treasures of classic and ecclesiastical antiquity, and built up a new civilization upon the ruins of the old.

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[1] "What has mankind to thank the monks for?" (Hist. Polit. Papers, Vol. XI., p. 607–614.) Cf. below, p. 753, note 1.

[2] Conf. *Greg. Naz.* oratio apologetica de fuga, c. 5, 7, and others. *Chrysostom.* de sacerdotio, lib. I. 1; III. 17. *Gregorii Nysseni* orat. catechet., c. 18: *ἡ ὑψηλὴ φιλοσοφία*, and *Nilus* the Younger, *ἡ κατὰ θεὸν φιλοσοφία.*

§ 142. *Monastic Life in the East—St. Anthony.*

Athanasii vita S. Antonii.—*Joannes Cassianus* († after 430), de institutione coenobior. and collationes monachor. (opp. ed. *Gazaeus*, Atrebati, 1628, fol.) *Palladii* († about 420), hist. Lausiaca (*πρὸς Λαῦσον*, coll. patrum eccl. gr. T. III.) *Theodoreti*, hist. religiosa, etc. (opp. ed. *Schulze*, T. III., p. 11.) *Socrat.* h. e. IV. 23 sq. *Sozom.* I. 12–24; III. 14; VI. 28–34. The Lives of Several Hermits, by *St. Jerome*, and many letters of the two *Macarii*. *Martène*, de antiquis monachorum ritibus, Lugd. 1690. *Holstenii*, codex regular. monasticar., etc. (see p. 23, note 2.) *Hélyot*, ordres monastiques et militaires, Paris, 1714–19, T. VIII. 4to. (In German, Lps. 1753–56, 8 vols. 4to.) †*Binterim*, Memorabilia, Vol. III., Pts. I. and II., p. 406 sq. †*Schmidt*, The Orders of Monks, Nuns, and Ecclesiastical Knights, together with their rules and pictorial representations, Augsbg. 1838 sq. †*Henrion*, General Hist. of the Monastic Orders. (German revision by *Fehr*, Tübing. 1845, 2 vols.) †**Evelt*, Monasticism in its Interior Development and its Eccl. Influence, down to St. Benedict, Paderborn, 1863. (Programme.)

The numerous *ascetics* of both sexes, who, during the first century, while living in the heart of their families and in the bustle of the world, followed the counsel of our Lord, and, refusing to enter upon a married state, led a life of *virginity*, are the first who exemplified in their lives those observances that, later on, developed into monasticism.

There were many who, having fled into the desert to escape danger during the persecution of *Decius* (A. D. 249–251), voluntarily remained after the storm had passed by, and were the pioneers of those companies of *anchorets* and *hermits* which soon spread through all Egypt, and of whom *Paul of Thebes* was the most illustrious and perfect example.

These hermits and cenobites continued to increase in number, living in a "laura," or group of cells, till the time of St. *Anthony*,[1] an Egyptian by birth, who brought them all under one comprehensive rule, and gathered them about himself in the monastery of *Phaium*, consisting of separate buildings, situated on a branch of the Nile. Here the spirit of union grew daily stronger, and all regarded Anthony as a sort of superior or head. But the love of solitude had so many attractions for him, that he withdrew from them, and again entered upon a solitary life. He was again followed by a numerous company of disciples, for whose accommodation he founded the monastery of *Pispir*, at the foot of Mount Kolzim, on the shore of the Red Sea, which he often quitted his retreat to visit.

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[1] *Athanasii* vita S. Antonii (opp. T. II., p. 450 sq.); in German by *Clarus*, Münster, 1857. *Hieronym.* de vir. illustr., c. 88. Conf. *Tillemont*, T. VII., p. 105 sq. *Möhler*, Athanasius the Great, Vol. II., p. 90-113; 2d ed., p. 378–402. *Reinkens*, The Hermits of St. Jerome (first, Paul of Thebes, Hilarion, and Malchus; then the celebrated pious ladies, Marcella, Asella, Blaesilla, Paula, Eustochium, Fabiola), Schaff. 1864.

Anthony, the son of noble, opulent, and Christian parents, was born A. D. 251, and died A. D. 356, at the age of one hundred and five years. He was early deprived of his parents, and while yet a boy of tender years showed a disposition toward a solitary life, and shrank from all participation in the pleasures and pastimes common to those of his age. Neither had he any taste for what is called a liberal education, but gave himself up fully to a life of meditation and prayer, to which he seemed irresistibly drawn.

While still young, and when this feeling was strong upon him, he was powerfully impressed by the words of counsel addressed by our Lord in the Gospel to the wealthy young man: "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell all thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow Me."[1] Anthony applied them to himself, but reserved a portion of the money he had received from the sale of his personal property for his sister's use. After a time he was struck by hearing in Church the words: "Take no thought of the morrow;"[2] and feeling that he had not yet fully satisfied the precept of Evangelical poverty, he gave away what he had reserved, and placed his sister under the care of some trusty female acquaintance.

He now commenced his ascetic life, by withdrawing to a hermitage, which he frequently quitted to seek out masters advanced in perfection, from whom he could obtain instruction and advice. In his efforts to imitate them, he was obliged to sustain the most violent conflicts against both Satan and his own nature; but strong in the power of God's grace, he finally triumphed over every obstacle.

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[1] Matt. xix. 21.

[2] Matt. vi. 34.

During the persecution of Maximin (A. D. 311), he quitted his solitude and set out for Alexandria, and his seasonable appearance among the afflicted and faithful people of that city strengthened their courage and comforted their hearts. On his return to his retreat, he was followed by many, who, admiring his life, wished to become his disciples. These, like faithful, obedient, and devout children, gathered about their father, emulated each other in the practice of piety and virtue, and passed naturally from the contemplation of the things of Heaven, where their hopes and aspirations were fixed, to the labor of the hands, the results of which were given to the neighboring poor. Anthony, notwithstanding the great respect which he received from every one about him, and the growing fame of his name and miracles, remained all the same, humble and retiring. A possessed female was one day brought to him in the hope that he might work her cure. Addressing the person who conducted her, he said: "Why should you call upon me? I am but man, as you are. If you believe in Christ, whom I serve, and are of strong faith, pray to God, and your prayer will be heard." Again, having received a letter from the emperor *Constantine* and his sons, he said to his monks: "It should be no matter of surprise that the emperor should write to us, for he is after all but a man, but rather let this be cause for marvel that God should deign to give His Law to man, and speak to us through His own Son." And in his reply to the emperor, he said: "It gives me joy to know that you honor Christ; fulfill your duties as an emperor; keep the thought of a future judgment before your mind; and know that Christ is the one true and eternal King."

Anthony, by the natural gifts of a richly endowed intellect, and the habit of meditation, acquired such knowledge from the contemplation of God's works in creation and of His words in Holy Writ, which he so carefully retained in memory that they seemed part of the furniture of his mind, as would compensate for his lack of liberal education and scientific training, and enable him to solve difficulties, and speak words of comfort to rich and poor.

Two *Greek philosophers* having come to Anthony one day to try him, the Saint said to them: "Why do you come to a foolish man?" "But you are not such," they replied. "Then," said he, "become as I am." Others came to jeer at his ignorance of literature, to whom he said: "What do you say? Which is prior—the mind or letters? And which gives rise to which—mind to letters, or letters to mind?" When they answered that mind was prior and invented letters, Anthony replied: "He, then, whose mind is in health, does not need letters; he may read the great book of nature, written by the hand of God." Certain philosophers came to discourse with him on religion, and objected that his was without proof. He replied: "Since you prefer to insist upon words of proof, and being skilled in the science of it, would have us also refrain from worshiping God without a proof drawn out in words, tell me, first, how is knowledge of things in general, and especially of religion, exactly ascertained? Is it by a verbal proof, or through the operative power of faith? and which of the two will you put first?" They said, "Faith," owning that it was exact knowledge. Then Anthony rejoined, "Well said, for faith results from a disposition of the soul, but dialectics are from the art of the contriver. They, then, who possess the operative power of faith, can supersede, nay, are but cumbered with proof in words; for what we comprehend by faith, you are merely endeavoring to arrive at by words, and sometimes can not throw into words at all. Faith, then, which acts, is better and surer than your subtle syllogisms. With all your syllogisms, you have never succeeded in drawing any one from Christianity to Hellenism, whereas we Christians have overthrown your superstition."

During the Arian and Meletian controversies, the holy anchorite labored earnestly and effectively in the defense of truth and for the peace of the Church, and by his efforts succeeded in fixing sound principles relative to the Divinity of Christ.

He saw in a vision the future trials of the Church, and with tears in his eyes spoke of them to his brethren.

Toward the close of his life he paid a visit to St. Paul, the Theban solitary, whom he had long desired to see, and to whose earthly remains, before returning, he paid the last sad tribute of respect.

Feeling that *his own hour* was drawing near, he assembled his monks for the last time, and in the course of his address said: "Keep yourselves pure from them (the Arians and Meletians), holding safe the tradition of the Fathers, and, above all, that pious faith in our Lord Jesus Christ which you have learned from Scriptures, and have often been reminded of by me." He left behind him at his death a numerous and flourishing community.

Anthony was never gloomy or sad; his soul was always serene and unruffled. The history of so noble a life, written by so accomplished a scholar as St. *Athanasius*, could not fail to excite enthusiasm in generous souls, and inspire all those capable of appreciating conduct so exalted with a desire to imitate it.

The holy men who had been leading the lives of hermits, either scattered up and down the country, living each in his own cell, and cut off from the rest, or in a number of cells together, called a "Laura," were all brought under one Rule by *Pachomius*, who in the year 340 established at Tabenna, an island of the Nile, in Upper Thebais, just below the first cataract, a community of monks, all living under a common roof (*κοινόβιον, claustrum*), and soon after the establishment included eight monasteries. This Rule, which prescribed a community of goods among the *Cenobites*, has been preserved to us in the Latin translation of St. Jerome.

SS. *Ammonius* and *Macarius the Elder* established monastic communities on the *Nitrian* mountains, in Upper Egypt, and in the desert of *Scete*, where they were still more thoroughly organized and closely united by *Macarius the Younger*.

The saintly *Hilarion*, a disciple of St. Jerome, carried the monastic rule into Palestine, where, subsequently, the celebrated "*Laura*" of St. *Sabas*, not far from Jerusalem, contained a thousand monks, and the number was increased in the sixth century by the addition of the so-called *New Laura*. *Eustathius* of *Sebaste* was the apostle of monasticism in Armenia and Asia Minor. The emperor Valens, fearing that if so great a number went into religion he could not obtain recruits for his army, made an unsuccessful attempt to check the movement.

Basil the Great exercised so great an influence on monastic life in the East that the monks there were usually called after him, *Basilians*. Besides giving them a new Rule, he founded a cloister in the environs of Neo-Caesarea, which formed at once a bulwark against the Arian heresy, and an asylum for the persecuted during the social troubles of that age.[1] This cloister served as a pattern for many others, which were now usually built within easy distances of some city. The monks took part in the controversies on the faith, and were frequently driven to fanatical excesses by the advice of ambitious leaders. Moreover, they sometimes lived together in parties of two and three, and, recognizing no superior, soon lost all traces of the monastic spirit and discipline. These were called *Sarabaites* and *Gyrovagi*, or lazy, worthless fellows, who, by their constant quarreling, their vain pretensions and excesses—the last frequently alternating with their fasts—lost all character, and became disreputable.

The monks in both East and West were originally all laymen, their ranks being chiefly recruited from among tradespeople. The superior of a monastery (*ἡγούμενος*, *ἀρχιμανδρίτης*, *ἀββᾶς*) was usually a priest, and all were under the supervision of the Bishop.[2]

Cloisters may be regarded as having done the work of seminaries during these years. *Every* Rule presupposed the three vows as the essential elements of all religious life, and, though they were not considered indissoluble, a return to a secular life was taken as evidence of weak faith and want of character.

The manner of life among the monks is thus described by St. *John Chrysostom:* "The dawn of day is greeted with the singing of hymns; then follows a meditation on a passage of Holy Scripture. Prayer is said in common at the third, sixth, and ninth hour; and the remaining time is given to labor."

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[1] Cf. "Christian Literature and Monasticism in the Fourth Century." (Hist. Polit. Papers, Vol. VII., p. 332–338.

[2] *Ἀρχιμανδρίτης*, from *μάνδρα*, fold, cloister. Cf. *Thomassini*, l. l., T. I., lib. III., cap. 26.

In seasons of scarcity and famine, the inhabitants of extensive districts were often saved from starvation by the fruit derived from the labor of the monks.

Besides those of the anchorets and cenobites, there was still another form of ascetic life unique in its way. Those who practiced it were called *Stylites*, after *Symeon* the Stylite, who, to avoid intrusion, dwelt for a number of years on a pillar near Antioch, and died A. D. 461. He had many followers in the East, and among them *Daniel*, a priest and monk of Constantinople. Probably the only one in the West was *Vulfilach*, who lived in the neighborhood of Treves.[1]

Females, too, caught the inspiration, and virgins and widows formed communities, the better to live a life of Christian perfection. The sister of St. Anthony is said to have presided over the first of these communities, and *Pachomius*, it is alleged, gave to his own sister, who was at the head of another, the first rule for their direction. These pious recluses were called *nuns*, the Egyptian name for virgin. *Basil the Great* introduced them into Cappadocia. A veil, confined about the head with a *fillet* of gold, symbolizing the crown of virginity, and sometimes a finger-ring, were their only exterior marks of distinction. Cloisters of women were often combined with cloisters of men, under the same rule, forming but *one religious community*, but separated from each other by some wide tract of waste, or by a river, or the one was situated in the valley and the other on some rugged eminence.

The *union of the two* was forbidden by Justinian, and afterward, in the Oriental Church, by the twentieth canon of the Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nice (A. D. 787). The practice was afterward revived in both East and West.[2]

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[1] On *Symeon* the Stylite and *Daniel*, conf. *Tillemont*, T. XV., p. 337-341; T. XVI., p. 439-452. *Uhlemann*, Symeon the First Saint of the Pillar in Syria, Lps. 1846. *Pius Zingerle*, The Life and Works of St. Symeon the Stylite, Innsbruck, 1835. On *Vulfilach*, see *Gregor. Turon.* h. e. Francor., lib. VIII., c. 15. *Butler*, Lives of the Saints, Vol. I., p. 111, note 6.

[2] †*Zell*, Lioba, Freibg. 1860, p. 143 sq.

When we consider, that besides the above-named countries, monasticism was spread through a great part of the *West* by the efforts of St. *Eusebius* of Vercelli, St. *Ambrose* of Milan, and St. *Martin* of Tours, and finally by St. *Benedict* of Nursia, who gave it definite shape (see § 154); when we further consider, that the people among whom it was introduced differed in manners and customs, in character and language; that there was one sort of climate here and another there, and that all these were *very far from the corresponding condition of things in Egypt;* when, again, we call to mind the self-denial and sacrifice that the monastic rule imposes upon human nature, and when, for all this, we behold Africans, Asiatics, and Europeans, all embracing this manner of life with the same enthusiasm, equally faithful in the observance of its practice and equally constant in perseverance, we can not do other than reject, as altogether inadequate to account for so wonderful a phenomenon, every argument drawn from *natural* motives, which themselves were the result of time, place, and circumstance; and we shall be forced to conclude that the only sufficient explanation of a movement so *wide-spread* and an ardor so intense, inspiring men and women of every condition and country with the generous purpose of forsaking the pleasures and comforts of the world, to take upon them a rule of life so opposed to every prompting of human nature, is to be sought for in its Divine sanction.

§ 143. *Adversaries of the Ecclesiastical Life.*

1. *Pricillian*, a Spaniard of noble birth, wealthy, eloquent, and vain, who lived in the latter half of the fourth century, was the propagator of a heresy embracing an element of Gnosticism and a still stronger one of Manichaeism, neither of which had ever been entirely suppressed. This heresy was favorably received by a conventicle held during this epoch,[1] and admitted as fundamental articles the theory of the

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[1] *Sulpicii Severi*, hist. sacr. II. 46, 51; III. 11 sq. Add thereto *Bernays*, On the Chronology of Sulp. Sev., Berlin, 1861. *Orosii*, commonitorium ad Augustinum de erroribus Priscillianistarum, in opp. Augustini, T. VIII. *Leon.*, ep. 15, ad Turibium. Conf. *Tillemont*, T. VIII., p. 491–527, and *Walch*, Hist.

emanation of Eons from a good and a bad principle; denied the distinction of persons in the Trinity, and asserted that *Christ*, the highest *Eon*, whom they received in the Manichaean sense, had wrought the redemption of man, and set souls free from the dominion of evil spirits. But this liberation could be accomplished only by the extinction of the human race, and hence marriage was forbidden, and sexual intercourse permitted only on condition that generation should not take place. St. Augustine says that in order to conceal their heretical tenets and simulate Catholic belief, they adopted the maxim, "*Jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli.*"

The author of these doctrines is supposed to have been *Marcus*, an Egyptian Gnostic, who came to Spain about A. D. 330, and converted to his opinions Agape, a lady of noble birth, and the rhetorician Elpidius. *Priscillian*, at first a follower, became afterward the leader of this sect; and by simulating a rigorous bodily mortification, by magic arts, and by the novel mode of testing the passions by placing persons of both sexes in the same relations in which they had existed in Paradise, succeeded in persuading many Spanish ladies to join his party. Among those who embraced these doctrines were two Catholic bishops, Instantius and Salvianus. After this sect had spread over nearly all Aquitania and Spain, it was discovered by Hyginus, Bishop of Corduba, and its principal opponents were *Idacius* of Merida and the zealous *Ithacius* of Ossonuba. The Council of Caesar Augusta (Saragossa, A. D. 380) condemned the heresy, and excommunicated Priscillian, and the emperor Gratian expelled him and his adherents from Spain. But Priscillian very well knew how favor is obtained at courts, and had already so far succeeded in gaining influence with the emperor that Ithacius, his opponent, was threatened with the imperial displeasure, and would probably have suffered the full penalty of his orthodoxy, had not Gratian been overthrown by the usurper Maximus, who immediately embraced the orthodox cause.

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of Heretics, Pt. III., p. 378 sq. *Lübkert*, de haeresi Priscilliani, ex fontibus denuo collatis, Hafniae, 1840. †*Mandernach*, Hist. of Priscillianism, Treves, 1851. **Gams*, Ch. H. of Spain, Vol. II., p. 359 sq., with a complete statement of literature. ***Reinkens***, Martin of Tours, Breslau, 1866, p. 149 sq.

Priscillian and his followers were summoned to appear before a council at Bordeaux. Here Instantius was deposed, but anticipated the sentence by an appeal to the emperor. He and his companions were then conducted to the residence of the emperor at Treves, where he was tried before a *secular court*, Idacius and Ithacius appearing as his accusers.

The prefect Eudoxius conducted the trial according to the Roman form, with application of torture, and in this way Priscillian was brought to confess that he had taught immoral doctrines, and had prayed naked in the midnight assemblies, in the presence of females. St. *Martin*, Bishop of Tours, who chanced to be in the city at that time, besought Maximus to give leave to the bishops to pass judgment upon him, and not to shed the blood of heretics. The emperor yielded to the request of St. Martin; but, after he had left the city, Priscillian, with his companions Felicissimus, Armenius, the widow Euchrocia, and some others, were, at the instance of Ithacius, who was of a violent temper, and of the bishops Rufinus and Magnus, tried by regular process, condemned, and beheaded, A. D. 385. It is painful to be obliged to admit that *the first heretical blood was shed by the counsel of churchmen;* but, on the other hand, it is gratifying to know that St. *Martin* of Tours, St. *Ambrose*, Pope *Siricius*, and others equally distinguished in the Church, and her true representatives, severely condemned the intemperate zeal of Ithacius and his friends, whom they excommunicated A. D. 389, when they also deposed Ithacius.

In the meantime the policy of Maximus, who pursued the Priscillianists with extreme rigor, served only to spread the heresy and add to the number of its adherents, who reverenced their dead leader as a martyr. It was not long before their doctrines had infected nearly the whole population of Gallicia, and still spread in spite of all efforts to check them. Even in the year 563 the *Council of Braga* found it necessary to enact laws for their suppression.

2. *Audius* (Udo), a Syrian layman of Mesopotamia, believing that the then existing relations between Church and State were working to the detriment of the former, took upon him the office of censor, and unsparingly reproved those bishops and clergy whom he conceived had departed from the Apos-

tolic rule, and were living luxurious and worldly lives. This raised a persecution against him, and its severity having betrayed him into injudicious conduct, he was excommunicated. He then disclaimed all connection with the Church (A. D. 314), was irregularly consecrated bishop by a bishop who had joined his schism, and he and his adherents adopted the monastic rule of life in both town and country. That there might be a clean distinction between them and the Church, they embraced the heretical tenet of Anthropomorphitism; observed the Jewish and Quartodeciman rule of celebrating Easter, in opposition to the practice of the Church, as established by the Council of Nice; rejected canonical penance; and refused to have any communication with Catholics. Theodoret also charges the Audians with holding the Manichaean tenet, that God did not create fire and darkness,[1] although they themselves did not avow this doctrine.

Audius was, in his old age, banished to Scythia by Constantius, where he set up many monasteries, and remained till his death, the date of which is not known.

His sect was continued in Mesopotamia by the bishops of his obedience, of whom Uranius was the chief. There were also bishoprics of this sect among the Goths, established by Audius himself.[2] Having been driven from the country of the Goths, they collected in Chalcis and along the Euphrates, but their number rapidly grew less, and they finally entirely disappeared about the close of the fifth century.[3]

3. The sect of *Adelphians*, so called from their founder *Adelphius*, a Galatian by birth, and also known as *Massalians*, or *Euchites* and *Euphemites*,[4] from the habit of long prayer, originated in Mesopotamia. These sectaries laid great stress on the necessity of *prayer*, as being the only means whereby the

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[1] *Theodoreti* hist. eccl. IV. 10.

[2] *Epiphan.* haer. 70. *Theodoreti* haeret. fabul. IV. 10; h. e. IV. 9. *Hefele*, Hist. of Councils, Vol. I., p. 321–327; Engl. transl., Vol. I., p. 334–341.

[3] In Armenia and Syria since 360. Conf. *Epiphan.* haer. 80. *Theodoret.* haeret. fabul. IV. 11; h. e. IV. 10. *Photii*, cod. 52. *Walch*, Hist. of Heretics, Pt. III., p. 481 sq.

[4] The appellation Μασσαλιανοί is derived from מצלין — Matzlin — those who pray, synonymous with εὐχῆται and Εὐφημῖται or εὐφημοῦντες, those who give praise.

demon could be expelled, which every man had inherited from his first parents. They asserted that when the demon had been driven out of man by incessant prayer, the Holy Ghost would come and take up his abode in the soul, and that His presence, which would be signified by visible and sensible tokens, would impart a divinity to it, and raise it to an impeccable and impassible state. They regarded manual labor as sinful, because it interrupted prayer, and held that the sacraments were altogether superfluous for those who had been raised to a state of Divine perfection, in both knowledge and conduct. They possessed nothing, because, as they said, so exalted a spiritual life would be dishonored by the possession of earthly goods; neither had they any fixed home, but wandered up and down the country, wherever chance or whim might lead them. These sectaries were most numerous in Syria, and continued to thrive despite the severe canons passed against them by the Council of Antioch, A. D. 390.

4. When *ecclesiastic usages* are either abused or applied to purposes for which they were never intended, they usually excite a violent outcry, and an *extravagant opposition against their use* altogether. There are many examples of this reaction in the history of the Church. The Arian priest, *Aëtius* of Sebaste, after his former friend Eustathius had been raised to the episcopal see of that city, maintained that bishops and priests were in everything absolutely equal; that prayers and alms-deeds for the departed were of no avail; and that the observance of the Paschal solemnities was a Jewish superstition.[1] Even *Eustathius* himself, while bishop of Sebaste († 376), advocated extreme ascetical doctrines; imposed severe fasts, which he ordered to be kept on Sundays and festivals; maintained that marriage was impure; and, contrary to several canons enacted at the Synod of *Gangra*,[2] between the years 362 and 370, forbade all intercourse with married priests.

Jovinian,[3] a Milanese monk, who came to Rome A. D. 388, and who, professing to be a Stoic, led the life of an Epicurean, opposed the high estimate that had been heretofore put upon monasticism. His teachings, as given by various authors, are as follows: 1. There is no difference between a monk and any ordinary man. 2. Virgins, widows, and married women, being baptized in Christ, and not differing in other works, have all the same merit. 3. There is no difference of merit between fasting and eating with thanksgiving. 4. There is in Heaven *one* and the same reward for all—a little more or a little less suffering here below can neither increase nor diminish the joys of the world to come. There is also the same punishment for all sinners; the various degrees of guilt are not taken into account. 5. A life of virginity, he asserted with *Helvidius*,[1] a disciple of Auxentius, the Arian Bishop of Milan (C. A. D. 390), is no better than a married state. He also said that Mary ceased to be a virgin after she had given birth to Christ.

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[1] *Epiphan.* haer. 75; *Philastrii* haer. 73; *Augustin.* de haeresib., c. 82.

[2] In *Mansi*, T. II., p. 1095. Conf. *Socrat.* II. 43.

[3] *Hieronym.* adv. Jovin., lib. II. (opp. T. II., p. 238 sq.) *Aug.* de haer., c. 83. *Siricii* ep. ad divers. episc. adv. Jovin. (*Constant*, epp. Pont., p. 663 sq.)

Vigilantius,[2] a priest of Gaul (A. D. 402), opposed celibacy and the veneration of saints and relics, saying that the latter custom was of Pagan origin. He also assailed the practice of burning lights on the graves of the deceased, and called the Catholics worshipers of dust and ashes. *St. Jerome* replied to him in his usual spirited and precise style. "This manner of devotion," said he, "is far from being a worship of the dead, as the pious faithful are very well aware; for, while paying reverence to these relics, their hearts are lifted up to the Saints in Heaven, now living in God, who is the God of the living and not of the dead." And, as if apologizing for those whose devotion might go beyond the strict

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Ambr. rescript. ad Siric. (*Coustant*, n. 670 sq.) *Lindner*, de Jovin. et Vigil., Lps. 1839.

[1] *Hieronym*. adv. Helvid. (opp. T. II., p. 205 sq.); German transl. (in the *Bonn Periodical* of Philosophy and Cath. Theology, No. 29, pp. 182–207.) *Gennadius* de vir. illustr., c. 32. *Aug*. de haeresib., c. 84. *Walch*, Hist. of Heretics, Pt. III., p. 577 sq.

[2] *Hieronym*. adv. Vigilant. (opp. T. II., p. 387 sq.); ep. 61 ad Vigilant.; ep. 109 ad Riparium (opp. T. I.) See note 2. *Walch*, dissert. de Bonoso haeret., Götting. 1754. By the *same*, Hist. of Heretics, Pt. III., p. 598 sq. †*Schmidt*, Vigilantius, his relation to St. Jerome and to the Doctrine of the Church, Münster, 1860.

teaching of the Church, he added: "When devotional feeling is strong, it may sometimes err in expression, but it should, for all this, be respected. Jesus praised the woman who anointed His feet, and chided His disciples who expressed dissatisfaction with what they thought her unreasonable waste."

Helvidius and *Bonosus*, Bishop of Sardica, went still further than Jovinian in their denial of Mary's virginity. They asserted that the brethren of Jesus, mentioned in the Gospel, were the children of Mary by Joseph. This heresy was identical with that of the *Antidicomarianites*, mentioned by St. Epiphanius (Heres. 78). *St. Ambrose*,[1] in refuting Bonosus, stated that the Church had at all times believed with an unvarying belief in the perpetual virginity of Mary. But the Church, while thus vindicating the honor and asserting the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was equally decisive in rejecting and condemning the *blasphemous adoration* practiced in her honor by the *Collyridians* of Arabia, who, in offering sacrifice to her, made oblation of small cakes (*κολλυρίδα*).[2]

5. The *Paulicians* (publicans and men of the people), who have been much admired, and whose doctrines have come to life in various forms in our own day, were but the Priscillianists of the East. The origin of the two was identical and their tendency the same.[3] They were the lineal descendants

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[1] *Ambr.* de instit. virginis (opp. T. II., p. 249 sq.) Conf. *Siricii*, ep. 9, and *Natal. Alex.* h. e. saec. IV., dissert. 48.

[2] *Epiphan.* haer. 79. *Wernsdorf*, dissert. de Collyridianor. secta, Viteb. 1745, 4to. *Münteri*, commentatio de Collyridianis (miscellan. Hafn., T. II., fasc. I.) *Walch*, Hist. of Heretics, Pt. III., p. 625 sq., and *Sagittar.*, introd. in h. e., T. I., p. 927–929.

[3] The oldest source opened only in most recent times is *Joan. Ozniensis*, Armenianor. Catholici oratio contr. Paulicianos, after A. D. 718 (opp. ed. *Aucher*, Venet. 1834). Then, *Photius*: περὶ τῆς Μανιχαίων ἀναβλαστήσεως, in *Wolfii* anecdota gr., Hamb. 1722, T. I. and II., and in *Galland.* bibl., T. XIII., p. 603. *Petri Siculi*, about A. D. 872, hist. Manichaeor. gr. et lat., ed. *Raderus*, Ingolst. 1604, and Max. bibl. PP. Lugd., T. XVI. (There is a mutual interdependence upon one another, hence but one source.) *H. Schmid*, hist. Paulicianor. oriental., Hafn. 1826. *Engelhardt*, The Paulicians. (Winer & Engelhardt's Journal, 1827, Vol. VII., nros. 1 and 2.) *Gieseler*, On the Paulicians. (Theol. Studies and Criticisms, 1829, Vol. II., n. 1.) Conf. the concise and exhaustive treatise, drawn from Armenian and Greek sources, by † *Windischmann.* (Tübg. Theol. Quart. 1835, pp. 49–62.)

of the Manichaeans, through *Paul* and *John*, the sons of Callinice, a Manichaean lady of Samosata. These quitted their birthplace, and carried their doctrines into Armenia. They established a school at *Epiparis* for the propagation of their sect, whose teachings held their ground till the reign of the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus (A. D. 668–685), under whom they received a fresh lease of life through the exertions of one *Constantine* of Mananalis, a town near Samosata, in Syria. He fancied he had a call to establish (c. A. D. 680) Apostolico-*Paulinian* communities, whose doctrines were a mixture of Gnostic forms and the principles of eclectic Manichaeism, and whose special aim consisted in opposing the Catholic Apostolic Church. They admitted, besides the *Four Gospels*, only the *Epistles of St. Paul* as containing the divine word; rejected the other apostolic epistles, the Old Testament, the Apocalypse, the symbols of the Church, and the whole body of ecclesiastical literature and all liturgical forms. They held that Christianity, as taught by St. Paul, was the "future world" (*αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων*)—the last manifestation of the Only True "God of Heaven" (*ἐπουράνιος θεός*), and that the Catholic Church was the "present world" (*ὁ παρὼν αἰών*)—the kingdom of the spirit of darkness. They proudly arrogated to themselves, to the exclusion of all others, the honorable name of "*Christians*," and called their community the *Catholic* Church, and styled all the Christians who were not Paulicians, "*Romans*."

While endeavoring to conceal their errors under orthodox formularies, they clung tenaciously to the fantastic and mythical views of the Gnostics and Manichaeans; held that the *sun* was the visible manifestation of the Deity, and called it Christ (see p. 339). They adopted the teaching of the *Docetae* concerning the human nature of Christ, and conceived redemption to be a sort of cleansing process, commenced by Christ, who would continue the work till He had finally returned all spirits to their original source. They were so exclusively spiritual and had so great a horror of matter in any form that they disdainfully rejected *all the means of salvation in use in the Catholic Church.*

The emperor Constantine Pogonatus sent an imperial commissioner, by name *Symeon*, to punish the sectaries, and so rigorous were the measures of the latter against them that he put their Head to death. But this did not end the heresy. Another Head arose to take the place of the one who had fallen the victim of persecution. These Heads or Chiefs always adopted the name of one of the companions of St. Paul, a practice of which Constantine, who took the name of Sylvanus, had set the first example. The Paulicians had, besides the Head, other dignitaries, whom they called fellow-voyagers (*συνέκδημοι*, comperegrini), and notaries or leading *brethren* (*νοτάριοι*). Symeon was so favorably impressed by the Paulicians that from a persecutor he became, first, a convert; next, their superior, under the name of Titus, with his residence at Kibossa, in Armenia. He, with many others, was put to death in the persecution carried on against the sect by Justinian II. (A. D. 685–695.) *Paul*, one of the most distinguished of the Paulicians, having escaped death, set earnestly to work to propagate afresh the doctrines of the sect. Their principal stronghold was the town of *Phanaroea*, in Helenopontus. They were protected by the emperor Leo the Isaurian, whom the son of Paul Genesius (Timotheus) had perverted.

Still later on (c. A. D. 777), Sergius (Tychicus), a man of energy and ability, but excessively proud, became Head of the Paulicians. He styled himself the Light, the Guide to Salvation, the Good Shepherd, who would abide with his flock to the end of time. He carried his vanity so far that he caused himself to be adored as the *Paraclete* by his most favored disciples. After having invoked his aid, they concluded by saying, "May the Holy Ghost have mercy on us." But no sect practicing excesses so shameless, and yielding to innovations so radical, could long hold together, and internal dissensions arose in this, which soon rent it in pieces.

The emperors *Michael Rhangabé* (A. D. 811–813) and *Leo the Armenian* (A. D. 813–820), and finally the empress *Theodora* (A. D. 845), passed edicts of such severity against them that they were forced to abjure their errors and return to the bosom of the Catholic Church. Should any obstinately refuse to comply, they were put to frightful torture, and in this way the sect was finally almost wholly extinguished.[1]

The Hypsistarians, or Worshipers of the Most High God (*ὑψίστῳ ϑεῷ προσκυνοῦντες*), were a sect of heretics that existed in Cappadocia, to which the father of Gregory Nazianzen once belonged. This was not really a Christian sect, but, according to *Boehmer*, an outgrowth of the ancient religion once spread over all Asia; perhaps more correctly, according to *Ullmann*, a syncretism composed of elements taken from Judaism and the ancient religion of Persia; or, finally, the issue of an early attempt to harmonize Christian and Pagan principles.

The Hypsistarians seem to have been closely allied to the *Euphemites* or *Massalians* (*ϑεοσεβεῖς, coelicolae*); and, like them, they adored only the *Most High God*, whom they worshiped night and morning, with prayer and song, in temples specially dedicated to His honor.[2]

RETROSPECT.

It will be necessary, in order to obtain a just idea of the great work accomplished by the Catholic Church throughout the Greco-Roman empire during this period, to compare the religious and moral condition of the people, prior to the introduction of Christianity, with their present advanced state.

Who is not filled with admiration and respect for those generous nations, when he recalls the ardent enthusiasm with which both Greeks and Romans embraced the teachings of the Gospel; the heroism with which they defended their faith in seasons of persecution, and their persevering efforts to adapt Pagan science and culture to the requirements of Christianity, to make of them instruments for expressing and drawing out Christian dogmas with precision and fullness, thus creating a literature distinctively Catholic, whose master-pieces will always remain models for Christian schools, and the sources of the most sublime inspirations? Who is not struck with the zealous earnestness which they exhibited in establishing and organizing the Church, and in endeavoring to give expression to the sublime mysteries of Catholic worship by symbolic representations; or who can have feelings other than those of religious reverence while contemplating the innumerable examples of virtue, devotedness, and holiness, sent forth to the world by the Church during this period, from among these two peoples?

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[1] The formula of abjuration, in *Galland.* bibl., T. XIV., p. 87 sq. Execror et anathemate devoveo eos omnes, qui dicunt, corpus e malo principio prodiisse, et quae mala sunt exsistere natura. Execror nugacem ac futilem Manetis fabulam, quum ait, primum hominem nobis dissimilem formatum, etc. Execror eos, qui dicunt: Dominum nostrum Jesum Chr. specie tantum manifestatum fuisse, etc., qui Christum *solem* esse dicunt et solem ac lunam caeteraque sidera venerantur, etc. Exsecror eos, qui transmigrationem animarum statuunt, quam et animarum de vase in vas defusionem appellant, etc. Anathema iis, qui St. Deiparam Mariam contumelia afficiunt—qui a communione venerandi corporis et sanguinis Christi abhorrent—quique baptismum aspernantur, etc.

[2] Conf. *Schmidt*, historia Coelicolarum, 1704. *Boehmer*, de Hypsistariis, Berolini, 1824. *Ullmann*, de Hypsist., Heidelb. 1823. Thereto, Observations by Ullmann, in the Heidelberg Annals, 1824, and *Boehmer*, Some Remarks on the Opinions concerning the Hypsistarians, Hambg. 1826. Sources: *Epiphan.* haer. 80. *Cyril. Alexander*, de adoratione in spiritu et veritate, l. III. *Greg. Naz.* or. 18, § 5. *Gregor. Nyssen.* adv. Eunom., l. II.

Would to God that the religious controversies undertaken for the defense of the faith, and entered upon with so much courage, had not left after them that gradually accumulated legacy of stubborn disobedience and ill-feeling, which gave the first violent shock to the harmony existing between the Greek and Roman Churches, gradually led the way to the encroachments of Islamism, and finally brought about the schism which still exists, and which has put a spiritual blight upon the Greek Church. This Church, faithless to her noble destiny, and fallen from her high estate, has been stricken with a palsy, and she will henceforth be helpless to give any further aid in the work of spiritually regenerating mankind. A work of this magnitude required the strong energy of a young and vigorous race, and such a one was found in the simple and uncorrupted Germanic nations, who assaulted the vast colossus of the Roman empire with such violence that its western half finally toppled to the ground. The Catholic Church, whose relations with the Greeks are henceforth not very cordial, will now, for the most part, be engaged with these fresh and energetic nations.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

I. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

POPES AND THE ROMAN EMPERORS.*

POPES.	EMPERORS.
St. Peter, 42–67 or 68.	Claudius, 41–54.
" Linus (2 Tim. iv. 21).	Nero, 54–68.
" Anencletus or Cletus.	Galba, Otho, Vitellius, 68–69.
" Clement, 92–101.	Vespasian, 69–79.
" Euaristus.	Titus, 79–81.
" Alexander, until 119.	Domitian, 81–96.
" Xystus (Sixtus), until 127.	Nerva, 96–98; Trajan, 98–117.
" Telesphorus, 127–139.	Hadrian, 117–138.
" Hyginus, 139–142.	
" Pius, 142–157.	Antoninus Pius, 138–161.
" Anicetus, 157–168.	
" Soter, 168–177.	Marcus Aurelius, 161–180.
" Eleutherius, 177–192.	Commodus, 180–192.
" Victor, 192–202.	Pertinax, 193.
" Zephyrinus, 202–219.	Septimius Severus, 193–211.
" Callistus, 219–223.	Caracalla, 211–217.
" Urbanus, 223–236.	Macrinus, 217, 218.
" Pontianus, 230–235.	Heliogabalus, 218–222.
" Antherus, 235–236.	Alexander Severus, 222–235.
" Fabianus, 236–250.	Maximin the Thracian, 235–238.
" *Cornelius*, 251, 252.	Pupienus and Gordianus, 238.
" Lucius, 253.	Gordianus, 238–244.
" *Stephen I.* 253–257.	Philip the Arabian, 244–249.
" *Xystus* or *Sixtus II.* 257, 258.	Decius, 250–251.
" Dionysius, 259–269.	Gallus and Volusianus, 251–253.
" Felix I. 269–274.	Valerian, 253–260; Gallienus, 260–268.
" Eutychianus, 274–283.	Claudius II. 268–270.
" Caius, 283–296.	Aurelian, 270–275.
" Marcellinus, until 304.	Tacitus, 275, 276; Probus, 276–282.
" Marcellus, 308–310.	Carus, 282–284.

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* The *best list* of Popes in *Bianchini* editio Anastas. biblioth. de vitis Rom. Pontificum. Hist. of Popes, by *Haas*, Tüb. 1860; by *Groene*, Ratisb. 1864 sq., 2 vols.

POPES.	EMPERORS.
St. Eusebius, 310.	Diocletian, 284–305, and Maximian, 286–305.
" Melchiades, 311–314.	Constantius Chlorus, 305–306, and Galerius, 305–311.
" Sylvester I. 314–335.	Constantine the Gr. 306–337, and Maxentius and Licinius; from 323, Constantine sole ruler.
" Marcus, 336.	
" Julius I. 337–352.	Constantius, 337–361, at first with Constantine II. 337–340, and Constans, 337–350.
Liberius, 352–366 (Felix II. 355, Anti-Pope).	Julian the Apostate, 361–363.
St. Damasus, 366–384.	Jovian, 363, 364.
" Siricius, 385–398.	Valentinian I. 364–375, and Valens, 364–375; Gratian, 375–383, and Valentinian II. 375–392.
" Anastasius, 398–402.	
" Innocent I. 402–417.	Theodosius the Gr. 379–394; sole Emperor, 394–395.
" Zosimus, 417–418.	
	Partition of the Roman Empire.
" Boniface I. 418–422.	West. Rom., Honorius, 395–423; East. Rom., Arcadius, 395–408.
" Celestine I. 422–432.	East. Rom., Theodosius II. 408–450.
" Sixtus III. 432–440.	West. Rom., Valentinian III. 423–455.
" *Leo I. the Great*, 440–461.	Rome conquered by the Vandals, 455, after which event several emperors deposed by the Suabian, Ricimer.
" Hilarus, 461–467.	
" Simplicius, 467–483.	Romulus Augustulus, 476, last West. Roman Emperor.
" Felix III. 483–492.	
" Gelasius I. 492–496.	
	East. Roman Emperors.
" Anastasius II. 496–497.	Marcian, 450–457.
" Symmachus, 498–514 (Lawrence, Anti-Pope).	Leo I. 457–474.
" *Hormisdas*, 514–523.	Leo II. and his father, Zeno, 474–491.
" John I. 523–526.	Anastasius I. 491–518.
" Felix IV. 526–530.	Justin I. 518–527.
" Boniface II. 530–532.	Justinian, 527–565.
" John II. 532–535.	
" Agapetus I. 535, 536.	
" Silverius, 536–540.	
Vigilius, (537) 540–555.	
Pelagius I. 555–560.	

POPES.	EMPERORS.
John III. 560–573.	Justin II. 565–578.
Benedict I. 574–578.	
Pelagius II. 578–590.	Tiberius II. 578–582.
St. * *Gregory I. the Great,* 590–604.	Mauritius, 582–602.
Sabinian, 604–605.	Phocas, 602–610.
Boniface III. 606.	
St. Boniface IV. 607–614.	Heraclius, 610–641.
" Deusdedit, 615–618.	
Boniface V. 619–625.	
Honorius I. 625–638.	
Severinus, until 640.	
John IV. 640–642.	Constantine III. and Heraclionas, 641.
Theodore I. 642–649.	Constans II. 641–668.
St. Martin I. 649–655.	
Eugene I. (654) 655–657.	
St. Vitalian, 657–672.	Constantine IV. (Pogonatus) 668–685.
Adeodatus, 672–676.	
Donus or Domnus I. 676–678.	
St. Agatho, 678–682.	
" Leo II. 682, 683.	
" Benedict II. until 685.	
John V. 685, 686.	Justinian II. 685–695.
Conon, 687.	
St. Sergius I. 687–701.	Leontius, 695–698.

II. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

MOST IMPORTANT PERSONAGES AND EVENTS OF THE FIRST PERIOD (1–700).

DIONYSIAN ERA.

1. Birth of Christ, Son of God and Savior of the World.

2. Death of Herod. Partition of his kingdom among his sons, Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip.

6. Archelaus exiled to Gaul. Judea, Idumea, and Samaria reduced to a Roman province under the administration of a procurator, the fifth of whom is Pontius Pilate (28–37).

12. Jesus Christ teaches in the Temple before the astonished Pharisees.

14. Death of Emperor Augustus, who is succeeded by Tiberius (until 37).

30. Jesus Christ commences His public life shortly after the death of St. John Baptist.

34. Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension of Jesus He sends the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost. The first Christian assembly gathers around the Apostles at Jerusalem, which thus becomes the Mother Church.

Toward 36. Stoning to death of the Deacon Stephen, First Christian Martyr.

37. Calling of St. Paul to the apostolate of the Gentiles. Caligula, emperor (37–41).

41–44. Herod Agrippa persecutes the Mother Church of Jerusalem, and causes St. James the Elder to be beheaded (A. D. 44). St. Peter is saved by a miracle.

42. The community of Antioch, composed of Jews and Pagans, takes the name of *Christians*.

45–59. The three great apostolic journeys of St. Paul. After the death of Agrippa all Palestine is reduced to a Roman province. Claudius, emperor (41–54).

52. Council of the Apostles at Jerusalem. The Apostles, SS. Peter, James, John, Paul, Barnabas, the priests, and the faithful, assist thereat, in order to decide whether the Pagans should be obliged to observe the Mosaic law. Nero, emperor (54–68).

61. St. Paul is carried away to Rome, where he is put in prison for the first time.

DIONYSIAN ERA.

63. St. James the Less, Bishop of Jerusalem, is put to death.

67 or 68. Second captivity of St. Paul, who is put to death, together with St. Peter. First persecution. Galba, Otho, Vitellius (68, 69); Vespasian (69–79).

70. Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, who reigns after Vespasian (79–81).

81–96. Domitian, emperor. Second persecution. St. John is exiled to the isle of Patmos. Errors of Cerinthus. Chiliasm. Nerva, emperor (96–98).

98–117. Trajan, emperor. Death of the Apostle St. John. Third persecution. Pliny the Younger.

107. St. Symeon, Bishop of Jerusalem, and St. Ignatius of Antioch are put to death. Martyrdom of Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis.

117–138. Hadrian, emperor. Sixtus I. and Telesphorus, Bishops of Rome. The Gnostics, Basilides and Saturninus (about 125); the apologist, Quadratus.

138–161. Antoninus Pius. The Gnostics, Valentine († 160), Carpocrates; the Ophites, Marcion. The controversy on Easter between Polycarp and the Roman Bishop Anicetus. Councils held against the Montanists (between 160–180). Celsus (about 150).

161–180. Fourth persecution under Marcus Aurelius. Martyrdom of St. Justin at Rome and of St. Polycarp at Smyrna (about 167). The Thundering Legion (174). The Gnostic, Bardesanes. Tertullian and St. Irenaeus oppose the tradition of the Church to the ravings and subjective views of the Gnostics. Apologetics of Minutius Felix. The controversy on Easter is continued by Claudius Apollinaris and Melito, Bishop of Sardes. Persecutions at Lyons and Vienne.

180–193. Commodus, emperor. The Satirist, Lucian of Samosata. Development of the Catechetical School of Alexandria. Pantaenus, Clement; Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch († about 186). This apologist makes use of the word Τρίας, which is the *Trinitas* of Tertullian.

193–211. Fifth persecution under Septimius Severus. Tertullian writes his Apology in defense of the Christians (in 198). The Easter controversy continued between Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, and Victor, Bishop of Rome (in 196). Caïus, a Roman priest, combats Chiliasm or the heresy of the Millennium. The Anti-Trinitarians of this epoch, whose principles are farthest removed from Gnosticism, are Praxeas, Theodotus, Artemon. St. Irenaeus († 202). Clement of Alexandria succeeded by Origen (203). Tertullian a Montanist (about 203).

211–235. Caracalla (until 217), Heliogabalus (until 222), Alexander Severus (until 235). Literary efforts of Hippolytus. The Monarchian, Noëtus (230). Julius Africanus († between 232 and 240). Origen driven from Alexandria (231).

235–238. Sixth persecution under Maximin the Thracian. It ceases alto-

DIONYSIAN ERA.	
	gether under Gordian (until 244), and particularly under Philip the Arabian (244–249). Death of Tertullian (about 240). Origen combats Beryllus in an Arabian council, held A. D. 244. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (248). Schism of Felicissimus and Novatus.
249–251.	The terrible seventh persecution under Decius. Numerous martyrs, confessors, but also apostates (lapsi). The Hermit, Paul of Thebes. Universality of Provincial Councils.
254–259.	Eighth persecution under Valerian. *Massa candida* of Utica. Priests penitentiary. Different classes of penitents. Novatian. Schism at Rome (251). The Anti-Trinitarian, Sabellius (250–260). Origen († A. D. 254). Controversy on the Baptism of Heretics, between Stephen, Bishop of Rome (253–257), and Cyprian (about 255). The latter is martyred (258).
259–268.	The Emperor Gallienus acknowledges Christianity as a *religio licita.* The Dynamic Anti-Trinitarian, Paul of Samosata and the Alogi (260). Discussion between Dionysius of Alexandria (265) and Dionysius of Rome, on *ποίημα* and *ὁμοούσιος*. Synods of Antioch against the Anti-Trinitarians (254 and 269).
270–275.	Death prevents Emperor Aurelian from executing his edict of persecution. Gregory Thaumaturgus, Bishop of Neo-Caesarea; the Neo-Platonist, Photinus († about 270); Manes (about 277).
284–305.	Diocletian, emperor. *Aera Diocletiana* seu martyrum. School of Antioch established about 290 by Dorotheus, and above all by Lucian. Edict of Diocletian against the Manichaeans (296). Ninth (or, according to some, tenth) general persecution, the bloodiest of all, under Diocletian and Galerius (303–311). Traditions. The Neo-Platonist, Porphyrius († 304). Hierocles. Council of Elvira (305). Schism of Meletius in Egypt (306).
306–337.	Constantine elevated to the rank of Augustus. His victory and edict of toleration of liberty of conscience, in 312. In the following year, another edict still more liberal, which is followed by a number of laws in favor of Christianity. Triumph of the Christian faith.
313–316.	The bishops' judgment pronounced at Rome against the Donatists (313). Council of Arles (314), of Milan (316), against the same heretics. (314) Council of Neo-Caesarea.
323.	Constantine sole emperor after the defeat of Licinius.
325.	First Ecumenical Council of Nice against Arius. Important personages: Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria; his deacon, Athananasius; Hosius of Corduba; the Roman priests, Vitus and Vincentius, Legates of Pope Sylvester I. The Nicene Profession of Faith strikes the Eusebians, as well as the Arians. The disciplinary canons settle the Meletian schism and the controversy on Easter. Pachomius establishes the cloistered life of monks.
328.	Athanasius elected Bishop of Alexandria; becomes the most illustrious adversary of Arianism. Helena finds the cross of Christ. Frumentius converts the Ethiopians (327).

DIONYSIAN ERA.

330. New Rome, called later on Constantinople. Death of Lactantius.

336. Athanasius exiled by Constantine. Death of Arius. Marcellus of Ancyra deposed by the Arian faction. Pope Julius (336–352).

337. Baptism and death of Constantine the Great. Athanasius returns to his flock (338).

340. Death of Eusebius of Caesarea and Paul of Thebes. Didymus of Alexandria (340–395).

341. The Semi-Arian Council of Antioch deposes Athanasius and draws up four different formularies of faith. Monastic life introduced into Rome, while Hilarion transplants it into Syria and Palestine.

343. Shabur II., King of Persia, persecutes the Christians. Martyrdom of Symeon, Bishop of Seleucia. Council of Sardica (343, 344).

345. Photinus rejects the errors of the Semi-Arian Council of Antioch, and draws up a fifth formulary of faith, which is altogether Catholic. Opinion of Ammianus Marcellinus on variations in faith.

346. Constantius confirms the restoration of Athanasius. Rigorous measures taken against the Donatists, *Circumcelliones.*

350. Constantius sole emperor. Liberius, Pope (352–366).

353. Anti-Nicene Council of Arles. Athanasius condemned.

355. Council of Milan. Despotism of Constantius. Pope Liberius, Lucifer of Calaris, Hilary of Pictavium, Eusebius of Vercelli, Dionysius of Milan; the centenarian, Hosius of Corduba, are exiled (356).

356. St. Anthony, father of monastic life, dies. The Arians, Aëtius and Eunomius. Seeming triumph of Arianism.

357–359. Arian Council of Sirmium. Second Sirmian formulary (the first in 351). Semi-Arian Council of Ancyra (358). Arian Council of Sirmium and third formulary. Double synod perfidiously convened by Constantius at Seleucia for the East, and at Rimini for the West (359).

361–363. Attempts of Julian the Apostate against Christianity. His unsuccessful efforts to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem. The Pagans, Libanius, Maximus, Themistius, Ammianus Marcellinus. Athanasius recalled to his diocese, banished once more, and finally recalled for the last time under Jovian. Meletian troubles at Antioch (360).

368. Gradual extinction of Paganism ("Pagani"). Death of St. Hilary of Poitiers. Optatus of Mileve combats the Donatists.

373. Death of St. Athanasius. Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzum, Basil the Great, and Cyril of Jerusalem rise to defend the Nicene Creed. In the West, St. Ambrose replaces the Arian Auxentius in the see of Milan (374).

375. Emperor Gratian refuses the title of "Pontifex Maximus."

379–395. Theodosius the Great succeeds to Valens in the East. Diodore of Tarsus. Damasus, Pope (366–384).

DIONYSIAN ERA.

380. Edict of Emperor Theodosius declaring that the orthodox faith shall be defined according to the professions of Rome and Alexandria. Council of Caesar Augusta (Saragossa) against Priscillian and his followers.

381. Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople, which confirms and enlarges the symbol of Nice, concerning the Holy Ghost, and condemns the errors of Apollinaris the Younger. St. Jerome defends the virginity of Mary against Helvidius.

385–398. Siricius, Bishop of Rome. Decretals of Popes. The usurper Maximus causes Priscillian and two of his partisans to be beheaded (385). Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria (385–412). St. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, dies, and is succeeded by John (386–414). Baptism of St. Augustine.

390. Contest between Emperor Theodosius and St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. Symmachus opposes Christianity. Death of St. Gregory Nazianzen and of Themistius. Jovinian attacks Monasticism and the virginity of Mary (about 390). Nectarius, Patriarch of Constantinople, abolishes the penitentiary.

395–423. Honorius in the West; Arcadius in the East (395–408). St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo-Regius (Hippo, A. D. 396).

397. Death of St. Ambrose. Origenist controversy between John, Bishop of Jerusalem; Rufinus of Aquileia; Jerome of Stridon; and Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis. Theophilus of Alexandria calms it for the moment. St. John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople (401).

400–401. Jesdedsherd I., King of Persia, persecutes the Christians. Jealousy of Theophilus of Alexandria against St. Chrysostom (401).

402–417. Innocent I., Bishop of Rome. Death of Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis. The Council "of the Oak" deposes St. Chrysostom, who is exiled and afterward recalled (403). New exile, which terminates in death (407). Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais (410–430).

411. Conference with the Donatists at Carthage.

412–418. Caelestius excommunicated at Carthage (412). Pelagius clears himself in an equivocal manner in the Councils of Jerusalem and of Diospolis (415). The Councils of Mileve and Carthage condemn Pelagianism (418). Council of Carthage against Pelagius.

420. Bahram V., King of Persia, persecutes the Christians. Frightful executions. Death of St. Jerome. Symeon, the Stylite. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus.

430. Death of St. Augustine. Celestine, Bishop of Rome (423–432), proceeds against Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in consequence of the Twelve Anathemas launched by Cyril of Alexandria.

431. Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus against the errors of Nestorius and those of Pelagius, connected therewith. Opposition of Theodoret.

DIONYSIAN ERA.

433. Union of Cyril and John of Antioch, owing to the Confession of Faith of Antioch. The Nestorian party sustained by Barsumas, Bishop of Nisibis (435–489), and Ibas, Bishop of Edessa (436–457). Death of Nestorius (440).

440–461. Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome. Cyril of Alexandria († 444). He is succeeded in the patriarchate by Dioscorus (444–451). Valentinian III. His law declaring the see of Rome the *Sedes Apostolica* (445). Public penitentiary discipline for the most part abolished by Leo the Great.

448. The Council of Constantinople deposes and excommunicates Eutyches as a Monophysite.

449. The Robber Synod of Ephesus. Violence of Dioscorus.

About 450. Death of Vincent of Lerins, author of the celebrated Commonitorium.

451. Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon against the Monophysites. Dogmatical writings of Pope Leo (451–453). Monophysitic troubles in Palestine. Dioscorus deposed by the Council of Chalcedon; his death (455). His successor, Proterius, energetically opposes the Monophysite followers of the priest Timothy Aelurus and Peter Mongus, who murder him in a ruffianly manner. Peter the Fuller, Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch.

472–475. Councils of Arles and Lyons against the Predestinarians.

482. Henoticon of Emperor Zeno (479–491).

527–565. Justinian I. dogmatizes like his predecessor, Justin I. (518–527.) The celebrated Jurisconsult, Tribonianus († 545). Different Monophysite parties of Phthartolatrae, Agnoetoi, and Apthartodocetae. At the conference of Constantinople (of 533), first public mention of the works of St. Denys the Areopagite. Errors of Philoponus (about 560) and of Stephen Niobes.

529–530. Councils of Orange and Valence against the Semi-Pelagians. Rule of St. Benedict of Nursia.

541–578. Jacob Baradai and the Jacobites.

544. Controversy on the Three Chapters, on account of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and Ibas; dogmatical edict of the emperor, who condemns Origen (541); another edict against the Three Chapters (544). Checkered career of Pope Vigilius (from 540–555). His Judicatum and Constitutum. The advocates of the Three Chapters: Facundus, Bishop of Hermiane, the Deacon Rusticus, and Fulgentius Ferrandus († 551).

553. Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople, which condemns the Three Chapters.

556. Denys the Little dies at Rome. He prepared a collection of ecclesiastical legislation (about 510). John the Scholastic dies at Constantinople (578).

563. The Council of Braga enacts very severe laws against the Priscillianists.

590–604. Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, takes the title of "Servus Ser-

DIONYSIAN ERA.

vorum Dei," in opposition to the title of "Ecumenical Bishop," usurped by John the Faster, Patriarch of Constantinople (582–595).

611–641. Emperor Heraclius makes another attempt to bring back the Monophysites, and is sustained therein by Theodore, Bishop of Pharan, and Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople. On the other hand, Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem († 638), and the learned abbot Maximus oppose his dogmatizing tendencies.

622. The Hegira of the Mohammedans, who take Jerusalem (637).

625–638. The imprudent course of Pope Honorius in the case of the Monothelites.

638. Dogmatical edict of Heraclius. *Ἔκθεσις τῆς πίστεως.*

648. Dogmatical edict, or the *τύπος*, of Constans II. The Lateran Council, held at Rome under Martin I. (649), condemns the two edicts and their defenders.

680. Sixth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople, which condemns the Monothelites.

692. The Trullan Council at Constantinople confirms the canons already in force, and draws up several disciplinary canons, among which there are some that contribute, later on, toward the separation of the Church of the East and that of the West.

III. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE COUNCILS DURING THE FIRST PERIOD.*

IN THE FIRST CENTURY.

Jerusalem, between 50–52. Council of the Apostles. Prototype of all Councils (Acts xv.)

IN THE SECOND CENTURY.

Hierapolis, between 160–180, against the Montanists and Theodotus the Tanner; at Rome, in Palestine (Jerusalem and Caesarea), in Pontus, Osroene, Mesopotamia, Corinth, all toward the end of the second century, on the celebration of Easter. Other synods at Rome, in Sicily, at Ephesus, Lyons, and in Africa, are doubtful.

Conf. *Hefele*, History of Councils, Vol. I., p. 69–77.

IN THE THIRD CENTURY.

Carthage, between 218–222. Alexandria, 231 and 235. Iconium, between 231–235. Synnada, about the same time. Lambesus, in Africa, 240. Bostra. about 244. Arabia, 246. Two *Asiatic* synods. Carthage, 250, 251, 252, 253, in the affairs of Novatian; 255 and 256, on the Baptism of Heretics. Rome, 251. Narbonne, between 255–260. Arsinoe, in Egypt, 255. Rome, 260. Antioch, 264–269, three synods on account of Paul of Samosata.

IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

Cirta, 305. Elvira, 305. Alexandria, 306. Carthage, 312. Rome, 313, Arles, 314. Ancyra, 314. Neo-Caesarea, 314–325. Alexandria, 320. Bithynia, 323. Alexandria, 324. *Nice*, 325 (*First Ecumenical*). Gangra, between 325–341. Carthage, 330. Antioch, 330. Caesarea, 334. Tyre, 335. Jerusalem, 335. Constantinople, 336, 338, or 339. Alexandria, 339. Antioch, 340, 341. Rome, 341. **Sardica*, 343. Laodicea, between 343–381. Philippopolis, 343. Milan, 345. Jerusalem and Alexandria, 346. Rome and Milan, 347. Carthage, 345–348. Sirmium, 349, 351. Rome, 353, Arles, 353. Milan, 355. Biterrae (Beziers), 356. Sirmium, 357, 358. Antioch, 358. Ancyra, 358. Rimini and Seleucia, 359. Constantinople, 360. Paris, 361. Antioch, 361, 363. Alexandria, 362, 363. Lampsacus, 365. Nicomedia, 366. Smyrna, 366.

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* For the sources, consult the collections of councils, both general and particular, by *Mansi*, *Harduin*, etc. Cf. also the works thereon by *Cabassutius*, *Hefele*, etc. See also our literature, Vol. I., p. 22, note 1.

Sicily, 366. Singidunum and Tyana, 367. Caria, 367. Rome, 369. Alexandria, 370. Valence, 374. Illyria and Ancyra, 375. Rome, 374, 376. Antioch, in Caria, 378. Rome, Milan, 380. Saragossa, 380. *Constantinople*, 381 (*Second Ecumenical.*) Aquileia and Milan, 381. Rome, 382. Constantinople, 383. Bordeaux, 384. Treves, 385. Rome, 386, 390. Carthage, Milan, and Antioch, 390. Capua, 391. Hippo, 393. Nîmes, 394. Const. 394. Bagai, 394. Carthage, 394, 397, 398, 399. Alexandria, 398. Also at Jerusalem, Const., and in Cyprus; Ephesus. Toledo, 400.

IN THE FIFTH CENTURY.

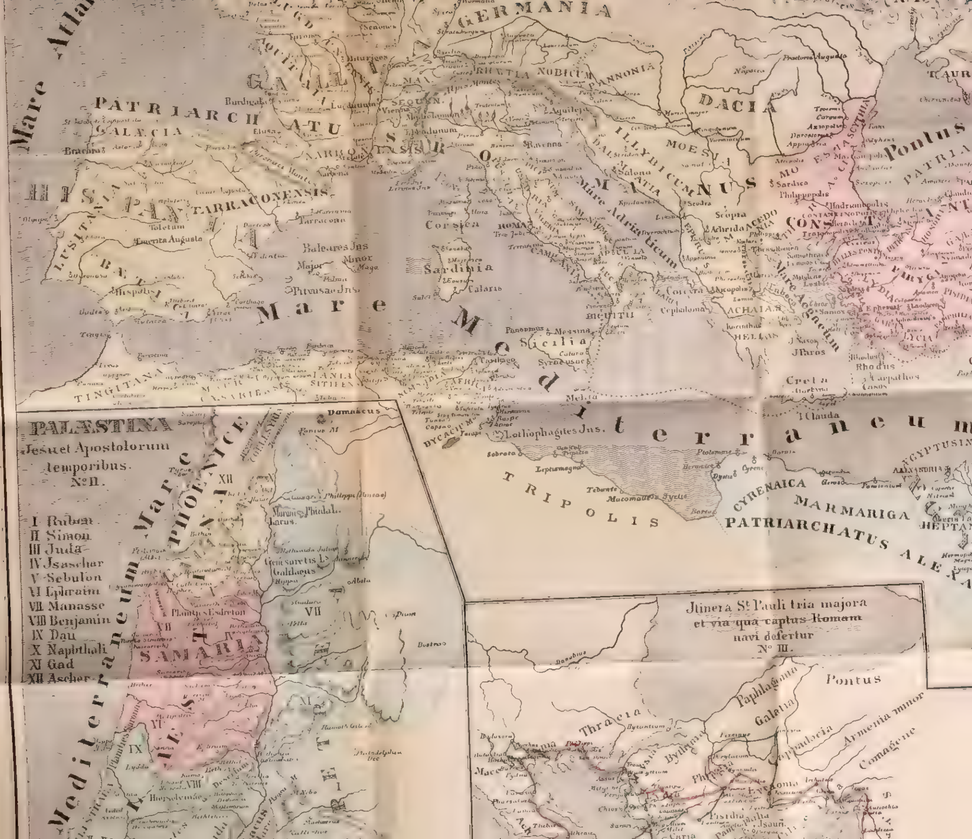
Carthage and Turin, 401. Mileve, 402. Rome, 402. At the Oak, 403. Const. 403, 404. Carthage, 403–410, 8–15th Synods of Carthage. Italy, 405. Seleucia, 410. Ptolemais and Carthage, 408, 411, 412. Braga, 411. Carthage, 412. Jerusalem, 415. Diospolis, 415. Carthage, 416, 417. Mileve, 416. Telepte, Carthage, 418. Ravenna, Corinth, Seleucia, 419. Carthage, 421. Numidia, 423. Cilicia, Antioch, 423. Carthage, Const., 426. Gallia, 429. Alexandria, 430. *Ephesus*, 431 (*Third Ecumenical*). Const. and Antioch, 432. Zeugma, 433. Anazarbus, 433. Antioch, 436. Riez, 439. Orange, 441. Vaison, 442. Arles, 443. Besançon, 444. Rome, 444. Antioch, 445. Astorga, 446. Toledo, 447. Rome, 447. Antioch, 448. Tyre, 448. Ephesus, 449. Rome, 449, 451. Const. 449, 450. Milan, 451. *Chalcedon* (*Fourth Ecumenical*), 451. Arles, 451, 453. Angers, 453. Tours, 453. Arles, 455. Rome, 458. Const. 459. Tours, 461. Rome, 462. Tarragona, 464. Rome, 465. Vannes, 465. Ireland, 465. Antioch, 471. Bourges, 472. Arles and Lyons, 475, 480. Const. 475. Ephesus, 475. Alexandria and Antioch, 477. Const. 478. Rome, 483, 484, 485, 487. Carthage, 484. Seleucia, 489. Const. 492. Rome, 495, 496. Const. 497, 499. Rome, 499. Lyons, 499.

IN THE SIXTH CENTURY.

Rome, 501, Three Synods, the third of which Palmaris. Rome, 502, 503, 504. Byzacen, Synod in Africa, 504 or 507. Agde, 506. Toulouse, 507. Antioch, 507. Orleans, 511. Sidon, 511. Britain, 512 or 516. Illyria, 516. Lyons, 516. Tarragona, 516. Gerunda, 517. Two Gallic Synods, between 514–517. Epaon, 517. Lyons, 517. Const. 518. Jerusalem, 518. Tyre, 518. Const. 520. Wales and Tournay, 520. Agaune, 523. Junca and Sufes, in Africa, 523. Arles, Lerida, and Valence, 524. Carthage, 525. Carpentras, 527. Thevin in Armenia, 527. Orange and Valence, 529. Vaison, 529. Toledo, 531. Rome, Larissa, near Const. 531. Const. 533. Mantua and Orleans, 533. Clermont, 535. Carthage, 535. Const. 536. Jerusalem, 536. Orleans, 538, 541. Antioch and Gaza, 542. Const. 543, 547. Orleans, 549. Clermont, 549. Illyria, 549. Mopsuestia, 550. Paris, 551. *Constantinople*, 553 (*Fifth Ecumenical*). Jerusalem, 553. Arles, 554. Paris, 557. Saintes, 562. Braga, 563. Lyons, 567. Tours, 567. Paris, 573, 577. Châlons, 579. Braine, or Bernei, 577–581. Mâcon, 581. Lyons, 583. Valence, 584. Mâcon, 585. Auxerre, 587. Clermont, between 585–588. Toledo, 589. Narbonne, 589. Seville, 590. Metz, 590. Rome, 591. Saragossa, 592. Carthage, 594. Rome, 595. Poitiers, 595. Toledo, 597. Huesca, 598. Barcelona, 599. Rome, 600.

IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Rome, Britain, and Sens, 601. Africa, 602. Châlons, 603. England, 605. Rome, 606, 610. Toledo, 610. Egara, 614. *Paris, 614. Kent and Seville, 619. Garin, c. 622. Rheims, 625. Const. 626. Lenia (Leighlin-bridge), c. 630. Alexandria, 633. Toledo, 633. Jerusalem, 634. Toledo, 636, 638. Const. 638. Rome, 640. Châlons, 644. Africa, 646. Toledo, 646. Rome, 648. Lateran, 649. Rouen, 650. Toledo, 653, 655, 656. Nantes, 658. Sens, 658. England, 664. Emerita, 666. Clichy, 667. Rome, 667. Autun, c. 670. Herford, 673. Toledo, 675. Braga, 675. Rome, 679, 680. Milan, 680. *Constantinople* (*Sixth Ecumenical*), 680. Toledo, 681, 683, 684, 688. Saragossa, 691. England, 691. *Const. 692. Toledo, 693, 694. Baccancelde, 694. Berghamstedt, 697. Aquileia, 699.

PALÆSTINA
Jesu et Apostolorum
temporibus.
N° II.
I Ruben
II Simon
III Juda
IV Jsaschar
V Sebulon
VI Ephraim
VII Manasse
VIII Benjamin
IX Dan
X Naphthali
XI Gad
XII Ascher
Itinera St. Pauli tria majora
et via qua captus Romam
navi defertur
N° III.
Mare Atlan
GERMANIA
GALLIA
PATRIARCHATUS
HISPANIA
LUSITANIA
BAETICA
TARRACONENSIS
GALAECIA
RHAETIA
NORICUM
PANNONIA
DACIA
MOESIA
ILLYRICUM
DALMATIA
MACEDONIA
ACHAIA
HELLAS
Pontus
Mare Adriaticum
Mare Aegaeum
Mare Mediterraneum
Corsica
Sardinia
Sicilia
Baleares Ins
Creta
Rhodus
Melita
TINGITANA
MAURETANIA CAESARIENSIS
NUMIDIA
AFRICA
BYZACIUM
TRIPOLIS
CYRENAICA
MARMARICA
PATRIARCHATUS ALEXA
Lothophagites Ins.
Damascus
PHOENICE
SAMARIA
Mare Mediterraneum
Pontus
Paphlagonia
Galatia
Thracia
Bithynia
Cappadocia
Armenia minor
Comagene
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